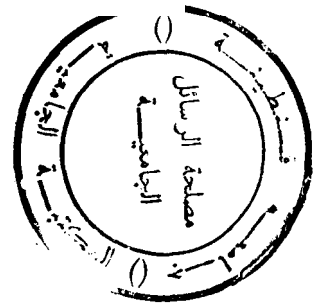A Study of the Algerian Correctional System For
Juvenile Delinquents

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Submitted for the Degree of M.Phil.

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University of Lancaster

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to shed light on what is being
done to juvenile delinquents in Algeria and to question the

effectiveness of two systems of rehabilitation by attempting a
first level of evaluation.

The first part of the thesis gives an outline of some of
the institutional methods and techniques of rehabilitation used
in dealing with juvenile delinquents in institutions. It attempts
to draw lessons from the work of the probation and after-care
services in developed countries and discusses the emerging role
of community service. The definition and role of evaluation
research are discussed in relation to the shaping of policy.

The major socio-cultural changes which have occurred in
Algerian society since Independence are outlined. Their
contribution to an explanation of the origins of delinquency
are discussed, as are the 'universal causes' of delinquency as
discussed in the literature. The legal procedures for the

management of juvenile delinquents in Algeria are also described.

An institutional programme of rehabilitation and a probation programme of rehabilitation are described. Empirical findings based upon interviews with staff of these programmes and with the

young people they serve are reported. Data on measures of adjustment obtained from the 'clients' of these services are

also reported. In general, we failed to detect any effects of the institutional programme but the probation programme appeared to show some positive effects on its clients' adjustments.

Finally, criticisms of the present arrangements for the management of delinquency in Algeria are offered along with some recommendations for the future.

Acknowledgements

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Dedication

I modestly dedicate this present work to my parents and family for their patience and support, to my wife for her constant encouragements, and to all my brothers, sisters and friends.

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Preface

After 26 years of Independence, Algerian society is still experiencing deep and rapid socio-cultural and economic changes. The effect of these changes is remarkable in all portions of the society.

Despite the fact that these changes have contributed to a marked increase in standards of living of the entire population, they have caused a variety of serious psycho-social problems such as delinquency, mental illness, and all sorts of breakdowns in social, institutional, familial and personal functioning.

The Algerian population is mostly very young. Indeed, over 60% of the population is under the age of 30 years, and 21% is aged between 10 and 19 years. The government has been working to the best of its abilities to satisfy the basic needs of this great mass of youth by developing programmes of education, vocational training, employment, and cultural and sports facilities. Nevertheless, much remains to be achieved in the immediate future.

One of the worst consequences from which the whole of the society, and young people in particular, suffers is delinquency. Official statistics for legally defined delinquency show 15,000 juvenile delinquents per year. However, this figure does not really reflect the real extent of juvenile delinquency, and it may mislead social policy makers in their planning.

In order to face this growing problem, a correctional system has been developed. In fact, the present Algerian correctional system for juvenile delinquency is a direct consequence of the regulations which were introduced in 1945, while Algeria was still under the French occupation. In the years following Independence in 1962, the correctional system has continued to develop. The last few years have seen a marked increase in the number of correctional institutions and probation offices which are distributed across the main cities of Algeria in consequence of the increased rates of delinquency they have experienced. A parallel development is also noticeable in the development of the court practices that are specially applied to juvenile

delinquents.

Nevertheless, this correctional system has never been seriously questioned: Is it achieving what it is purported to achieve with juvenile delinquents? While some interesting studies have been carried out in Algeria, no study has ever attempted to give a detailed description of the programmes of rehabilitation of the institutions and the probation service and to test their effects on their clients. Therefore, this research can be considered as a first attempt to take into consideration many important issues closely related to the

present Algerian correctional system as it is applied to juvenile delinquents.

Aims

The first and principal aim of this research is to shed light on the reality of what is being done to juvenile

delinquents. We propose to give a detailed description about the way juvenile delinquents are dealt with in institutions and in probation offices. Our purposes are to identify some of the main problems and difficulties which face the institutional staff and probation officers, as well as their reactions and the reactions of their clients.

The second principal aim is to question the effectiveness of these two systems of rehabilitation by attempting a first level of evaluation. A third aim of this work is to report upon some of the recent efforts of developed countries in dealing with juvenile delinquents.

Structure of the Thesis
The present thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part is essentially descriptive and is divided into four chapters.

The first chapter gives an outline of some of the institutional methods and techniques of rehabilitation which are in use in some developed countries. It summarises some insights achieved from the experiences of developed countries in dealing with juvenile delinquents in institutions.

Chapter 2 attempts to draw lessons from the work of the probation and after-care services in developed countries and discusses the emerging role of community service.

Chapter 3 attempts to explain evaluation research: its definition, methodological approaches and their limitations, as well as the role of evaluation in the shaping of policy.

Chapter 4 sketches the major socio-cultural changes which have occurred in Algerian society since Independence and their contribution to an explanation of the origins of delinquency. It also reflects upon the universal causes of delinquency.

The second main part of the thesis is mainly practical and is concerned with the management of juvenile delinquents in Algeria. So, the first chapter of this part - Chapter 5 - reports the main court practices which are applied to juvenile delinquents, their latest developments, and criticisms of them.

Chapter 6 describes a particular institutional programme of rehabilitation and its main problems. It also summarizes the results of a first evaluation study of this programme.

Chapter 7 describes a probation programme of rehabilitation and the results of an attempt to evaluate its effects on probationers.

Chapter 8 - the final chapter - offers a critique of the present arrangements for the management of delinquency in Algeria, and outlines some recommendations for the future.

This is a general description of the contents of this thesis which hopefully will inform the reader about the true face of the Algerian experience in dealing with juvenile delinquents, about the possibilities for developing its correctional system, wherever appropriate by making use of the experiences of other countries in this field.

L Institutional Care

1.1 Introduction

It is not possible in the course of one chapter to give more than an outline of all the techniques and methods relevant to rehabilitation and treatment of institutionalized juvenile delinquents. Nevertheless, it is important to delineate some of the major developments as they   been integrated into the practices of many countries.

There is little doubt that the recent shift from punishment to rehabilitation could be considered as warranted and necessary, not only because it is more humane but also because it represents an appropriate response to the years of accumulated evidence indicating the failure of exclusively punitive approaches.

Many societies came, through their experience of many kinds of agencies that deal with offenders, to believe in a different philosophy, namely, that young offenders should no longer be considered as lawbreakers in need of punishment and deterrence but as children with social and psychological problems in need of treatment or rehabilitation.

Since the introduction of institutions for young offenders as an alternative to imprisonment, the philosophy of dealing with inmates has seen a great deal of development. The change owes much to the remarkable development of the different disciplines of psychotherapy, behavioural therapy, social work, and so on.

This chapter summarizes some of the main practical methods and techniques involved in the institutional processes of

rehabilitating young offenders. It will refer to such topics as the criteria for selection for institutionalization, reception procedures, classification of offenders, rehabilitation and treatment.

1.2 Criteria for Selection

Once a youngster is brought before a court for an offence, there are some practical procedures which are typically followed by sentencers in order to establish his eligibility for a type of treatment or rehabilitation best suited to his needs. In many societies the opinion of the court is the most important in deciding whether a given young offender should be taken away from home and the community.

The juvenile court may be convinced that the institution is the only way of dealing with young offenders. This happens particularly in societies where other forms of dealing with juvenile delinquents are not sufficiently developed to provide evidence about their efficiency and effectiveness. In some courts the decision whether an offender is to be removed from home is not based on a careful consideration of the psychological and social context, but is primarily dependent on the number and severity of offences. It is probably true to say that many juveniles are sent to institutions when, if their cases had been more fully examined at the outset, they could have been dealt within other ways.

Many researchers consider that there are criteria which can be used when deciding whether a child should be removed from home and the community at large. Edwards (1976) suggests that young

people who are candidates for institutionalization fall broadly into the following three groups:

    a. "the majority will have long histories of disturbed behaviour, some almost from the cradle. They can be described as having severe personality and character disorders. We would see them as fragmented, poorly put together as far as their emotional stability is concerned, and unable to accept the community as the community is unable to tolerate them.

    b.   There is also a very small group of young people who are more delinquent than disturbed and see nothing wrong in their behaviour and criminal activities, which are fully supported by both their families and their home environment.

    c.   Then there is the smaller group of young people who have committed very serious offences and may need to be held in an institution" (p.8).

He further suggests that the admission of young people to an institution is strongly indicated if their behaviour evidently shows that when they are allowed out, even under supervision, it is likely to be as threatening to the community as it was before they were admitted.

Further, apart from the careful examination of the offender's personality the juvenile court is provided with a detailed account about the home situation of the offender in order to effectively guide its decision. Jones (1979) says:

"At one time, a dirty and disordered home was all that was required but gradually emotional factors in the child's home life would begin to be seen as more significant. A squalid home, in itself, would be treated as important only if it involved a risk to the child's health, or was hampering his progress, for instance at school, and towards the goals for social work with him" (p.36).

Today's courts are provided with a detailed social inquiry which focuses especially on the family situation, its emotional characteristics, the offender's personality along with medical and psychiatric reports as appropriate to the case.

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It is believed that removing the child from home only puts the problem into cold storage. Parent-parent and parent-child relationships can only be realistically improved while the parties are in touch with each other and able to learn from current experiences how to understand and to tolerate each other.

Institutionalization is increasingly becoming the last resort of the court, especially when sentencers know that there is mounting evidence about the ineffectiveness of institutional treatment of young offenders. Therefore, after careful consideration the court will send a child to an institution only when all other alternatives are unsuitable for the needs, care treatment or rehabilitation of the child. Stanfield (1978) notes in this context:

> "Sentence to a detention centre is a special form of punishment to be used only after the most careful considerations" (p.9).

1.3 Reception Procedures

Any offender who is entering an institution for the first time may have some expectations about the way youngsters are dealt with. These expectations are a consequence of the explanations given to him at the court and his own ideas which reflect the social opinions about institutions for juvenile offenders.

There is reason to believe that the way a child is received more or less determines the value of his future stay in the institution. In this context (Tutt, 1974) argues:

> for a child, entering an institution is a traumatic experience followed in many instances by a great amount of anxiety. The staff have a responsibility to attempt to

lessen this anxiety. Consequently, if one could lower the
child's anxiety on admission this would enable him to settle
down and establish close personal relationships with the
staff earlier in his career" (p.66).
On reception young people have to be detached from their

pre-institutional roles and identifications, and have to be '

reshaped' to enable them to adjust to the life-style of a total

institution (Howard, 1979). The high amount of anxiety which

follows admission is believed to be the target of the first step

of the process of rehabilitation of any offender. If the staff

succeed in reducing the inmate's anxiety in the crucial first

period that follows his admission, when the boy is at great risk

of absconding, the steps of the whole process of rehabilitation

which follow, become less complicated.

A high proportion of inmates who abscond from the

institution, find themselves unable to adjust to the

institutional environment. This may be due to failure on

the part of the staff to help the inmates immediately upon

their admission to understand the rules and standards of

the new environment.

Clarke and Martin suggest some practical procedures aimed

at reducing the chances of absconding. These include:

1. a conscious clinical study of each newcomer so that he
can be placed in the dormitory, classroom, workshop best
fitted to his needs;

2. the deployment of extra staff to familiarize the boy
as quickly as possible with the school routine; and

3. the establishment of effective communications with
the boy's home.

In brief, the institutional staff has a great responsibility

in helping the inmates to accept and adjust to the institutional environment.

1.4 Classification of Offenders.

The process of classifying offenders in an institution begins at the court where their selection is done. The admission board does well to remember that in deciding to admit any offender, they are also making a decision about the composition of the inmate population of the institution, and this must inevitably affect how it operates. In other words, any institution may only accept offenders who fulfil the required personal characteristics prior to their admission. These personal characteristics are set by the staff in light of the nature of the institution and their philosophy for dealing with the clients. If, for instance, an offender requires intensive psychological treatment and the institution does not provide this kind of facility, it would be better if this offender was admitted to another residential institution where his needs could be better satisfied.

Even in countries where only public institutions exist, there may be scope for allocating to different institutions with those requirements in mind. Where this is not possible, as pointed out by Howard (1979), the smaller groups into which all residential institutions of any size are divided can provide a basis for purposive grouping.

Further, it is widely agreed that offenders are rather diverse individuals, despite the similarities which may exist between them. The aim of classifying offenders into groups

within a given institution would, therefore, be to decrease the

probability of grouping extremely different kinds of offenders

together. Warren (1971) wrote in this context:

> "-. efficient and effective management in an institutional
> setting involves protecting those who are weak from those
> who are strong; those with relatively non-delinquent
> orientations from those with strong delinquent orientations;
> those who are easily agitated from those who agitate, and
> those who are non-homosexuals from those who are
> homosexuals" (pp.242-243).

Classification may, according to Palmer (1984), be defined as

follows:

> "-. a way of locating, organizing and summarizing the
> differences and similarities so that their main
> implications for rehabilitation become clear" (p.256).

He further suggests that in order to help achieve the goals

of rehabilitation such differences and similarities should

be reflected in planning decisions regarding:

> a.   the principal tasks that should be accomplished with
>   each particular group or 'category' of offenders;
>
> b.   the personal and/or environmental areas that should
>   be focused on; and
>
> c.   the approach, for example, techniques and programme
>   components that help teachers and social workers as
>   well as offenders focus on those areas and accomplish
>   those tasks.

The inmates can be classified according to a set of

categories after a careful study of his personality from many

standpoints. The personality-type dimension, for instance,

comprises the following categories: the 'asocial',

'conformist', 'manipulator', or 'neurotic' (Palmer,1984). This

differentiation and distinction of categories depends

systematically on the knowledge gained in the study

of typologies of the delinquent personality.

The classification of offenders in a given category, as pointed out by Palmer (1984), can have many advantages such as:

1. a reasonable base or point of departure for future examination;

2. general direction and at least a set of guidelines;

3. plus 'opening moves' that are likely to prove worthwhile for the type of individual in question." (p.299).

To sum up, classification of offenders in an institutional setting may be an important step towards effective treatment and rehabilitation of inmates. Because, the good functioning of a given institution depends, more or less, on the way offenders are classified in groups, dormitories, classrooms, workshops and so forth.

1.5 Some general components of institutional programmes

1.5.1 Introduction

It is very difficult specifically to determine what is going on in an institution when it comes to accounting for any institutional programme. Despite the noticeable similarities, there is still considerable variation from one institution to another in the emphasis placed on the basic philosophy of their programmes.

Two different general terms may apply in this context: "training" and "treatment". The first is generally held to imply the belief that delinquents are most in need of training in social, education and vocational skills, while the second implies the belief that they are most in need of the diagnosis and treatment of underlying problems of personal and interpersonal

adjustment (Cornish and Clarke, 1975). Obviously, many combinations of the two approaches exist.

This section, however, will focus on the elements which are generally used in institutional setting for young offenders such as punishment, education, vocational training, recreation and so on.

1.5.2 Punishment

Though many specialists in the field of correction no longer believe that punishment is effective in preventing further unlawful behaviour, it is still one of the fundamental elements of many institutional programmes of 'correction'. Punishment is usually used for the maintenance of discipline and to instil respect for the standards of the institution, as well as to keep an orderly life within the group and the entire institution.

Punishment is, therefore, used as a restrictive element in the institution. Many institutions may be over-restrictive in nature and, thus, do not give any real chance to inmates to display their anti-social behaviour and attitudes. Palmer (1904) says that any institutional staff must allow the offender to display his anti-social attitudes before the attempt at re-education can be made.

In brief, the use of punishment depends entirely on the philosophy followed in an institution and its prescribed goals with offenders.

1.5.3 Education

Education is the key programme for most of those committed to a youth institution. Learning to read and write, to think and to converse intelligently are essential features of successful rehabilitation. Acquiring such skills not only prepares the individual to work in a respectable occupation, but it enhances his self-respect and confidence, and assists him in his ability to make friends, broaden his interests, and handle his daily problems.

Unfortunately, teaching is not a task which can be easily accomplished with inmates. They have a firm conviction that they can not learn from books or newspapers. For most of them the fact of being in a classroom is very stupid. The teacher is their old enemy, and the very word 'school' makes them feel bored.

Thus, teachers are encouraged to initiate and develop teaching schemes based on the individual needs of the young inmate. This is, as emphasized by Tutt (1974), absolutely

necessary if the educational process is to have any value because of the wide variations in intelligence, motivation, and ability within any class of the institutional school.

Further, patience, ingenuity and dedication are strongly required in order for the institutional teacher to be able to overcome the inmates' resistance and to help them discover that they can really learn. So, the inmate may discover abilities and interests which he was unaware of before entering the

institution. With such awareness comes the feeling of hope which

is a prelude to establishing and struggling to
achieve appropriate goals.

1.5.4 Vocational training.
      Most of the youths come to the institution with the hope of
acquiring a trade to allow them to find a respectable job after
release. It is in the work programme that much of what the staff
hope to achieve with the youths will take place. So, the first
step of the process is to gain the confidence of inmates and try
to foster their need to identify with the instructor. Because, if
they identify with him they learn to accept work not only as
inevitable but as a source of joy and satisfaction. Thus, the
staff would have reason to feel hopeful of developing the kind of
personal identity that inmates must have in order to become
contributing members of society.

      Accordingly, training could have such positive
psychological effects, if it is consciously applied for
these purposes. Tutt (1974) says in this context:

> "training .- should not be seen merely as providing formal
> skills; it also needs to be experientially based in order
> to give the individual greater understanding of the
> situation of the client" (p.211).

However, some problems do exist, but can be easily avoided
in order for any vocational programme to be successful. The first
of these problems is mainly concerned with the quality of trade
training provided by the institution; if the institution
establishes a fixed vocational training programme and persists in
training inmates for trades that are no longer appropriate, they
may never be able to find a job after release.

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The second problem is concerned with the fact that the institution may well succeed in teaching a boy some useful skills in a given trade, but it would be of no use if he is returned to a city where the rate of unemployed school leavers is constantly increasing (Tutt, 1974).

In consequence, policy makers and directors of institutions may avoid this kind of problems simply by up-dating the trades which are available in the institutions. It is also desirable if the changes in the trades are realized in accordance with the needs of society.

1.5.5 Recreation

There is a wide range of activities which can be used for different recreational purposes within or outside the institution. Sports and games are among these activities and their value as a way of dissipating tension is well recognized. Howard (1979) says:

> "the institution which does not provide adequate outlets for the physical energies of young people is asking for trouble. Because the limitations imposed by the four walls of the institution restrict the amount of physical activity which is possible for residents in the course of their daily lives, or even required in order to secure the necessities of life, this becomes a very specific activity-deprivation in the institutional setting" (p.111).

Consequently, it is of prime importance that the institution provides a daily programme with varied activities adequately selected for its clients. This kind of programme is usually used as 'back-up' reinforcers in institutions where methods of behaviour modification are applied. In fact, this method is well

known, particularly in the United States and England, for the positive results it can realize.

Amongst the purposes of these activities Serok and Blum (1979) identify the following:

1. a means of teaching problem-solving behaviour;

2. a vehicle for teaching youngsters how to channel and control aggression;

3. a means of teaching youths to accept social responsibility and to anticipate the consequences of their behaviour.

Recreation is a very important aspect of any institutional programme. The use of different groups or individual activities can not only have a therapeutic value, but can be a means of socializing inmates, teaching them social skills, social responsibility and most importantly give them a chance to achieve some insights about their abilities which previously were unknown to them. In sum, when a child participates in an interesting and friendly game as an individual or with a group, it is actually a great opportunity for him; first to learn how to spend his time even after his release, and second to develop his self-esteem and self-respect.

1.5.6 Contacts with the outside world

Contacts with the outside world of the institution can be achieved/maintained in two different ways.

The first way is through the visits of parents, relatives, friends, probation officers. These persons may all be encouraged to make frequent visits to keep inmates in close contact with the outside world and with their immediate environment.

Probation officers specialized in after-care service are advised to visit their future clients for many purposes: to study their personality, to help them accept their situation inside the institution, and more importantly, to attempt to establish a close relationship with inmates so that their task becomes less difficult once the offender is sent on probation for after-care.

The second manner in which contacts with the outside world may bC realized is of a different nature. Howard Jones (1979) explains:

> "A policy of encouraging residents to spend more of their time outside the institution can be made selective in this sense. The amount of exposure can be graduated to the individual client's ability to sustain it and benefit from it, and presumably increases gradually as that discharge into the community is only the last step in a continuous process of social reconnection" (p.93).

To conclude, contacts with the outside world can be of a therapeutic value, if institutional staff can use it for the social benefit of offenders in a rational and purposive manner.

1.6 Behaviour Modification in Institutional Settings

The philosophy of treating offenders has been for many years based on clinical methods, such as psychotherapy, psychiatry and so on. Lipton et al. (1975) have reviewed the outcomes of a wide range of these clinical methods and found that their effect on offenders was varied but in general unsatisfactory.

The conventional techniques, such as psychoanalytically oriented therapy, client centred therapy, and multiple eclectic methods were, as concluded by Juan and Gatti (1972), inadequate for the treatment of delinquents and criminals. Likewise, Brown and Christie (19e1) quite recently pointed out that young

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criminals given psychotherapy had responded no better than untreated peers, and several extensive surveys had shown that psychiatric treatment of any kind had no measurable ameliorative effect on subsequent court appearances of young offenders.

The last few decades, however, have seen a shift from conventional methods of treatment to more sophisticated techniques of dealing with offenders - probation and community service, social work, behavioural modification - which are becoming widely used in the field of correction. Nevertheless, the task facing any residential care service is, firstly, to become aware of what 'technology' is available and, secondly, to apply this technical base to the problem of delivering an appropriate and effective service in the realistic and practical context in which that service is offered.

As a result, it may be useful to refer in some detail to one of these techniques which has given strong evidence about its positive effect, not only in institutions for offenders, but in medical and psychiatric settings as well.

1.6.2 Social learning theory: a definition.
    Social learning theory is a contemporary behavioural therapy used particularly in residential settings. Delinquency in the view of this theory is the result of poor learning of social skills which are necessary for the good and adaptive behavioural functioning of the individual offender. It implies that delinquents do not have a sufficient adaptive repertoire of skills, in particular social, for coping with day to day living. Their learning experiences in the context of inner city decay

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especially has provided reinforcement for delinquent rather than non-delinquent behaviours (e.g. Brown and Christie, 1981).

In addition, while conventional methods of treatment are most interested in historical events that generate a child's behaviour, the social learning model focuses specifically on what is happening now (e.g., what can the individual do in this specific situation). Most emphasis is placed on the consequences which follow from the behaviour. Consequently, the strategy employed is based on an assessment of the relevant factors in the youngster's social environment, and not on an historical analysis of the problem -particularly not on speculative statements about the link between earlier experiences and current problems. By focusing on the 'here and now', one is able to eliminate the problem behaviour, and/or replace it with adaptive behaviour, and evaluate the effects of his strategy of intervention. There is a wide range of techniques which can be identified in this method, some of them are presented in what follows.

1.6.3 Reinforcement
We are all familiar with the use of reinforcement in our daily life. Parents, for instance, get their children to behave in a given way by buying them particular things or allowing them to engage in some enjoyable pastime after they have performed that behaviour. Spiegler (1983) says:

> "to reinforce is to strengthen, and the term reinforcement
> refers to strengthening a behaviour, in the sense that it
> will be likely to recur. The strength of a behaviour is
> measured by its frequency of occurrence" (p.114).

In other words, reinforcement is a way of strengthening a given behaviour, so that it becomes frequent even after the reinforcer is withdrawn.

There are two types of reinforcement: positive and negative.

1. Positive reinforcement: the frequency of a behaviour is increased when it is followed by the presentation of some event. The event the individual receives for performing the behaviour is called a positive reinforcer. For example, a young man tells more jokes because those around him laughed at the first one.

2. Negative reinforcement: this category refers to the increase in the frequency of a behaviour when the behaviour is followed by the removal or avoidance of an event. The event is called a negative reinforcer. For example, new parents quickly learn to attend to their infant's needs when doing so makes the baby stop crying: "Attending to the baby" increases because the parents thus stop or avoid the unpleasantness of listening to their baby crying (Spiegler, 1983).

Further, there are five major categories of positive reinforcers; these are as follows:

1. Commodities: e.g., favourite foods, fashionable and/or comfortable clothes, toys, books, jewellery etc.

2. Activities: e.g., going shopping, playing games, reading, talking to friends etc.

3. Social reinforcers: e.g., praise, approval of others, friendly gestures, physical contact (firm handshake, hug,

pat on the back) and frequently just attention (e.g., talking to a person, maintaining eye contact etc.).

4.   Feedback: feedback, or information about one's behaviour, can serve as a reinforcer. If clients know that they are performing target behaviour correctly, this knowledge by itself sometimes leads to an increase in the target behaviour.

5.   Token reinforcers: another major category of positive reinforcers, have no intrinsic value but nonetheless are valued because of what they can be exchanged for or because of what they stand for. Examples of token reinforcers that are valued by virtue of what they signify include a good grade, a trophy, a college diploma.

The two most common types of incentives or 'contingency management' systems used in behavioural programmes in the crime and delinquency area are the 'token economy' and the 'behavioural contract' (Braukman et al. 1975). The following is a short explanation of the 'token economy'.

1.6.4 Token economy.
We have seen how important it is that a reinforcer follows immediately the performance of a target behaviour. However, this is not always the case in all situations, particularly when the reinforcer is not available at the time a target behaviour is performed (e.g., playing a particular game). What is needed, therefore, is a 'currency' to fill the gaps between the target behaviours and the rewards the child requires at the time. This

currency was called a 'token' (Brown and Christie, 1981;

Braukman, 1975; Spiegler, 1983).

The term token economy, thus, derives from the fact that

the child is reinforced with tokens that can be later exchanged

for items or events which he desires. These are called back-up

reinforcers. Therefore, a token economy system may be defined as

a structured environment in which clients earn token reinforcers

for performing acceleration target behaviours and exchange the

token for desired commodities, activities, and privileges (

Spiegler, 1983).

Token economy is a method which may be used to advantage in

situations where there are large numbers of clients and a small

number of staff members, because it offers a technology whereby a

few staff members are able to provide consistent reinforcement

for the adaptive behaviours of many clients. Hence a standard

list of desirable adaptive behaviours for which clients can earn

tokens must be anticipated, and the number of tokens that can be

earned for each appropriate behaviour is specified in advance.

The tokens can be spent on back-up reinforcers each of which has

a designated token cost.

1.6.5 Criticism and conclusion

Some of the objections which have been raised against

this method are mainly based on ethical and humanitarian

grounds such as:

- the popular issue of bribery. To bribe somebody, Brown

and Christie (1981) say, means to influence dishonestly, to

pervert judgement or to corrupt the conduct of the person

in a position of trust by means of some fraud.

- token systems for disturbed or troubled children are

inappropriate because they encourage the child to develop a

manipulative approach to life, rather than behaving

appropriately because of the self-satisfaction inherent in

such behaviour.

- tokens or reinforcers are used with children for

something which is normally expected of them and.-

so forth.

Nontheless, this method has been shown to be more effective

than standard treatments such as custodial care in psychiatric

hospitals and traditional practices. Comparative studies with

specific treatments suggest that the token economy can do better

than insight-oriented and relationship therapy, milieu therapy,

pharmacotherapy and a few other techniques (Silverstein et al.,

1974).

Token economies represent an effective and widely applicable

treatment modality; not only do they accelerate desirable and

adaptive behaviours and decelerate undesirable and maladaptive

behaviours, but also appear to increase client's self-esteem and

dignity (Spiegler, 1983).

Finally, it can be said that there is no magic formula for

dealing with offenders. It is only by continuous hard work as

well as evaluation and research that aim at developing existing

methods that any type of treatment and rehabilitation will become effective with offenders.

1.7. Social Work in Institutional Settings.

Another method of dealing with offenders in an institution is called 'social work'. This method is appropriate not only for the treatment or rehabilitation of inmates, but for efficient organization and functioning of the entire institution. In this form of treatment, the staff are to have a warm, human, friendly and understanding relationship with the inmates, and attempt to empathize with their stresses and problems and to understand their ways of reasoning and reacting.

In a social work based institution, inmates would be encouraged to communicate freely.   This would constitute a way of releasing tensions and is a possible way of directly influencing life in the institution. Encouragement of free communication, as pointed out by Vodopivec (1974), has a special therapeutic value for asocial juveniles, for most of them are inhibited and tense about expressing themselves. This is an expression of their disturbance in the area of social relationships; it inhibits a rapid and successful social

maturation.

The task of a social worker in a residential setting is, therefore, (amongst other things) concerned with the development of a daily programme for his clients. In doing so, institutional social workers try to organize life in the institution in such a way that inmates can have different opportunities to express themselves in a free and sincere manner. Thus, they would

experience real warm and humane relationships which they were
partially or wholly refused in the past, and get their share of
the responsibility with the staff members with respect to the
quality in which the institution functions.

It is desirable that social workers remember that this is
not a simple task to achieve. As Kate (1[4]967) explains, the
handling of offenders for the purpose of rehabilitation is one of
the most difficult tasks of social work. The worker who is
engaged in such an enterprise must not only have a sufficient
training to equip him for the task, but also the personal
qualities which make such work possible.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter is mainly concerned with reviewing in a simple
way some of the techniques which could be used in the process of
rehabilitation in institutions. It has summarized the range of
typical current beliefs about the management of young offenders.

The first point emphasizes that any institutional programme
of rehabilitation would start at least a few weeks before the
court's decision is made. A detailed social inquiry report could
be a facilitator to any juvenile court in its decision-making.
Young offenders are not to be removed from their homes for the
gravity of their offence, or just because institutions exist and
should be filled by youngsters.

In addition, classification of offenders in the institution
can have great effect on the organization, rehabilitation and
control. Education, vocational training, recreation facilities,

contacts with the outside world are the major activities
which could applied in any institutional setting.

In order to be effective and successful in treating their
clients, the institutional staff might, firstly, implement a
similar environment, not to that of the home, but that of a real
social environment. It is, obviously, absurd to think about
establishing a home environment in an institution for it may be
perceived both by staff members and inmates as an artificial
environment which, consequently, cause artificial behaviour that
will soon disappear after release.

Institutional treatment or rehabilitation of offenders have
been very unsuccessful and very expensive. Therefore, its use
becomes desirable only when the eligibility of any case is fully
established. Even when an offender fulfils the requirements of
his removal from the community, it is desirable that the period
of institutionalization is cut short and followed by a period of
after-care which is preferably carried through by the probation
office for as long as the ex-inmate and his family are in need of
help and support.

Finally, most offenders are likely to respond positively,
if they are kept and dealt with in some normal environment. Thus,
probation and after care service and/or simply community service
are believed to be the most rational contemporary alternative
both to imprisonment and residential care.

2. Probation and After-care Service

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the development of the probation and after-care services in developed countries. It is largely descriptive and attempts only to summarize the main threads of the probation and after-care services.

It has been demonstrated through evaluative research in many societies that imprisonment and residential care, both of juveniles and adults, are generally not effective in dealing with offenders, for example, by decreasing the likelihood of reappearance before the courts. In consequence, it has been suggested that many offenders would probably respond better to treatment in other circumstances than in closed residential establishments.

The search for, and the development of, alternatives to custodial measures has resulted in the introduction of a new non-custodial service (among many others) called 'Probation and After-care'. Research which has compared it with custodial measures has found varying results. In some instances the probation service is seen as slightly more successful than custody, but in others no significant differences can be found. However, no research has found custodial measures to be more effective than probation (Lawrie, 1978). Further, reviewers argue that even when the evidence merely shows that the noncustodial methods are no less effective than custodial methods, the former are still to be preferred on both economic and humanitarian grounds.

As a consequence, the probation service has gained, through the years, a good reputation and it has come to provide an indisputable alternative to custodial measures, not only for the positive results it realized with many categories of offenders, but the different social services it provides for courts, offenders and their families, and the community at large.

Generally speaking, probation and after service is based on three different and complementary tasks. These are:

- the preparation of social inquiries for sentencers;
- the supervision of offenders; and
- after care.

Nevertheless, during the last few years the probation service has seen a shift towards a more comprehensive and probably more effective way of dealing with offenders; this is community service. This idea, as it will be explained further, came to emphasize the role of the community as a powerful and efficient co-agent of the probation service in the rehabilitation of offenders.

2.2   The Sentencing Process

In the past, the process of sentencing was relatively simple: the punishment fitted well the type and degree of seriousness of the offence and the offender's culpability. Over the last few decades, however, there has been a shift towards more humane and sensitive sentences.

Nowadays, sentencers tend to consider many elements in addition to the specifics of the particular offence. Amongst the particular elements they have to consider are the following:

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the general band of sentences for the type of offence; the

prevalence of offences of this type; the possible effect of a

particular sentence on public opinion and on others who might

be contemplating a similar act; the offender's past criminal

history; his social situation; the likelihood of him re-
offending. Once these and other elements of more specific

relevance to the particular case are considered, they then have to

find a sentence that fits the whole constellation of elements

better than any other alternative. Sentencers should welcome any

assistance they might be able to receive in this 'balancing act' (

Perry and Wells, 1979).

The cardinal principle is that a sentence should be based

on comprehensive and reliable information which is relevant to

the objectives in the court's mind. For this, the court will

need the assistance of the probation office which has the

responsibility and the privilege to provide the necessary

information by undertaking a social inquiry about any given

case at the request of the court.

2.3   The Social Inquiry Report
      One of the major and most important tasks of any probation

office is to prepare social inquiry reports for courts. Reports

are concerned with individual offenders, and are prepared by

members of agencies which have a varying amount of independence

from the court.

The aim of any reporting system is nominally identical to

that of any other one: reports are prepared to assist courts in

making decisions on sentences (Mathieson, 1978; Perry and Wells,

1979). In addition, they are to assist the court in determining the most suitable method of dealing with offenders.

There are, however, multiple guidelines for the preparation and presentation of social inquiry reports. The first of these is the process of inquiring.

2.3.1 The process of inquiry

Gathering as much relevant information as possible about the offender who is the subject of the inquiry could be seen, at first sight, as the primary concern of any probation officer. Though many officers may have the necessary experience and expertise in these circumstances, they have to always keep in mind that any given offender is a specific case which would necessitate different skills.

In addition, the process of inquiry is not one which is usually welcome; it can be perceived as a threat, an intrusion; it can arouse in the subject of the inquiry intense hostility or a totally resigned and helpless submission (Herbert, 1975). In order to be able to cope with these varying feelings and responses and to make the inquiry a human and meaningful process, the officer needs to be prepared and well-trained in disciplines such as social case work.

Nevertheless, some of the matters which the officer must attend before he undertakes his task are listed by Herbert (1975) as follows:

- the court in which the offender is to appear and when.
- the length of time available to prepare the report.
- the type and nature of the offence.

- when was it committed?

- is the offender on bail or in custody?

does there appear to be a crisis situation requiring immediate action?
- have other reports from other social of medical agencies been required?
- has the offender been know previously to the probation and after-care service?

The answers to all these questions and others will obviously make the officer's task that follows clearer and easier.

Further, among the three questions, suggested by Thorpe (1979), which can be asked when preparing a social inquiry, two are of relevance in this context: what sort of information is relevant? and where to obtain it?

There are many factors which the enquirer should concentrate on while preparing his report. All that is related to the offender: his personality, his social and material situation, his criminal background, his family, his intra-family relations, characteristics of the area where he lives are but a few among a long list of factors which are necessary for the preparation of a social inquiry. In order not to omit any piece of information which would be necessary for the case, it is advisable that a reminder note-book in which a list of all the relevant and necessary factors should, at all times, be in possession of officers while inquiring.

Furthermore, there are many places in which to seek the information necessary for the completion of a report. In addition to the many occasions on which both the officer and the offender meet, there is the family, the school, employer, social welfare agencies, physicians, psychiatrists (if the offender has

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a psychiatric history), and any other source which might be of assistance to the officer in providing information that can be useful for the completion of the report.

The offender should be invited, whenever possible, to be interviewed at the office, for here he is on neutral ground away from home and hence from any family interference. He should be given the opportunity, not only to discuss his offence and his general life situation in a calm and controlled atmosphere, but he should also be allowed to express his feelings and attitudes towards his life circumstances, and his family and towards crime and justice in such a way that the officer is able to gain insights into his character and personality.

When the circumstances necessitate it, however, the officer should make several visits. Hence, visiting the offender's home is of a great value and may bring valuable information. But, as stated by Herbert (1975):

> "-. the officer must take care not regularly to formulate opinions on just one visit; he should consider whether further visits are necessary in order to arrive at valid conclusions" (p.17).

Henceforth, visiting the offender during a remand in custody for a report is of great importance and can be very helpful, for both the offender and his family, for there will be practical and emotional problems in most cases. A relationship which begins, says Herbert, in such circumstances can later be productive. If the offender and his family see the officer as a caring person during a time of extreme crisis, then they will be enabled to form a relationship of trust with him when the crisis has eased.

In addition, where the offender is in an institution during the inquiry, it is desirable that the officer obtains the observations of the institution staff. If they are themselves required to submit a report to the court, it can be helpful for the officer to know the content of such reports in advance. For further information the officer's task could be extended to the following: schools, employers, youth clubs (if any), and other institutions or departments which have happened to come in close contact with the offender for one reason or another.

Also important is the high sensitivity on the part of the officer in charge of making a report, to the presence of mental, emotional, or physical factors in the subject of the inquiry which may in some form have contributed to the commission of the offence which caused his court appearance.

To sum up briefly, the process of inquiry is not an easy task to realize with objectivity. Indeed, it calls for a variety of social and psychological skills, and deep theoretical

knowledge of the causes of delinquency.

2.3.2. Variation in reports
The accuracy and relevance of the social inquiry report depends almost entirely upon the individual skill and experience of the officer. It is appreciated that even at the best level, ' there are wide variations from one individual to another, and there is no claim to be 'scientific' (Monger, 1972). In other words, the coverage a report gives to an offender's background varies considerably from officer to officer and there is also some variation within reports written by the same person. The

variation obviously, depends on the officer's experience and status in the service and on the particular characteristics of individual cases.

In addition, there is a variety of factors which can influence the officer during the inquiry and thus make each report a different piece of work. Some of these factors are

identified by Thorpe (1979), who enumerates them as follows:
- The constraints under which he operates;

- what he feels to be the aim of the social inquiry

report;
- his beliefs about the causes of crime;

- the quality of his relationship with the offender

during the preparation of the report.
The variation among reports is recognized both by officers and courts. It is, obviously, desirable for reports to be similar in their content and aims. For this, the court and the probation service should, first of all, understand each other's objectives and then work in close collaboration to bring a standardized report into operation which should be realizable and fit the requirements of any given case and both the objectives of the court and the human face of the probation office (Perry and Wells, 1979).

2.3.3 Content and presentation of reports
Though there is a difference between the process of inquiry and the way reports are presented in that each of them requires different skills, officers should be aware that the content of any report depends on the quality and quantity of information

that resulted from their endeavours during the inquiry. The way it is presented can have great impact on the decision of the court.

In addition to the fact that the fundamental aim of any report is to assist the court to come to a reasoned decision, it could also be a piece of intervention in a crisis situation, the beginning of a possible relationship, a diagnostic assessment to assist in future treatment (Perry and Wells, 1979). Content of reports, therefore, should be clearly related to their function. If their function is not clearly recognized, confusion in content is inevitable as there will be doubt as to what information is relevant. The style in which a report is organized and presented to the court is not standardized. However, as suggested by Perry and Wells, the material contained in reports may generally be divided into four categories:

1. Documentary information. This category of information is mainly historical and already exists in official records of one kind or another and so is fairly easily obtained if one knows where to look. Notice that it does not require sophisticated professional skills for its collection and presentation.

2. Supplementary information. This is of a different order. Its collection and presentation is regulated by a conception of what is relevant. This concept will depend on the values and stance of the person who collects the information, and will be influenced by the practice of the profession and the agency to which he belongs and the court that he serves.

3. Interpretation. This is of a different nature from the two first categories: although it might have been instrumental in selecting information for the latter category. Documentary and supplementary information is verifiable and may be agreed by all parties. Interpretation is speculative, and therefore is more open to question and examination. It is essentially professional material and its value and assessment is of a more subjective nature than the earlier categories of material and therefore less reliable.

4. Advice. This fourth category is very similar in nature to interpretative material, and is therefore conditioned by the philosophical and professional stance of its contributor. It is also affected, as the other categories, by practice habits.

This last category requires some specific knowledge relative to the law. Herbert (1975) says that in summarizing his conclusions and recommendations, the officer must have a full and accurate legal knowledge of the methods of disposal available in particular cases, and of the likely suitability of the individual for the various possibilities. This means that when making his recommendation, the officer must be sure that it is legally possible and socially realizable. The officer must therefore take care that his recommendation is both legal and practicable, otherwise he will damage his own and his service's reputation and credibility in the courts.

Furthermore, it is very important that the officer avoids, if possible, any technical vocabulary when presenting his report. In cases where it is impossible to avoid special terms a full explanation should be given in order to help the reader to gain an understanding of his report.

In sum, the organization and presentation of reports depends greatly on the officer's individual skills and his ability to express his ideas and beliefs in accordance with the needs of their clients for treatment or rehabilitation and with the aims of justice. It must be emphasized that unless both magistrates and probation officers or social workers share each other's perspectives about each other's objectives with offenders, there will be no positive development in refinement, objectivity and accuracy of reports which serve both the aims of the court and probation officers.

Finally, it will also be desirable if probation officers do not try to influence court's decisions by seeking to impose their own particular sets of values and beliefs on it (Limont, 1976). Officers therefore should stick to their noble task of illuminating the different issues to sentencers through their reports, so that their decisions could be objective and hopefully fit the needs and future of the individual offender.

2.4 Supervision
As has been stated in the previous section the aim of social inquiry reports is to assist the court in finding the most appropriate sentence for the offender.

Probation orders are not awarded to all categories of offenders. Courts consider supervision orders for all but the most serious offences associated with serious criminal records. For supervision orders, the offenders would need to be identified as those who might offend again unless support and guidance were given. It is believed that the goal of rehabilitating the offender to live his life and manage his affairs without reappearance before the court has a better chance of being achieved by supervising him in the community rather than by committing him to custody (Haxby, 1978).

Accordingly the probation order was defined by Harding (1987) as follows:

> a flexible measure which can be applied to meet the differing needs of offenders, whether high or low risk in terms of criminality. Its strengths lies not necessarily in the condition which are attached to the order, either negative or restrictive, but in the substance of the agreement between the probation officer and the offender and the demands that it makes on both parties" (p.7).

Therefore clients should be made aware of what is expected of them in terms of frequency of contacts, home visits and in what circumstances they may be in danger of being breached. It implies that the probationer is required to be cooperative and responsible for his behaviour immediately after the sentence is declared.

The probation order can be perceived as a beneficial risk for the probationer, his supervisor and the court. As Samuels (1978) clearly explains, from a magistrate perspective:

> with any luck probation will enable the offender to keep out of further trouble, especially further crime. If probation works, there is no offence or breach during the order, well and good, I was right. If probation fails, if there is an offence or breach at least I gave him a chance,

and on his reappearance I can sentence him for the original offence, and if necessary take a tough line (e.g., heavy fine or even custody) although intellectually I think I am aware (if I remember) that rehabilitation is a slow process likely to be spattered with lapses" (p.21).

Further, it has to be emphasized that a probation order in itself can sometimes have a strong positive effect on the probationer. In some cases the very fact of having someone on probation is sufficient help in itself, in that the person will have been saved from going to prison. In others, the simple act of talking with clients may be enough.

Furthermore, officers should have the ability to employ a range of approaches and to identify when each is appropriate. This is to say that probation officers should be equipped with skills from differing disciplines particularly in social casework which is widely used in these circumstances. Brown (1964) describes casework as follows:

"a helping activity which is made up of a very large number of minor activities ranging from giving of material assistance, through listening, suggesting, advising and the setting of limits, to the making of comments that encourage the client to express or suppress his feelings, to examine his situation or to see connections between his present attitudes and behaviour and past experiences -. the case worker's skill lies in his ability to discriminate and employ those techniques that will most exactly meet his client's needs as they change according to his situation and the particular occasion" (p.35).

Although social casework could be regarded as essential for working with offenders, it is nowadays a limited problem-solving tool. Hill W9710 re-states this phrase in a more fashionable manner by saying:

"If the problem we tackle is multi-faceted and complex, does that not argue for a variety of flexible techniques and methods?" (p.3).

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He goes on to say that if we want to increasingly influence
offenders, we must not only further develop the tools we have
but also extend our methods and become masters of a range of
skills.

Now, probation officers would have to spend a significant
amount of time talking to their clients and using different
skills in order to identify some common conversational ground.
Because if both the officer and his client fail after
considerable efforts to produce a response, the relationship
can become embarrassing and thus may end by an eventual
further offence.

However, there would be no positive results if the
probation officer, for some reason, see his clients only
on a few occasions. Kirwin (1985) says in this context:

> "I would contend that you (officer) are likely to have a
> rather marginal place in someone's life if you tend to see
> them (probationers) for less time than they spend talking to
> the hairdresser or greengrocer" (pp.44-45).

It may take weeks before the probation officer can achieve
the probationer's trust and confidence. It is only then that he
may be able to go deeper in his diagnostic process and eventually
discover the real problems which lay behind his appearance before
the court.

Very often, however the family emerges as the key
factor. Ireland and Dawees (1975) say:

> "Probation officers are often faced with people whose
> problems relate to their family situation and where there is
> an investment in maintaining the delinquent role of the
> client. In such a situation to help him at the expense of
> the family, will put another member into the scapegoat role"
> (pp.13-14).

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They further identify some criteria for selection of suitable families for therapy and which are useful to mention here:

> The most obvious is a situation where the client appears to be acting out impulses which cannot be coped with by other members of the family, and where a scapegoat is needed in order for it to function.

2.   Where problems arise from poor communication, often resulting in double messages being sent.

3.   Where there is a need to facilitate family inter-action.

4.   Where dysfunctional alignments exist between various family members: for example a situation where an adolescent boy has a very protective relationship with his mother, and lack of identification with his father.

5.   Where a di fficult marital situation is having its effects on other members of the family" (pp.113-114).

Therefore, the offender would only be a mirror which reflects the real problems that actually lie in the heart of his family. Yet working with families is not an easy task. It requires different techniques which use the family to allow the individual to grow, rather than attempting to deal with the individual's inner world and through him to affect change in his environment.

Questions of whether, when and how, to work with the probationer's family depend entirely upon how much the family is involved in the offender's past and present situation, and the philosophy and feelings of the officer. Once the decision is made about involving the family in the process, the probation officer should then be capable of choosing the appropriate approach which could be used with that specific case. Monger (1972) suggests three different approaches to work with families:

"1. The first focuses essentially upon the individual
   probationer, seeing other members of the family as of
   importance as they relate to him, and as attention to
   his problems uncovers them as relevant.

2. The second approach, however, attempts to deal with
   it by regarding the infra-family relationships as
   significant, whether or not they relate to the
   probationer.

3. The third approach with families differs from the
   other two in that it sees the family itself as the
   unit for treatment; the individual who produces
   the "problem" cannot but be recognized as such,
   but from the start he is seen as a symptom of
   family disequilibrium, and he attracts his share
   of help equally with other members of the family"
   (pp.115- 121).

This last mentioned approach is explained with more details

by Johnson (1978).

It can be said in conclusion that the task of the probation

officer does not, in any way, consist of playing the agent who

secretly follows and observes the offender's (probationer's)

movements. It is, as it has been briefly explained in this section,

a more humanely oriented task essentially based on a warm and

friendly relationship with the probationer, as well as on

understanding, tolerance, flexibility, firmness, advice,

counselling, and so on.

Supervision demands, not merely some social work skills, but

different approaches to working with a probationer's families. It

is also necessary for the probation service to find some people

who might offer their help as volunteers. It can, further,

strengthen its rehabilitation strategies by establishing a

variety of contacts with social welfare agencies, job-finding

departments and any other private or public institution likely to

be of some help to probationers.

Supervising offenders in the community is a risk, a dangerous or a trivial one. It is a risk which probation officers must challenge by their _savoir-faire_ and by decreasing to zero the chances of seeing a probationer re-offending. The work of any probation officer does not stop at this point, but is extended beyond that scope to cover other forms of dealing with offenders such as after-care which is the subject of the next section.

2.5 After-Care

After a period of time spent in custody or an institutional setting, offenders need to be re-integrated into society and to lead their lives as normal citizens without re-offending. The process of re-integration is not free from difficulties which ex-inmates will have to surmount.

Bearing in mind the mounting evidence about how ineffective any institutional regime can be in achieving rehabilitative aims, there is no doubt that a period of supervision in the community, as part of the total process in which the balance shifts from institution to community, becomes important and necessary. It is clear that inmates do not readily return to society on an equal footing with their peers after release from custody or correctional programmes (Barton and Sarri, 1979). The process of imprisonment or institutionalization imposes social, psychological and material handicaps on them which make it difficult even for the well-intentioned to resume a normal and

independent life in society.

As a consequence, after-care services were introduced with the objective of completing the process of rehabilitation which has been started in the institution. Haxby (1978) regards after-care as:

> "-. a form of positive discrimination in favour of a group of clients who, as a result of their custodial experience, are socially disadvantaged and stigmatized" (p.259).

Further, its prime purpose in the community is to offer the discharged inmate the friendship, guidance and moral support that he needs in order to surmount the various difficulties that he may face in the outside world. It is believed that offenders can only reach fulfilment if in harmony with society. Therefore, the after-care process aiming at the reintegration of ex-inmates in society concentrates on organizing and developing existing rehabilitative skills in neighbourhoods tackling factors that promote juvenile crime, educating the public to the predicament of discharged offenders and encouraging a community to feel responsible for them (Seddon, 1975).

Furthermore, the involvement of voluntary organizations and individual volunteers in the work of after-care is very desirable but has to be strengthened by an attempt to change public opinions and attitudes to offenders and their rehabilitation in society. For this very purpose there is no doubt that a programme of information and education is likely to bring some positive results in the area.

Another problem which most offenders (especially juveniles) might face after release is the unchanged family setting that will, as stated by Jesness (1971), systematically reinforce the

same problem behaviours that brought them to the institution in the first place.

Here again the probation officer in charge of the supervision of any ex-inmate should show his <u>savoir-faire</u> in re-establishing the relationship between the youngster and his family so that the old reinforcing elements of his delinquent behaviour would disappear. This would give him an objective chance of becoming a full member of his family and a productive citizen.

The period of after-care is generally shorter than a probation order. The probation officer would have to do his best to make sure that the youngster is no more in need of his services and help and that he can manage his own life as a free and normal citizen.

To conclude, the after-care period is currently regarded as a necessary step towards the fulfilment of the process of rehabilitation which has been started in an institutional setting or in custody.

2.6 Community Service

Over the last few decades many researchers in the field of correction had come to the conclusion that institutionalization was but a means of isolating offenders from society (out of sight and out of mind). Although attempts were made to base the removal of offenders upon careful selection and discrimination between them, the same problems often remained unchanged and the rate of crime tended to remain the same or to increase.

Researchers had to wait until recently to see the effect of their warnings that were expressed in different manners. Harlow (1970), for instance, was very direct in his statement:

> "-. institutionalization may be more destructive than rehabilitative, and may in fact increase probabilities of recidivism" (p.3).

Seventeen years later, Harding (1987) expressed the same idea in a more explicit way by saying:

> "...overuse of custody, with its attendant catalogue of isolation, loss of occupationQl skills, feelings of depersonalization, dependence, and severance from the familiar world of friends, neighbours, and relatives, ill prepares offenders for -. of hope and purpose in the community" (p.8).

These two concluding statements and many others reported in the literature about treatment and rehabilitation of offenders imply one single idea: a shift away from custody and institutionalization. Then, in addition to probation and after-care service which was emphasized as an alternative, the last few years, however, have seen the emergence of another thought: community service.

- What is community service?

- What are the conditions of its implementation?

- How does it work?

- What are its advantages?

These are briefly answered in the following paragraphs.

2.6.1 What is community service?

The failure of most treatment and rehabilitative methods directed towards offenders can be explained by the fact that

social workers, probation officers, educators, magistrates and so on, tended to see crime only in the individual offender, and thus concentrated all their efforts on changing him.

After all, it is well recognized that social pathology has its responsibility in causing delinquency. Therefore, it could be said that any correctional agency wanting to influence offenders in a desirable manner should take into consideration both parties: the individual and the environment in which he lives. The environment in this context means the community.

Community was defined by Barclay (1982) as a network, or networks, of informal relationships between people connected with each other by kinship, common interest, geographical proximity, friendship, occupation, or the giving and receiving of services - or various combinations of these.

With reference to this definition, social pathology could be viewed as a total or partial disorganization and breakdown of these human and social elements necessary for maintenance of equilibrium of the entire community and its members.

Thus, community service involves change in both the offender and society; the idea of corrections involves the construction and reconstruction of ties between the offender and the community through maintenance of family bonds, obtaining education and employment, and finding a place for the offender in the mainstream of social life (Harlow, 1970).

This new policy means a complete new concern for the environment in which the offender lives; not only in the material sense, but viewed as a social control system built on the

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networks of social relationship and capable of influencing the behaviour of the individual.

With regard to what has been said, the probation service should be extended to embrace a greater involvement with the community, with preventative and rehabilitative work, and with voluntary effort. That implies a shift away from the traditional preoccupation with case work. The service, thus, will have to develop other social work modes which may have relevance to the

future in order to meet both offender's and community's needs.
Nevertheless, the practical philosophy of community service embraces three concepts which need to be attained by the probation service: punishment, rehabilitation, and reparation (Varah, 1987).

In brief, community service can be perceived as a means of establishing efficient and effective communication between on the one hand the probation service and the community at large, and on the other hand between community members themselves. This aims at discussing issues of promoting the general life of the community, strengthening social controls, and tackling crime and delinquency.

2.6.2 The conditions of its implementation
There are obviously many conditions which should be attained by the probation service in order to implement community service in a given area. These conditions are different in nature. Generally speaking, there are political, cultural, and social and humanitarian conditions.

Political conditions. It is well known that the way in which a society deals with its offenders is, actually, an expression of political will. Governments frame the penal code and decide how much money should be spent on the local criminal justice system and then, more specifically how that money should be allocated between measures of control and provision for rehabilitation.

Therefore, any government which pays for a service is entitled to develop it in ways which best express its policies (Harding, 1987). In that case, the expansion of the probation service to include the community requires, first of all, a political approbation and the provision of the necessary moral and material support.

Cultural conditions. In order to meet the cultural needs of any community and to avoid any cultural alienation, the community should be equipped with the fundamental conditions likely to satisfy the cultural needs of its members such as outdoor recreational areas, youth clubs, meeting places, scientific clubs, mosques and so on. These facilities are surely not free from political will, but their nonexistence in the community would decrease the chances of social interaction which could be promoted between community members.

The absence of these facilities could also lead to social disorganization and apathy which may bring some community members together, youth in particular, and strengthen their adherence to subculturally oriented values and norms that would end by theft, burglary, vandalism and so forth.

The social and humanitarian conditions. Lewis (1987) says:

> "I cannot see how the community is to cope with those
> offenders in their midst without a change in community
> attitudes to offenders and the development of community
> based resources for just those clients" (p.54).

To get the public to a better understanding of offenders and to
tolerate their presence among them can not be easily achieved in
society where the public at large has cultivated through the years
specific attitudes to offenders.

Therefore, community service needs a broader base in the
community. Volunteers represent a small but most significant
group of people not only because of what they can offer, but
because they can help to spread that understanding of the work of
the service and needs of offenders amongst the general public.

But, voluntary help, sometimes, is not enough to change
public attitudes. In this case, however, other means which are
more capable of catching the attention of the public with more
efficiency are required. Such means are newspapers, magazines,
radios, and so on.

In addition, the probation service should necessarily have
a number of links with other agencies such as the courts, police,
social services, and social security services. But in order to be
effective, and to be not only a service of the courts but also of
the community, the new service must try to remain responsive to
the community's needs.

2.6.3. The work of the service and role of officers
Community service is a much more socially oriented work in
that the focus is placed on social pathology which is thought to

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be the origin of crime and delinquency. The offender becomes, in this view, just a symptom rather than the subject.

The service, therefore, cannot focus on social problems with such dimensions as crime and delinquency without being concerned with the pre-conditions which have such an influence on the incidence of the problem. This is not a simplistic view, which assumes that the elimination of poverty or inequality will remove all crime. It is, on the contrary, a challenge to the service to try to investigate the cultural and environmental forces which influence behaviour and to involve the community itself in dealing with the problem.

Then, the service must be concerned with the characteristics of neighbourhoods and try to find ways of working with residents to counter the forces of social disorganization or apathy. Such work is concerned not only with the rehabilitation of the offender, but with primary prevention as well. Consequently, its aim will be to strengthen social control elements which operate within the community, and to counter those forces which lead to social disorganization and apathy.

Probation officers will have to work in all three dimensions of social work i.e. casework, group work and community organization. Haxby (1978) says in this context:

> "It would be an incomplete view of community work if it were seen simply as a method within social work. Community work is a concept with shifting boundaries, but it is generally taken to include activities in fields such as youth work, adult education, planning and politics, as well as social work" (p.232).

It implies that the traditional 'chat with probation officer' should be replaced by a variety of more structured work methods.

Individual work with offenders, for instance, might take the form of task-centred casework, social skills training, behaviour modification, welfare rights advice, help with job search, or any one of a range of methods.

In addition, the officers should work with groups of residents to achieve community objectives, acting as facilitators rather than leaders. These residents might or might not be offenders, but the objective should be related to offending and the possible ways in which the community would be helped to solve its problems and thus meet the needs of the entire community.

In that case probation officers will have special tasks to carry out not only with offenders but with the community as well, Harding (1987) pointed out:

> "Good probation officers need to know and understand the community in two related ways. First, they have to forge links with a range of formal services, including employers, youth training schemes, specialists of health care .- etc. Second, they must understand the informal networks of local communities; neighbours, friends, families and small self-help groups that will offer an offender the best long-term chances of survival and reintegration" (p.6).

To sum up briefly, the work of the probation service or the new service should be focussed on the remediation of community's problems and disorganization without dissociating officers and workers from their usual tasks with individuals. In other words, if the new service is to be effective, it should no longer concentrate its efforts only on one simple dimension such as social work, but should go beyond that scope to cover groups of residents and the community at large.

2.6.4 Advantages of community service

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Community service, as we have seen, is a new form of
treatment and rehabilitation of offenders which consider
the community as the base of its intervention. Regarding
other forms of correctional systems such as probation,
institutionalization and so on, this new service has many
advantages. Pease et al. (1975) have enumerated some of
these advantages which are as follows:

> Community service leads the community to greater
> understanding of offenders.

2. Community service has therapeutic value.

3. Community service enables the offender to use
his leisure time constructively.

4. Community service gives offenders the opportunity
to help others.

5. Community service is a form of reparation to
the community -. " (p.53).

Above all, community service is a more economic form of
dealing with offenders compared to imprisonment or
institutionalization. It does not merely attempt to treat,
rehabilitate or prevent delinquency as being a personal
pathology, but considers the environmental conditions in which
offenders live as its prime target. To put it more simply, both
personal and social pathology are perceived as important for the
rehabilitation of offenders.

In addition, the offender can gain a 'positive
experience' as opposed to the negative one of imprisonment or
residential care. He can, as pointed out by Pease et al, learn
to give rather than to take.

Altogether, community service has far more chance to realize
what other forms of dealing with crime and delinquency have, with

differing degrees, failed to achieve. The list of advantages of this new service might get longer, if the probation and after-care service become practically able to involve as many volunteers as possible, to establish multiple useful contacts with different agencies and organizations and to attract more and more the attention of social policy makers for the great help they can provide for the service.

2.7 Conclusions

The probation and after-care service provides an alternative to custodial and institutional measures for many categories of offenders. Courts are, thus, urged to consider this form of dealing with offenders whenever possible. To make it possible for courts to make decisions in its favour, a social inquiry report becomes the sole means of determining the eligibility of many offenders. Officers should, constantly, remember that the process of inquiry necessitates specific skills and that any case may require a different approach.

In addition, the supervision of offenders in the community could not be easily and successfully achieved, unless probation officers and social workers are equipped with techniques that are likely to enable them to be flexible, constructive, efficient and most importantly effective with their clients.

The after-care service should be perceived more as a means of fulfilling the process of treatment and rehabilitation which has started in the institution. For this reason, officers must bear in mind that institutionalization is sometimes more destructive to the personality of ex-inmates and may make it very

difficult for them to reintegrate with society. Their task should, as a consequence, be more centred not only on their material needs, but also on their psychological and social conditions that are likely to facilitate their reintegration into society without re-offending.

Alternatively, if we consider that crime is not simply a threat to society, but is a problem for which society and the individual must share responsibility, the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders becomes realizable by the cooperation of these two last mentioned.

Therefore, community service would be the most appropriate non-custodial means of dealing with offenders, in that it considers the individual offender in his environment not in isolation.

Finally, if it is accepted that the way in which a society deals with its offenders is actually an expression of political will, any government which pays for a service is entitled to develop it in ways which best express its policies and it may go on to set out priority areas for action. But, any government must be provided by the necessary information in order to plan the ways in which the service can be best developed. It implies that the development of any service can scarcely be achieved without evaluative research.

3. Evaluation Research and the Shaping of Policy

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to give a general account of evaluation research; the differences between it and basic social research, its different methods and its relationship with the process of socio-political decision making.

There is no doubt that society is constantly developing and thus learning about its own procedures and the difficulties it is trying to overcome. Society learns by some process of evaluation, whether based upon personal and impressionistic methods or by systematic and comparatively objective approaches (Cronbach et al., 1980).

Moreover, a debate has been raging for decades about which of the two methods is more appropriate and produces accurate and useful information for decision makers. In the last few years, however, a new style of evaluation research has emerged. This is to mix the subjective and objective methods in the same study. Furthermore, evaluation is commonly performed to serve social and political purposes, and evaluators had come to the conclusion that the involvement of the relevant community in the process of decision-making is the ideal.

Thus, answers to the following questions are attempted in this chapter: What are the objective or "experimental" methods of evaluation? What are the differences between these and the subjective approaches? What is the possibility of methodological mixes? Finally and most importantly, by what approach might evaluation make a difference for the process of decision-making?

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3.2 Research and Evaluation

Undertaking evaluation research requires the evaluator to answer specific questions that are different in nature from those asked when doing basic social research. Thus, while a social researcher would, for instance, ask questions about the conducive causes to aggressive behaviour in children, and what could be the appropriate treatment method likely to bring about positive change in that specific behaviour? The evaluator would concentrate his attention and endeavour to answer quite different questions, such as: Is the prescribed treatment doing what it is supposed to be doing? To what extent does it achieve what it purports to achieve and at what cost?

Accordingly, it becomes quite clear that evaluation research and basic social research ask different questions and serve different purposes. In this very context Miller (1975) says that social research is essentially concerned with basic issues of human behaviour, whereas evaluation research primarily focuses on particular programmes, projects, or undertakings and asks specific questions about their effects and worth.

In addition, social research studies are primarily designed to enrich the body of knowledge about a given subject, while evaluation research studies are designed essentially to provide information for decision-making (Marvin et al., 1979). Cronbach (1982) agrees that they differ in their central purpose, and especially says that evaluations fit into a different institutional and political context.

One way of defining evaluation research, as reported by Mann (1983), is as follows:

> "A type of action research in which applied research attempts to measure the effects of some operating programme or policy. It may attempt to measure the effectiveness of a total programme, or of some specific part of a programme. It does so against a standard of the desirable and undesirable consequences of an action that has taken place in order to advance some goal that society values" (p.16).

Any society may value many things at a given point in time of its history, but their advancement is not a simple procedure. Indeed, it always calls for political analysis. Thus, for evaluation to really contribute to the development of social processes, it should not merely be perceived as a process of estimating the worth of a given social programme, but as a means of providing information for rational decision-making as well.

Yet, there are many ways in which an evaluation study can be conducted. In many cases where conventional research designs, as described in the literature, are for many reasons (time, resources, money, etc.) inappropriate, the evaluator can create his own design that he feels is appropriate to answer, in a rational and acceptable manner, his research questions.

Our interest here is to give a short description of experimental designs, to compare their purposes with those of naturalistic research approaches, and finally to present examples of possible ways in which both research approaches would fit together.

3.3 History and Definition of Experiments

The expression "experimental psychology" has known a remarkable development since its introduction for the first time in the history of social science by the eminent researcher

Fechner who is considered to be the initiator of this new method of investigation. However, contemporary psychologists believe that the first true experimental psychologist is Wundt who opened the first laboratory for the study of psychological phenomena (Tabary, 1981).

An experiment is generally defined as a type of research design which attempts to maximize control over the relationship between variables under investigation (Mann, 1983). In such a case, the experimenter must be able to manipulate the independent variable(s) in order to see what changes take place in the dependent variable(s), rather than simply observing the variables under study as in naturalistic research. Manipulation as explained by Philliber et al. (1980) means that the researcher decides what value or states the independent variable takes.

Many people believe that an experiment cannot take place except in highly controlled laboratory settings. But, in reality, there is a number of other settings in which experiments can take place. Besides, there is nothing inherent in the experimental design which restricts it to the laboratory. That implies the fact that the experiment is always characterized by manipulation of the independent variable does not necessarily mean that it cannot take place in a naturally occurring situation. A field setting, for instance, might be a institution for aggressive children in which a new treatment method is introduced (independent variable). The dependent variable would be children's aggressive behaviour and their emotional state. Social researchers say that the major advantage of a field experiment over that in a laboratory is its increased reality.

Moreover, results obtained from an experiment that takes place in a highly controlled situation such as a laboratory setting is obviously less generalizable because subjects are totally isolated from normal interaction. At the same time, the experimenter can increase control over confounding factors, which increases the opportunities for inferring causation.

According to Philliber et al. (1980) there are three criteria which must be met in order to be able to attribute causation. The first is called 'covariation' and means that variables must occur in some regular relationship with each other. The second criterion which must be met in order to demonstrate cause refers to the fact that it must be possible to show or infer that the presumed cause precedes in time the presumed effect. Whereas, the third criterion for causality is the demonstration of non-spuriousness, or the assurance that biasing factors are not responsible for the covariation. To put it more simply this criterion requires that any observed covariation between variables can be properly interpreted to mean that one of them actually causes the other and is not simply due to presence of other unknown factors.

This criterion is believed to be difficult to meet and it depends upon the types of controls which can be utilized in the study. On the other hand, it is worth while giving a short account of generalizability.

Any serious researcher would do his best in order to make his research findings applicable to broader populations besides the one he studied. In other words, generalization of findings is one of the most crucial aspects which any researcher strives

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to realize. Generalizability, in this context, refers to the degree of validity of research findings when applied to other populations or settings, and the possibility of generalizing those findings to other places and times, or under other conditions. In addition, in order for a researcher to be able to generalize his research findings to other populations, his or her research strategies must meet some specific conditions. One of them is called representativeness. Thus, the more representative is his or her sample of a given population, the more likely his or her findings would be valid for application to that population. Alternatively, if research findings were valid only for the number of people actually studied, they would have severely limited utility outside that group of people.

3.4 Effects of Biasing Factors and Experimental Designs
   There are a variety of problems which evaluators must consider in order to evaluate programme effectiveness by means of experimental designs. One of the most important of these problems which any evaluator strives to solve is the control of confounding factors, so that he or she may attribute causation and obtain valid results. To some degree practical considerations of time and money impose limits, and very likely there are limits to the number of participants available. The important thing for the investigator is to be reasonably certain that at least the major sources of biasing factors are eliminated, but accounting for every factor influencing human behaviour is an impossibility (Philliber et _al., 1980).

Suppose that in an evaluation of a therapeutic method directed against aggressive behaviour in children there is no control group, and the behaviour of subjects is measured after exposure to treatment, the manipulated or independent variable. In this case the posttest scores might show that children's aggressive behaviour has retreated to a normal state or has detectably decreased. The evaluator, however, has no certainty that the measured effects are due to exposure to treatment. It is impossible to know with assurance what effects the independent variable has had in the absence of a measure of change.

In order for the evaluator to solve this problem, he or she could take measures on children's (aggressive) behaviour before and after exposure to treatment. If the subjects display any change in their aggressive behaviour at the time of the posttest, it might be tempting to conclude that the cause of change was exposure to the independent variable. However, it is possible that between the two measures, children have been influenced by other events besides their exposure to the treatment method. In this case the participants are said to have been affected by history.

Another biasing effect called <u>maturation</u> occurs when measured changes would have resulted naturally, without the introduction of the independent variable. It happens as a consequence of processes occurring within the participants themselves. The children, in the example above, may have reached a degree of maturity which helps them see the inappropriateness of their behaviour.

A third biasing factor is known as testing_ effect. It occurs when the pretest measure makes subjects more sensitive to the dependent variable. The evaluator may be measuring changes caused by asking children about their aggressive behaviour, in addition to the effects which might have been the result of their exposure to the treatment method.

One effect due to the evaluator himself or herself is labelled instrumental decay, and refers to conditions which are likely to make the posttest different from the pretest measure. This could happen if the evaluator, for some reason, is tired or bored while taking the second measure(s), or simply presents his measuring material in a different manner. It could also occur if two different people interpreted the results. In that case, the outcomes would not be attributable to the independent variable, but to the process of measurement itself.

The effect of selective mortality occurs when subjects or participants leave the experiment for a variety of reasons between the two measures. The outcomes might then be positive for the whole group when, in reality, the remaining subjects who answer the posttest measure(s) might be composed of those who already had insignificant aggressive behaviour at the time of the pretest, or were somehow more liable to change their behaviour.

There is also the effect of statistical regression which could be the cause of changes observed between the first and second measurement. Basically, statistical regression is defined as the tendency of extreme scores on initial measurement to move toward the middle on repeated measurement, or very low scores on the pretest which get higher on the posttest. *As* a consequence,

the observed change could not be due to the independent variable, but to the average score of the group used in experiments.

The effects of these biasing factors can be eliminated, if the evaluator has the opportunity to impose control over them through the use of a strong design. Indeed, the literature on evaluation research provides evaluators with a variety of strong designs. Each of which has its practical difficulties and limitations as well as its advantages. The most known and most prized design by conventional writers is the classical

experimental design.

This design is also known in the literature as the controlled or unbiased experiment. It constitutes the fundamental activity of researchers who would like to verify their predictions and confirm or invalidate their hypothesis. As described in the literature on evaluation this design calls for equivalent groups: the experimental (treated) and control (untreated) groups. Firstly, in both groups a before measure(s) of the dependent variable(s) of interest is made in order to determine a ground against which change can be measured. After that, the experimental group is exposed to the treatment or programme target of the study. Finally, when treatment or programme is terminated, an after measure(s) is taken in both the experimental and control group at the same time and under the same conditions to determine the amount of change which has taken

place.

Moreover, this design is essentially based on a statistical methodology. Tetreault & Bordeleau (1972) indicate that the controlled experiment cannot be defined except in statistical

terms, since this method represents the sole and unique mathematical discipline which permits researchers to determine the amount of change and calculate risks of errors.

For a study to realize this particular experimental design, there exist some specific requirements. One of these requirements is called randomization. By using a random assignment, the evaluator or researcher can be reasonably certain that the groups are comparable in terms of the many unknown sources of variation among people.

There are two reasons for using a random assignment: the first is to increase the likelihood that the data collected are representative of the entire population of interest, and the second is to impose control over effects of confounding variables. Thus, through the use of a random assignment the evaluator or researcher is allowed to expect that any potential effect of regression or selection would be similar for both groups and could be measured. Likewise, if mortality is the result of unknown variables, randomization would also decrease its effect. And, if mortality results from a response to the independent variable, its effect could still be examined by comparing the two measures between groups. Again, in case there are differences in one group from history, maturation, testing, or instrumental decay, they are likely to occur in the other group as well. The reason is that the pretest and posttest measures are taken by both groups at the same time and under similar conditions.

It could be said in view of the above explanation that so long as the researcher has two comparable groups with the same

possibilities of variation in this specific design, it does not

matter if the experimental and control groups obtain different

scores on the before measure(s). In order to determine the

effectiveness of the independent variable, he or she simply has

to examine the change in each group between the two measures by

means of a statistical analysis. So, if any difference between

the two groups is firmly and significantly calculated, the

evaluator can conclude that the amount of change in the

experimental group is due to manipulation of the independent

variable.

Although, the evaluator using this design does attribute

cause and can claim internal validity, he still has no absolute

proof that the dependent variable(s) is caused by manipulation of

the independent variable. Philliber et _al, argue in this

context:

> there is no possible way to account for all
> variables in social research. No matter how careful the
> research design, interpretations still leave doubt.
> Indeed, there are problems for which the classical
> experimental design does not control" (p.88).

Another statement that supports the above argument is cited by

Cronbach (1982) who says:

> " ... while an observed difference does imply causality,
> if the design was sufficiently strong, even the
> strongest design supports only plausible reasoning and
> not proof" (p.32).
> There is a major problem closely related to the "control

group" which the classical experimental design does not control.

Namely, how can the evaluator be certain that the control group

does not experience any kind of services, while the experimental

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group is exposed to the treatment or programme under study.

Cronbach (1982) explicitly argues:

> "The null treatment is almost never a blank dose. When a social intervention is being tested, the no treatment group is experiencing a non-descript and changing mixture of social services of the same general kind" (p. 329).

Indeed, the no-treatment group is exposed to a variety of natural social services which might affect a person in many ways. Because the evaluator can not account for all these variables, and merely executes his posttest measure(s) with the two groups, the independent variable of interest would be over or under evaluated, depending on the way (positively or negatively) subjects of the control group were affected by their social lives during the period that separates the before and after measures.

Although the classical design has its disadvantages, it is still the most appropriate experimental design which evaluators use to study programme effectiveness. Indeed, it gives them a unique opportunity to demonstrate causation and to maximize internal validity. However, since it is especially difficult to implement it in a typical treatment or social programme setting, compromises in the design are in order to conduct evaluative research. Some of the major quasi-experimental designs described in the literature and most often referred to by evaluators, are the 'non-equivalent control group' design and the 'post only correlational' design.

3.4.1 The non-equivalent control group design

The researcher is not always able to impose control over assignment to the experimental and control groups, in which case

the subjects who make up the two groups are likely to differ in many ways. In other words, if the researcher cannot use a random assignment, the two groups are expected to be non-equivalent.

Thus, in order to determine the degree of difference between the two groups and to allow for possible adjustment to make them equivalent, the subjects are pretested. Judd and Kelly (1981) say in this context:

"The non-equivalent control group design is defined by a pretest and an unknown assignment" (p.103). According to them there are many ways in which the two groups can be composed. One way of doing it, is to have a clearly definable pool of possible programme participants. A subset from that pool either volunteer for the programme or are chosen by the staff. The remainder of the subjects are not treated. The two groups obviously differ from each other in some unknown way.

Nevertheless, there are matching procedures by which the researcher attempts to make the two groups roughly equivalent and thus strengthen his design. Philliber et al. (1980) speak of two techniques which can be used in such circumstances. The first is known as frequency distribution control. In it both the experimental and comparative groups could be matched so that each contained an equal number of violent children. Any number of variables may be matched in this way, but their combination is not matched. In the second technique called precision control, the two groups are matched on a determined number of variables simultaneously. They can be matched on a variety of combinations such as: sex, *age,* area, socio-economic status, grade.

These attempts to match the treated and untreated groups on relevant variables, as mentioned by Judd and Kelly, do not change the fact that the researcher still has a non-equivalent control group design. They go on to argue:

> "The essential difficulty in the nonequivalent control group design is that the assignment rule is neither known nor random. To analyse the design the researcher must begin with this realization: the assignment variable is unknown and most likely unmeasured. Reasonable estimates of the treatment effect are obtainable only if assumptions can be made about the unknown and unmeasured assignment variable. There is then a necessary element of risk because assumptions must be made about an unknown variable" (p.104).

3.4.2 The after only correlational design

This research design is very much like the non equivalent control group design, the sole difference between them is that longitudinal data or pre-treatment measures are not available. It is referred to by researchers who are asked to evaluate a social programme after it has taken place. In such circumstances, the researcher gathers data only after the treatment has been terminated.

Obviously, the first and most important problem which faces the researcher in such cases, is the problem of causal inferences about the effects of the programme under study. In other words, adequate control of unknown variables is all the more difficult, because only post-treatment data are available. Also, due to the absence of pre-treatment measures, the design may be handicapped by the fact that the researcher is unable to assess the amount of treatment received by subjects. Even though it is believed that

this design may have high construct validity (Judd and Kenny, 1981).

Throughout this short account of the most prized experimental designs by conventional writers, we have seen that each one of them offers particular advantages and entails particular limitations. Although each offers some assessment of programme effectiveness, none of them is perfect.

In addition, there are other limitations to these designs apart from causal inferences and internal validity. One of them is reported by Kadzin et al. (1978) who say:

> group differences in mean performance provide an extremely limited criterion for comparing treatments or for evaluating a given treatment" (p.407).

According to them, there exist several other criteria which need to be considered, including: the importance of change, the proportion of treated individuals who change, the breadth of the change, the durability of the change, the efficacy and cost of treatments, and consumer evaluation.

In summary, social experiments are the designs of choice if the researcher or evaluator wants to answer some particular research questions in a general and objective manner. However, it is important to understand and acknowledge the kinds of biasing factors which might have been uncontrolled, so that careful interpretations of findings are possible. Although experiments have some limits of their own, they are still preferred by many evaluators for their particular characteristics such as: the possibility of causal inferences and generalizability.

3.5 Methodological Mixes

In the mainstream of social research, it is well agreed that experimental research methods are not the sole and unique choice for evaluating programme effectiveness. So, there are a number of writers who see naturalistic research approaches as particularly appropriate for the study of individual settings and social processes.

The naturalistic researcher is more interested in the individual's inner perspectives and situational meanings. For him, each participant has a unique point of view on the situation and responds or reacts to events according to their meaning to him or her. Thus, the programme of interest is to be seen through the eyes of its developers and clients. Naturally, observation and interviews are the fundamental means of collecting data, and outcomes are to be described not reduced to quantitative data as in experiments.

Patton (1980) sees that the real balance between naturalistic and experimental research methods is a balance between breadth and depth. Hence, naturalistic or qualitative methods allow the evaluator to study selected issues in depth and detail; the fact that data collection is not constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to the depth and detail of qualitative data. Whereas, quantitative methods may require the use of a standardized stimulus so that all

experiences of people are limited to certain response categories. The advantage of the quantitative approach is that the evaluator has the possibility of measuring the reactions of a high number of subjects to a limited set of questions, thus

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facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. On the other hand, qualitative methods typically produce a wealth of detailed data about a very limited number of cases.

In addition, the experimental or scientific approach calls for preplanning, focusing, standardization, quantification, and controls, whereas, a naturalistic researcher will lean toward greater openness. This does not, however, mean that a researcher cannot employ both methods even though they are often seen as polar opposites. Some writers believe in the possibility of using both styles in the same study. Cronbach (1962) for instance writes:

> "Experimental control is not incompatible with
> attention to qualitative information or subjective
> interpretation, nor is open-minded exploration
> incompatible with objectification of evidence" (p.44).

Indeed, there exist two ways in which methodological mixes could be achieved. One of them, according to Patton (1980) is realizable through triangulation, which means the combination of different methodologies in the study of the same phenomena or programmes.

He listed some of the possibilities of mixes which are as follows:

I. An experimental design using qualitative measurement and content analysis.

2. An experimental design using qualitative measurement and statistical analysis.

3. Naturalistic inquiry using qualitative measurement and statistical analysis.

4.   Naturalistic inquiry using quantitative measurement and

statistical analysis.

This list of examples provides only a few illustrations of

possible research strategies. Nevertheless, there are
limitations on some other forms of possible mixes. For

instance, it is possible to convert detailed, qualitative data into

quantitative scales for purposes of statistical analysis. While it

is not possible to proceed all the way round and convert purely

quantitative data to qualitative descriptions.

Thus, it is agreed that there is no perfect design for the

purpose of evaluation, and the evaluator can choose a plan

amongst many which range from the fully reproduceable, fully

controlled laboratory study to the essentially opportunistic

naturalistic study. This view is well expressed by Patton (1980)

who says:

> "Evaluation research should be built on the foundation of
> a 'paradigm of choices' rather than become the
> handmaiden of any single narrow disciplinary or
> methodological paradigm" (p.116).

3.6 Evaluation for Policy

People usually learn from experience and sometimes come

to make very important decisions in their lives according to what

they learnt from their past experiences. Social institutions,

programme clients and political constituencies also learn from

experience. The primary function of evaluation, however, is to

make this learning process quicker and more efficient by

communicating what might otherwise be overlooked or wrongly

perceived.

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Indeed, almost the entire literature on evaluation research describes it as an attempt to serve decision-makers. Thus, any evaluation study may have no apparent utility unless it influences the decisions it is designed to serve, or at least causes and enriches a debate on the subject.

Nevertheless, it is well recognized that in order for an evaluator to influence the process of decision-making, he needs more than merely to display an ideal list of recommendations. Rather, he is strongly required to gather as many convincing arguments as possible in order, at least, to attract the attention of his audience on the importance and implications of his results.

There are two different ways according to which political decision can be influenced by evaluation. The first is perceived as a narrow view of the impact of evaluation on political processes. It may be explained by the fact that the evaluator directly deals with a commissioner or user ofinformation. He designs his study especially to provide specific answers to some determined questions. In this case, the study is said to be directly serving a defined decision-maker, and the evaluator is reduced to a technician who is simply asked to apply his skills of sampling, measurement, and statistical analysis. In fact, political decisions that are made according to this view are said to be very simple, and do not produce healthy political debates.

On the other hand, the second view takes into consideration not only the technical side of the study, but also attempts to provoke a politically lively situation in which the programme of interest becomes the province of a policy-shaping community, not

of a lone decision maker or tight-knit group (Cronbach, 1982).

He goes on to say that persons who play roles in approving the

programme, or those who have the ability to advocate

alternatives, as well as most of those who carry out the

programme operations, are part of this community.

     Indeed, all those who have interest in the programme may be

of some special kind of help to evaluators and decision makers

which may be omitted, if their opinion is not taken into

consideration. For example, the opinion of programme consumers

about the programme itself is very important, because they are

the most touched by that programme. And to omit their opinion

may mean denying them their eventual contribution to the

improvement of their own welfare.

     In addition, one must bear in mind that the marshalling of

information and recommendations which result from a study that is

technically admirable may fail to reach its goals if what the

evaluator learns from it does not reach the thinking of a

relevant political community. That community, according to

Cronbach (1982) may include clients, or programme consumers,

programme staffs, legislators, bureaucrats, and interested

citizens. He finishes the sequence of his ideas by writing:

> "An evaluation fulfils its function to the extent that
> it assists participants in the political process to
> resolve conflicts intelligently" (p.8).

     In summary, any society which wishes to develop the welfare

of its citizens is bound to refer to evaluation as being the most

acceptable tool of speeding-up the process of decision-making in

a rational and relative way. Because evaluation could really

improve the welfare of citizens, whenever it had an opportunity

to contribute to the political process that shapes social actions. However, it would be an ideal, if all the parties that are liable to contribute in the political process of decision-making were allowed to bring their perspectives to bear on the issues.

3.7 Conclusion

Conventional writers of a few years back seemed to be saying that in evaluation only a strong design was likely to move decision-makers. However, though experiments are able to achieve objectivity to a certain degree, they are still imperfect; so are naturalistic research methods. In addition, many writers such as Patton (1980) believe that the ideal approach of evaluation is to be able to mix the two methods in the same study.

Now, evaluation research is judged by the extent to which it serves decision-makers. A study that does not cause any kind of debate or speculation either amongst the politicians, or amongst the parties of the community is said to be a waste of time and money. Cronbach (1982) suggests in this context:

> "When he can afford to choose, the social scientist ought to undertake an evaluation only if it appears that the political system will give a serious hearing to all the findings, welcome and unwelcome" (p.2).

Evaluation is directly concerned with the shaping of policy, and so long as it does not have any effect on its process, it is useless. Therefore, social decision-makers are strongly required to give strong considerations to evaluation studies, if their intention is to improve the social welfare of

citizens. However, it should be borne in mind that the involvement of persons representing different parts of the community in the process of decision-making may produce better and more reliable decisions.

4. Delinquency in a Changing Society.

4.1 Introduction

Definition of those factors that generate the psycho-social maladjustment shown by delinquency and crime has proved to be very difficult even in the most developed countries. It is therefore more difficult to account for the same factors in less developed societies where the situation is becoming more complex than any time in the past due to the rapid changes they are experiencing.

In Algeria, maladjustment has often been thought to be the result of the socio-economic situation in which the society found itself immediately following national political Independence. This assumption is no more explanatory today. It is, therefore, useful to consider the whole range of social and cultural changes that have given rise to many problems such as family breakdown and delinquency.

The following section will attempt to answer the following questions: What are the socio-cultural changes which have taken place in Algerian society? What are their contributions to the explanation of delinquency?

4.2 Socio-cultural Changes

The Algerian society is one of many societies among those countries that have recently been liberated. Its cultural past and its origins were seriously hidden by the colonists who used a variety of violent and pernicious means in order to annihilate the collective memory and to lead the society to a total amnesia

(Boutefnouchet, 1986). This situation was one of the realities which the Algerian society has experienced during 125 years of colonial rule and 7 years of destructive war.

The very serious cultural and social damage the colonists left behind after the Algerian Independence are enumerated by El-Zoubeiri (1986). From amongst these we select the following:

"- a very high proportion of illiterates estimated at more than 80% of the total population;

- a deformed religion generally characterized by superstition;

- some customs, traditions and a way of life as well as some daily behaviour that is in contradiction with the real personality and the cultural inheritance;

- a national language put aside and ignored...;

- disturbed social relations based upon fears and hypocrisy;

- lack of self-confidence and the conviction that the colonist is more able to solve society's problems;

- a dangerously fast increase in population" (pp.21-23). Following Independence, the starting point was zero almost

in every domain of life: almost no economy, a very damaged culture, a social structure almost entirely disorganized.

Democratic socialism as a political, economical and socio-cultural mean of development has proved very efficient only a few years after Independence. In the last few years the change has been remarkable in every domain of life of the society. Thus it is possible to talk about industry (heavy and light) which is becoming more and more efficient, about science and technology, and about the noticeable increase in the quality of life in the society.

Among the cultural records which indicate the speed of change one can point to the very high increase in the rate of school attendance, which increased in relative as well as in absolute terms. The attendance rate changed from 40.8% of the population in 1966 to 74.6% in 1980, while the numbers attending school increased from 1,370,357 children in 1966 to reach 3,921,309 in 1980 - a tripling of the school population in only fifteen years.

Although such changes have had favourable effects, and to the family in particular, they have been accompanied by many negative aspects such as a variety of juvenile delinquency, an increasing number of divorces, and child neglect. In addition, this rapid and deep change in the economic, social and cultural domains has introduced many perturbations. These perturbations leave wide open the possibilities of deviation and of equilibrium breakdown. In fact the economic and cultural risks of deviation and enslavement not only affect society but the individual's personality as well (Boutefnouchet, 1986).

What has been knowingly damaged by the colonists during 132 years of occupation and domination cannot, by any means, be replaced, corrected, or re-built in a few years. Further, as stated by Boutefnouchet (1986):

"... the end of the political domination has not always solved the general forms of economic and cultural domination..." (p. 44).

This situation is even worse when it is weakened by a lack of cultural creativity. Hence, while illiteracy significantly decreased in the 80's, other indicators of cultural productivity stagnated. Furthermore, the failure of the mass media to provide

leadership and to take on educational missions has aided the adoption of non-indigenous ways of life and behaviour patterns (Revolution Africaine, 1986).

As an obvious consequence, this influence of external cultures has to a very great extent contributed to the enhancement of many contradictory cultural aspects. However, the striking aspects of the so-called alienation, or cultural alienation, is noticeable in the individual's behaviour which i- so much in accordance with the social modes and rules prevalent in the foreign culture, Western culture in particular.

The characteristics of alienation are remarkable even in the bosom of the family of the middle social category. Not only is French language still the spoken language between the members of the family in preference to the Arabic dialect, but the literature, music and forms of dress are those of the latest fashion in the West. More seriously the Christian feasts such as Christmas are also celebrated by the parents in preference to Islamic feasts. In addition, some other aspects of cultural alienation are also observable in one section of the youth. Thus the type of western music and dancing emphasized by a style of clothing that is in vogue in these countries is preferred to any other kind of music and way of dressing.

Risks of cultural alienation also exist even inside the Algerian home in which the television widely broadcasts patterns of American life, of the Egyptian middle-class and of others. This obviously may indirectly influence life organizations of the family members and their behaviour inside and outside the home (Boutefnouchet, 1986).

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On the other hand, the traditional way of life is not totally neglected or rejected. This fundamental cultural element still plays a significant social role, positively, negatively or in any other ways. Its existence is heavily felt and the group members tend to consider it as inherent in the group structure itself. It is not, therefore, strange to see a great proportion of youths displaying all sorts of rejection of the new culture, and the social and behavioural patterns which stem from it.

Religion has become the most preferred alternative guide to the culture. This religious revival can be explained by many factors: "Arabisation" of education in Algeria since Independence, the fact of transmissions between generations (Boutefnouchet, 1986). It can also be explained by the natural and expected reaction against the foreign culture. Thus as stated by Boutefnouchet (1982):

> "-. by the rejection of the foreign culture, the national culture emphasizes its intrinsic context, it defines itself in relation to itself and in relation to the rejected culture..." (p. 110).

The other factors relevant in this context and which may differently contribute in the explanation of this religious revival are:

- the constitution of the basic personality in Algeria;

- the increase of the number of mosques;

- the opening of new institutes and universities for the scientific study of religion.

In fact these contradictions in the society are the result of a dysfunction between two styles of life, two patterns of behaviour, two types of social relations. There is the old type, the conservative or spiritual which is tied to a particular

conception of life and social functioning. Whereas, the new, modern or temporal style is related to a different conception of life in society, social relations and behaviour patterns.

These contradictory socio-cultural factors obviously give rise to a variety of social problems. Hence, social injustice (Bendif, 1983) is manifestly shown by corruption, misappropriation of public goods, the speedy enrichment of certain social strata. It is emphasized by a retreat before the spiritual and moral values partly caused by the negative role played by the broadcasting of existing commercial films of individualism, violence, and easy gain (Mouats, 1986).

Accordingly, this situation truly fits the definition of anomie as reported by Tittle (1983):

> "...behaviour is a function of the relationship between culturally defined goals and culturally prescribed means to achieve these goals within a given social system. Individuals are said to be under strain when the relationship between goals and means are incongruent (i.e., one is present the other is absent) or when they are both absent" (pp.336-337).

This state of anomie is obviously one of the major social forces which is said to cause many kinds of delinquent behaviour (Merton, 1957; Born, 1983).

Furthermore, the reaction against the new culture is not only expressed by a religious revival, but by a whole range of cultural products as well. Some aspects of this cultural production in itself combined with some aspects of the foreign culture may be alienating to a very large extent and may cause what sociologists call "subculture groups". Although the shape of these kind of culturally deviant groups is not yet established, there is some evidence that new kinds of artistic

production such as "E.RAI", which combines new styles of music with words offering a critical social commentary, might be one of the factors which contributes in the causation and enhancement of subculturally oriented groups. Therefore delinquency finds its source in these specific subculture groups which differentiate the society, and delinquents live in conformity with other norms which are deviant with regard to the dominant culture (see Sutherland, 1966; Miller, 1958).

As Cohen (1965) wrote:

"-. even in the absence of an already established deviant culture and social organization, a number of individuals with like problems and in effective communication with one another may join together to do what no one can do alone" (p.8).

Despite the fact that socio-economic status has been to a certain extent neglected by many theories or schools such as those concerned with anomie, subculture, community/ecological models and so forth, this factor can be considered at least as a secondary factor particularly in societies where the socio-economic status of some families is still low compared with the general socio-economic achievements of the society.

Nevertheless, the sociological theories can very much contribute much to the explanation and understanding of delinquent behaviour, but they are clearly insufficient to explain its basic issue, namely, why do some persons in high delinquency areas and under deficient environmental conditions turn to a life of crime and delinquency, while greater numbers from the same areas, and under similar environment conditions, turn to more responsible and more socialized behaviour (Florence, 1972; Juan, 1982).

Another argument which is worth mentioning in this context is that the causes of crime cannot be found in the static structural characteristics of the offender or solely in the structural characteristic of society, but in the interaction between the two (see Empey, 1974).

In conclusion, sociological factors obviously have a great impact on the family, school and all the social institutions in which the individual satisfies his psychological and social needs and wants.

Thus, the following section will be dedicated to answer the following questions: What is the impact of this socio-cultural state on the family? How does the family contribute to the causation of delinquency?

4.3   The Family

Before Independence the Algerian family was very large, and was made up of many couples and their children living together headed by one male person. Family structure was very organized and powerful in comparison with the society itself which was less well structured. The youngest members obviously found no difficulties in adjustment throughout their entire psychological and social development. In fact they were considered as adults at well before the age of 18.

The economy of the family had long been based on the working of the land and on small-scale production. It is only during the period between the two world wars that the first change in the family structure was noticed. This was obviously due to colonization which introduced the most grave perturbation in the

traditional social structure. As a consequence, the Algerian family started the new process of restructuring following the constraints imposed by the colonial government (Boutefnouchet, 1986).

The most important factor which directly affected the traditional family structure was the economic situation caused by the colonist. They lost their land, their basic economic resource at the time. The elder members of the family had to go away from home, with or without their closest members of their families, in order to seek new ways of making a living to achieve economic security for their families.

By Independence, the family had not completely lost its structure and was less disorganized than might have been the case. However, in the new Algerian social structure, more precise and integrated than any time in the past, the family tends to become less complex and less powerful than previously.

4.3.1   The impact of socio-cultural change on the family.
        As was referred to previously, the economic and socio-cultural situation in the Algerian society has greatly changed since Independence. It was also argued that two main factors were involved: the first factor was the remarkable development achieved over the past 25 years - following Independence - and the second was the socio-cultural change partly due to the foreign cultural invasion. Finally, it was concluded that two different styles of life were the result of this change: the traditional or spiritual style and the modern or temporal style.

These two different conceptions of life can imply a situation for family conflict particularly in the big cities. Thus, as Khaled (1979) explicitly states it:

> "-. in the big cities the predominant family type is the traditional one -. which adheres to the modern as well as to the traditional ideas. As an obvious result it is these families which most violently feel the cultural conflict .-" (pp.10-11).

The impact of this conflict is even noticeable in the bosom of the family itself. While the parents generally prefer the traditional style of life and adhere to it, the young sons and daughters are more attracted by the new ways of life than by the old ones. In addition, the conflict is apparent amongst the off-spring of the same family. While one member adheres strongly to modernism, the other on the contrary prefers and commits hiraself or herself to the traditional way of life with a special reference to religious principles.

In brief, the socio-rultural effect on the family AS the fundamental constituent of the society is very deep. In addition to the many problems that stem from this situation, there are other social and cultural problems which negatively effect the family in a variety of ways. Consequently, while searching for the signs of maladjustment such as juvenile delinquency, it is of prime importance and necessity to specially consider the family as being one of the major causative factors.

4.3.2   Family and Juvenile Delinquency

If the social forces are considered to play an important role in the causation of juvenile delinquency, it could be argued that their impact is first and foremost on the family as it is

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the fundamental component of the society. Therefore most of the researchers and writers in the domain of delinquency causation, treatment and prevention have attached a great deal of importance to the family while searching to explain the universal phenomenon of juvenile delinquency (e.g. Glueck and Glueck, 1966; Hirschi, 1979; Barron, 1975; Johnson, 1978; Khaled, 1979; Ramdani, 1980).

The literature concerning the factors leading delinquency provides the reader with mounting evidence that the family situation is one of the major factors which contributes to the explanation of delinquency. With special reference to the variety of family situations which stem from the economic and socio-cultural conditions of the society as well as the personality make-up of the parents, it is important to consider some of these situations which are thought to be positively related to delinquency.

Broken homes, family size, psychological characteristics of the parents, housing conditions are all factors which can affect the family in a variety of ways and give rise to maladjustment such as juvenile delinquency. Hence divorce, death of one of the parents or both, separation, desertion are all characteristics of broken homes whose offspring might differentially be involved in law violation. Indeed a great proportion of delinquents than non-delinquents stem from broken homes (Glueck and Glueck, 1966).

It is of importance to mention in this context that the reason for the break should be considered in order to account for the different delinquent activities. Rosed (1970) notes:

"-. the concept of broken homes consists of two dimensions: (1) reason for the break - death, divorce, desertion, or

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separation; (2) absence of one or both parents (mother, father or both)" (p. 492).

The reason for the break and its implications might differentially influence the type of delinquent activities. As the study by Rankin (1983) indicates:

"-. at least three types of juvenile misconduct: running away, truancy and auto theft - are strongly related to a specific type of broken home: those in which both biological parents are missing" (p. 477).

Nevertheless a broken home is not the only factor which can contribute in the causation of delinquency. Some writers such as June (1976) see that delinquents also tend to stem from large families, whether intact or broken.

The Algerian family is generally a large one. It consists on average of 7 persons per home. In addition this important demographic problem which attracted the Algerian government's attention is seriously aggravated by persistently dangerous housing conditions which provoke so much discomfort within the family.

Alternatively, it is not only broken homes, or the size of the family and the housing conditions that can cause delinquency, but the total quality of the family experience which is damaging in a variety of ways. Thus, a considerably higher proportion of extremely restless delinquents were found to be the sons of parents whose conjugal relation had actually reached a breaking point (Glueck and Glueck, 1966). The homes fell into one of the four following major categories:

(a) normal homes;

(b) emotionally disturbed homes;

(c) fragmented homes;

(d) broken homes.

The kinds of attitudes that parents displayed towards themselves and their children came to bear on the general quality of the home and the future of their children. Amongst the whole range of parental attitudes, Sparks and Hood (1968) write of 8 different parental attitudes which they believe to be detrimental as follows:

"a. failure to understand the needs of young people and therefore failure to provide for their needs.

b. failure to face up to difficulties in earlier childhood so that they do not seek help or, if they do so, fail to use help offered for example by refusing child guidance treatment or placement at a special schooL

c. inconsistency in their approach to children's problems, denying them to authority, but at the same time using threats of being sent away, to the child.

d. poor standards of behaviour, and low moral code.

e. inability to exercise effective controL

f. inconsistency in handling of day-to-day problems, overindulgent and then restrictive with inability to maintain basic loving, accepting approach.

g. they are anti-authority, unco-operative, demanding.

h. many parents use children as scape-goats for their own problems or are so involved emotionally in their own problems that the child is neglected emotionally" (p.8).

The child who is brought up in such a family environment obviously suffers many emotional frustrations and confusions which can influence his behaviour and his ability to adjust in his future life. There is much evidence that the emotional disturbance of the child is one of the most important psychological factors leading to delinquency (e.g. Bovet, 1951; Bowlby, 1940; Lauretta, 1947). The quality of the early

relationship between mother and child is thought to be a determining factor in the later development of the personality. Bowlby concluded that emotional disturbance is one of the most specific factors in the causation of juvenile delinquency.

Similarly, Lauretta found that certain syndromes diagnosed as psychopathic are due to such early emotional disturbance. Despite the contradictory findings of some other researchers (e.g. Born, 1983, p.125), this factor remains just one of many factors which contribute to the causation of juvenile delinquency and crime.

Furthermore, attachment to parents (Hirschi, 1969), lack of parental supervision and support (Garry, 1975), maladjustment of the parents (Gibbens, 1961), wrong upbringing in general and child neglect (Bhattacharya, 1976), are all amongst the important details of the whole picture which more or less negatively affect the later personality development of the child. These details should be recognized in order fully to understand the way in which the whole family as one of the important factors which contributes in the causation of delinquency and crime.

To sum up briefly, the quick and deep socio-cultural changes which have taken place in Algerian society during the last 25 years has left the family suffering from serious conflict. Children are obviously the first to suffer the consequences of this situation. Though many researchers sustain the assumption that broken home is the most important factor that causes delinquency, it is abundantly clear that it is not sufficient. The broken home is but one characterization of family differences and it is not adequate to explain delinquent behaviour. Thus, it

becomes obvious that in order to understand how and to what extent the family, as one amongst many major factors, contributes in the explanation and understanding of delinquency causative factors, it is of prime importance to account for all the details that form the whole.

If one takes the same example that a detail is fundamental to understanding the whole, the family in this case becomes only one detail of the whole picture. In other words, the literature about the causes of juvenile delinquency and crime (the whole picture) is so wide and varied. No matter how important and necessary for the understanding of the causes of delinquency it seems to be, the family (a detail) represents only one cause. School for instance has taken a large place in this literature. The question is: How and to what extent does school, as a detail of the whole picture, contribute in the explanation of delinquency?

4.4   School and Delinquency

The school is a crucial institution that lies between the conventional family and the conventional world of work and marriage. The school is the crossing bridge between childhood and maturity. It is the midway between ignorance and knowledge.

School as an educative institution is not only the place where an individual acquires knowledge and skills, but is a place where he cultivates a way of life whose end is not diplomas but kinds of persons (Barron, 1975).

In Algeria, the population aged under 19 years increased from 5 million in 1962 to 6 million in 1967. It reached 9.5

million in 1977 and 12 million in 1983. One of the important
needs of this rapidly increasing population is education. Hence
the need to provide universal education was necessary.

The recentage of children attending school increased
from 40.8% in 1966 to 74.6% in 1980. But, by 1977-78 a high
proportion (13.5%) of this population stopped attending school
by the age of 14. These numbers characterize the need for a
massive evolution of the educational structures in Algeria since
Independence (Boutefnouchet, 1986). The generalization of
education and the very quick increase of the number of pupils
have given rise to many deficiencies such as overloading of
classrooms, unsatisfactory training of teachers, bad adjustment
of the educational methods and programmes to the needs of youths
which probably contribute to the increase in school failures and
in the numbers of drop-outs.

Statistics reported by Benlastrache (1983) show that more
than 60% of delinquents experienced a school failure. It is
therefore clear from this simplified picture that school failure
is one of the reasons why young people become involved in
delinquent activities. But how does the school contribute in the
causation of delinquency involvement?

4.4.1   The role of the school

There is mounting evidence that delinquency and school

failure are correlated. Hence many researchers came to the

conclusion that the rate of school failure is higher amongst

delinquents compared to their normal siblings who succeed at

school (e.g. Walter and Kennett, 1967; Alberts and Harwin, 1974).

There is a variety of negative aspects in the Algerian

school which are likely to cause failure:

1. Overloading of classrooms

2. Unsatisfactory training of teachers

3. Lack of cultural and sports activities

4. Most of the boys come from families in which both

parents are illiterate.

In fact 82% of children born in 1983 had an illiterate mother and

65% an illiterate father (Bahmane, 1987). These kind of parents

do not obviously have that appropriate style for dealing with the

school and lack the experience and the basic aptitudes to

enhance the educational process of their children outside the

school.

All these factors and many others are likely to encourage

the negative attitudes and feelings of the child towards the

school and all the people who are related to it. These negative

attitudes and feelings towards the school are likely to lead the

child to experience long periods of absence from school and even

to drop out of it. In addition, and more importantly, the boy who

does not like school and who does not care what teachers think

of him is to this extent free to commit delinquent acts (Hirschi,

1969). The extent to which the school contributes in

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the causation of delinquency is such that if it could control all the social and psychological factors that provoke delinquency, it would prevent it to a very great extent.

Although the new educational system recently introduced in the Algerian school has raised the school-leaving age to 15 years, the number of delinquents is still rising from one year to another. This may be due to the fact that this new educational system is not experientially adjusted to the mental and intellectual needs of pupils. It may also be explained by the fact that it was incompatible with the socio-cultural and economical reality of the country.

4.5   Youth in society

One of the main preoccupations of the Algerian government is the youth of the country. Young people under 30 years comprise 60% of the whole population. They amount to more than 10 million inhabitants. The list of the needs of this section of the population is long and varied. Education, training, employment, sports, tourism, cultural activities are amongst many needs for which the provision is not satisfactory. While the domain of education attends to the most important need of this population and has shown a remarkable development, the other needs are largely unmet among a high proportion of young people.

4.5.1   Education and employment

We have seen in the previous section that a great proportion of youth did not actually achieve a high educational level. The

percentage of this category of the youth is 13.5% of the entire scholastic population which means 1,658,000. The efforts of the Algerian government to solve their problems have been unsatisfactory.

Although the total number of probationers has reached 258.000 under the supervision of 13.000 teachers, a high proportion of youths who are expelled from school are still without any kind of occupation (O.B., 1988). In fact, this group contained over one million youths aged between 15-20 years by the early 1980's. Many reasons are implicated in the explanation of this dangerous phenomenon of youth unemployment. Firstly, in order to be accepted in one of the public sector training schools one has to fulfil some specific requirements. A certain educational level is one of them. However, most of the youths who left school do not fulfil this fundamental requirement. Therefore, their only chance to be trained and be more or less qualified to get a job is to join the private sector.

Although the training of the category of youth which is trained within the private sector is under the full responsibility of the government, most of the youths prefer to be trained in a specialized training school for many reasons such as to avoid exploitation. In other words the private sector does not seriously consider the training of these youths, it uses them for rather different purposes.

The second factor concerns the changes which have taken place in the field of employment during the last few years. The development of the industrial economy, which has been realized in Algeria due to the introduction of science and technology almost

is every domain, has had a great impact on employment. The standard of qualification required has escalated during the last few years. A good qualification and some years of expertise is becoming more and more the keyword of the national and private employers. The less qualified youths, especially if they have not graduated from one of the specialized training schools, have very little chance to get an acceptable job with a satisfactory salary.

The situation obviously has many implications, particularly when one thinks of the new cultural needs introduced not only by the general development of the society, but by the cultural invasion as well.

4.5.2   Youth and the Socio-cultural change

The cultural contradictions which were referred to in the first section have had great impact on youth. Their susceptibility to the diverse social and cultural influence comes from their lack of preparation for receiving and interpreting the different value systems present in the society.

Being subject to a variety of contradictory cultural patterns such as the family pattern, a pattern presented by the mass media, another one induced by the environment, a fourth one proposed by the different educational disciplines, the reaction of youth is to experience anxiety to say the least. His personality becomes becomes as diversified as the social and economic strata, social contradictions and the cultural patterns manifestly present in the society (Boutefnouchet, 1986).

Nevertheless, modernity, or the new style of life, has introduced a variety of new needs. Thus, to be 'dressed to impress' is achieved only when youth is clothed according to the last fashion in the West, has a radio cassette player and the latest music in the country or in the West, goes to discos, and so on. These are amongst the new needs of the youth which cost a lot of money. For example, blue-jeans such as Lois, Lee or Levis cannot be bought for less than 500 D.A. (£71), and a radio cassette player would cost 2000 D.A. (£285) if bought in the black market.

Accordingly, the youth who does not find the money to satisfy his needs, or whose parents cannot afford to do so for him is likely to turn to the easy gain. Theft, burglary and black market dealing are only a few amongst many unlawful activities for male youth, whereas prostitution is one such activity for female.

In addition there are other factors which can affect youth in a variety of ways. For example, lack of entertainment for the overwhelming majority of youth is one of the crucial factors which leaves them suffering from boring and personal destructive habits. Halhani (1986) suggests that home is the only place where youths spend most of their daily and weekly free time as well as well as most of their holidays. He went on to explain:

> "The phenomenon of this "stationary situation" of youths in their homes leads the inexperienced to proceed to a surprising primitive deduction: the Algerian has enough comfort to stay at home. But knowing that the rate of occupancy per house is beyond the (normal) and that many families live in a certain intimacy due to the housing problem, the perception of this phenomenon becomes more complex than it seems to be" (p.12).

The analysis concludes that the deficiency of cultural, leisure and tourism structures intended for youths is the reason why they stay at home.

Besides, young people experience a whole range of psychological and socio-cultural frustrations. Firstly, they are frustrated in their primitive needs during the first stages of their development and socialization after which even their needs of parental identification becomes problematic. Secondly, they are frustrated in their experiences at school which obviously enhances feelings of hate and resentment. Thirdly, they are even frustrated in their last hope of getting a job at least to preserve feelings of self-worth and self-esteem. Last but not least, their other frustrations are due to the lack of leisure and satisfactory means of entertainment, in addition to the colourful social and cultural messages which do not actually give them much real choice in proceeding towards maturity.

Although the majority of young people below 19 years of age manage to keep their hands clean and refrain from getting involved in any kind of unlawful activities despite all the facts mentioned above, an important number do commit crimes and offences and do become chronic delinquents.

Bearing in mind that official statistics never give the real number of delinquents in any society, the 15,000 presented as the total number of delinquents in the Algerian society is far from being truly representative. In addition and more importantly, this number shows a constant increase as shown by the statistical data reported by the security forces. So, a mean annual increase of 8% for legally-defined delinquency, whereas

the increase of "actual delinquency" is more important for being less controllable.

4.6   Discussion and Conclusion

     If the assumption that personality is the result of the "bio-psycho-social" (Lafon, 1950) conditions in which the individual lives and grows, it becomes therefore absurd to claim that this or that specific factor is responsible for delinquent behaviour and crime without considering all the factors which work in combination to shape the individual's personality, character and behaviour.

     On the one hand, the biological theories of delinquency have shed light on many factors which are likely to cause delinquency or at least are likely to predispose the individual to become a delinquent with a special reference to heredity (Sheldon, 1940; Juan & Florence, 1972; El-Daouri, 1985). The sociological theories, on the other hand, provide us with several viewpoints which cannot be ignored. The different sociological theories such as anomie theory, control and strain theory, subculture theory and labelling theory, which are reported in the literature, should never be considered separately when accounting for delinquency and crime or any other kind of maladjustment.

     Many psychologists believe that the individual psychological forces play an important role in the causation of delinquent behaviour. Then formula for delinquency in psychoanalytic terms, for instance, maybe an Id too strong in aggressive drives plus a Super-ego too weak and defective. The weakness of the Super-ego would account for the commission of the crime (Freud, 1927).

In addition, many researchers in the field of morality and delinquency conclude that delinquents tend to use stage 2 of preconventional moral reasoning (Thornton and Reid. 1982; Eugene, 1972; Gregory, 1977). Another viewpoint claims that delinquency may be regarded as due to failure of the individual's internal control (e.g. Gibbens, 1961). Gold (1978) suggests that delinquent behaviour is an ego defence against the external realities that threaten a young person's self-esteem. This defence is against the recognition of an external threat, not against an internal conflictual impulse.

Further, some writers see that an unmanifested neurotic personality is behind delinquent behaviour. On this point of view Heinrich and Reiwalf (1961) say:

> "-. the connection between crime and neurosis is extremely close. The main characteristic of the overwhelming majority of criminals -. is manifested in an abnormal emotional state without recognizable neurotic features" (p.50).

The opposite of this very viewpoint is claimed by many researchers who see that the personality of criminals or delinquents is neither neurotic nor psychotic. Henge (1973), for instance, says:

> "-. adolescents who behave in antisocial ways because they are in conflict with the rules under which they have to live are not necessarily psychologically unhealthy" (p. 29).

Another viewpoint courageously stated by Juan and Florence (1972) say:

> "-. most delinquents are not neurotic, and the concept of mental illness does not apply to them" (p. 313).

Nevertheless, a general picture of the personality of delinquents could be as follows:

a.   lack of confidence.

b.   many compensating mechanisms.
c.   denial of responsibility with projection to

    environment.

d.   lack of satisfaction in every day life.

e.   need for excitement.
f.   poor conscience formation and acceptance of low

    control standards.

g.   impulsiveness with poor personal controL

h.   lack of thought for the future.

i.   preoccupation with immediate gralification.

j.   failure to learn by experience.

1.   poor personal relationships.

m.   anti-authority, anti-social attitudes.
n.   identification with delinquent culture groups and

    attitudes.

It could be said that the unique cause which must determine the phenomenon, never exists when it comes to crime and delinquency. As Stanciu (1980) clearly states it:

> "-. there is neither determined conditions, nor particular constrained ones in the etiology of crime. The same factor can determine a man to commit a crime, but not another" (p. 30).

Therefore, the concept of the "bio-psycho-social" perspective mentioned above is the most appropriate when it comes to studying crime and delinquency. As Bovet says:

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"No one who wishes to gain an insight into the causes of
social maladjustment and one of its consequences,
juvenile delinquency, can afford to neglect any one of the
three terms of this expression" (p.41).

Researchers and writers in this field have been trying to

illuminate the most important factors which are likely to cause

juvenile delinquency and crime. The important question which

should be answered would be: so long as delinquency is

established in most contemporary societies, how can we counter

it, treat it and prevent it?

5. Court Practices Applied to Juvenile Delinquents

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the main court practices which are applied to juvenile delinquents in Algeria. It also presents a definition of the most common means of rehabilitation.

Juvenile delinquents go through a very complex process before a decision is made about their disposal. Some specific jurisdiction practices are applied to juvenile delinquents in an attempt to seek the most suitable means of dealing with them and to avoid compromising their future. Many persons from different disciplines are brought together in order to see that justice is done and that the welfare of minors is well considered.

The key questions are: What are the placement decisions that the juvenile courts are able to make? Who are the officials of this jurisdiction? How does this jurisdiction deal with juveniles in different circumstances? What are the practical problems? These questions are briefly answered in the following sections.

5.2 The Different Disposals of Juvenile Courts

There are rules which all juvenile courts must consider when dealing with minors. The first is that for full powers to operate the age of the minor must not be less than 13 and not yet 19 years. The minor who is aged less than 13 years can normally be subject only to admonition. The determining age is the age on the day of the contravention or lawbreaking.

Secondly, the minor can be subject only to one of the following alternative welfare or rehabilitation disposals:

- to send him back to his parents, to his tutor or to a trusted person;
- to apply for a probation order;

- to put him in an institution, or in a public or private vocational training establishment designed for the treatment of delinquents;
- to put him in a special medical or medical and educational establishment;

- to put him in a public welfare service which provides treatment;
- to put him in a suitable living-in institution for juvenile delinquents of school age.

Finally, when it is considered necessary in light of the circumstances of the delinquent or of his personality characteristics, he can be sent to a penitentiary or can be fined.

5.3 The Officials of the Juvenile Court

In this section we give a short account of the persons who act within the juvenile court, and who have the ability either to make decisions, or to contribute to the proceedings.

In every court area there is a juvenile court, made up of a juvenile judge, a president and two assessors. The assessors are nominated by a ministry of justice order for a period of 3 years. They are selected from persons of both sexes, they must be aged more than 30 years, be of Algerian nationality, and must be marked by their competence and by the interest they have in childhood problems.

Further, there is also a juvenile chamber in every court of justice. One or many counsellors are officially assigned to represent the counsellor's office that is in charge of the welfare of minors. In case of an appeal the counsellor has the same powers as a juvenile judge to order the various inquiries about a case. He presides in the juvenile chamber which he constitutes with two 'counsellor assessors' and the director of public prosecutions attended by a clerk.

Within the juvenile court the surveillance of minors who are placed on probation is conducted by probation officers. A probation officer is assigned to every minor either by a juvenile judge or by an examining magistrate. Obviously, the probation officer comes from the probation office of the area. His role in court is very important for the process of judging juvenile delinquents. He discusses the cases with the juvenile judge and brings his contributions to the attention of the decision maker in the form of arguments and opinions. He attempts to illuminate the case to the court from many standpoints in accordance with his professional training. Cases may be adjourned so that the probation officer can construct a report and make recommendations to the court at a later date.

The juvenile court is made up of a group of persons who come from different disciplines. However, they all have a common purpose: the welfare of minors. Although the probation officers cannot suggest ready made decisions to the court, their contribution in the court's process of decision making is very important. Some of the practical problems which are faced by

probation officers while at the court, are discussed
later in this chapter.

5.4 Dealing with Juveniles in Court

Dealing with juveniles in court has always been a sensitive
matter, for it is very difficult to establish justice and at the
same time to consider the welfare of those youngsters who appear
before the court. The way young delinquents are dealt with in
court differs from one society to another, despite the many
similarities which can be observed. In this section, therefore,
the focus is placed upon the different ways in which the Algerian
juvenile court deals with its juveniles.

The territory of any competent juvenile court is the
location in which the law is broken, the place of residence of
the minor, of his parents or tutor, the place where the minor is
caught, or the place where he is temporarily or permanently sent.

No prosecution can be initiated against a minor without a
preliminary investigation which is carried out by the examining
magistrate. However, when the minor has co-respondents or
accomplices beyond the age of majority (19 years), the public
prosecutor constitutes a special file for the minor. He, then,
requires the juvenile judge to proceed to a preliminary inquiry.

When the case proves to be exceptionally complex, the
director of public prosecutions orders an investigation of the
case from the examining instructor at the directed official
request of the juvenile judge.

The juvenile judge is required to carry out the best
possible procedures and investigations in order to arrive at a

clear representation of the truth, to provide an understanding of the personality of the minor, and to suggest the appropriate means of his rehabilitation. He or she proceeds either through an unofficial enquiry or by the methods of preliminary investigations of cases which are explained below. He or she can also order any useful actions, after considering all the rules of common law.

So, by means of a social inquiry the juvenile judge gathers information about a minor's material, moral and family situation, his character and antecedents, his assiduity and behaviour at school (if he is still at school), and the conditions in which he has been living or has been brought up. He or she can also order a medical examination, and a psychological report if there are good grounds. For this later purpose he or she can, if necessary, send the minor to an institution or to an observation centre.

The juvenile judge also informs the parents, the tutor or the guardian about the prosecution. In cases where the minor or his legal representative have not chosen a defender, the judge designates, or orders the designation of, an official defender. He or she can order social inquiries by probation officers. Only then can the juvenile judge make a decision according to one of the above measures of welfare or rehabilitation.

If the juvenile judge estimates that the facts constitute neither an offence nor a contravention, or that there are not sufficient charges against the minor, he or she decides to stop the case. If, however, the judge estimates that the facts constitute only a minor contravention, he or she then transfers

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the case to the relevant court which makes decisions in matters of contraventions. Whereas, when the judge estimates that the facts constitute a real offence, he or she formally issues orders to transfer the case before the juvenile section which makes decisions in the 'juvenile council chamber'.

Notice that the proceedings take place in camera. Once the parties are heard, the minor must appear before the court in company with his legal representative and his councillor. The witnesses can also be heard, if it is necessary.

If the proceedings reveal that the offence is not imputable to the minor, the juvenile section pronounces his release. However, if his culpability is established, yet the offence does not justify exceptional penalties such as a fine or a period of imprisonment, then it admonishes the minor, and sends him back to his parents, to his tutor or his guardianship. In the case where he is an abandoned minor, he is sent back to a trusted person.

The minor can also be sent on probation either provisionally for a trial period, or until he reaches the age of 19 years. The juvenile section can order the provisional execution of this decision notwithstanding any appeal. The final decision is given in camera. It is possible to appeal against it 10 days immediately after the verdict is given. This appeal will be brought before the juvenile chamber of the court. Now, what happens to the minor who has accomplices aged more than 19 years?

In case of an offence when the defendant has co-respondents or accomplices beyond the age of majority, the examining magistrate reports upon them all. He then sends the majors

before the concerned common law jurisdiction, he separates the minor's case and sends it before the juvenile court.

The juvenile court can, if the interest of the minor necessitates it, exempt him from appearing before the audience (all those permitted to attend). In this case the minor is represented by a lawyer, a defender or his legal representative.

Each case is judged separately and those permitted to attend the proceedings are: the witnesses of the case; the relatives; the tutor or the legal representative of the minor; representatives of institutions in charge of children; probation officers; and magistrates. The sentence, in this specific case, is pronounced in a public audience in the presence of the minor.

Thus, the juvenile court decides one of the disposals mentioned above. However, after having explicitly ascertained his culpability, minor's court can also provisionally send the minor on probation for a determined period before deciding on one of the placements or penalties.

Further, the minor may also appear before a juvenile court when he is accused by a person who constitutes himself a plaintiff. So, when the plaintiff intervenes to join his action to the one already exercised by the director of public prosecutions, this constitution takes place either before a juvenile court, before an examining magistrate, or before a juvenile judge.

However, the plaintiff who initiates the 'public action', only presents his petition before a judge within whose jurisdiction the child resides. The 'civil article', in this

case, is directed against the minor with the implication of his legal representative.

Furthermore, when both majors and minors are charged in the same case and the lawsuits are separated, the civil action will take place before the repressive jurisdiction in charge of judging majors, only if the plaintiff intends to persue the case against all of them. The minors, in these circumstances, do not attend the proceedings relating to the majors but are represented there by their legal representatives. The civil action, however, can not take place until the culpability of minors is clearly established.

Finally, where an appeal is made by the minor himself or by his legal representative, the examining magistrate can order further social enquiries. When the investigations are finished, he or she makes a decision. The decision could be either to stop the case or to transfer it to the relevant juvenile court.

Notice that the appeal against decisions has no suspensive effect except with respect to penalties such as a fine or a period of imprisonment.

5.5   Revision and modification of Welfare and Probation measures

Whatever measures are ordered by a court, they can be reconsidered and modified at any time by the juvenile judge:
  - at the request of the director of public prosecutions;
  - according to the probation officer's report; or

However, the judge must require the juvenile court to act when there appears to be need to decide that one of the other measures mentioned above should be applied.

One year after the execution of any decision that separates the minor from his family, the parents or tutor may make a request for restitution of guardianship. The parents or tutor must give a proof of their suitability to correct him. The minor himself can► also make a request to be returned to the guardianship of his parents or tutor. He must also give proof of the improvement in his behaviour. If the request is rejected, a further request is allowed after 3 months.

Where an order is liable to be modified, the age to be considered in order to apply a different measure is the one reached by the minor on the day the new decision is made.

Those who are competent to participate in decision-making which may modify the earlier decisions are as follows:

- the juvenile judge, the juvenile court, or the delegated magistrates that originally made the decision.
- the juvenile judge or court of the locality of the parents, the trusted person, the establishment or institution to which the minor was entrusted.

Further, a minor aged between 16 and 18 years who was subject to one of the measures previously mentioned and whose behaviour and constant lack of discipline are manifestly dangerous and render the relevant measure ineffectual, can be sent to an appropriate section of a special juvenile penitentiary establishment until an age that does not exceed 19 years.

The juvenile judge is empowered to use all means to ensure a minor,s safety. So, for example, he can decide to put the minor who is aged more than 13 years in a penitentiary establishment; but in this special situation, the minor must appear before the court as soon as possible.

The decisions which are made about points of law or modificatory processes in matters of probation, guardianship or institutionalization, can be implemented in a provisional way without considering any appeal.

5.6 Correctional Facilities: A Definition

It should be clear in view of what has been said above the main purpose of any juvenile jurisdiction (court, judge or chamber) is the welfare of the juveniles who appear before it. It has also been stated that there are many ways in which juvenile delinquents can be dean with after the decision is made. The focu, of this section, however, is placed on two specific ways of dealing with juvenile delinquents, these are: institutionalization; and probation and after-care.

There are over 30 institutions (specialized centres of rehabilitation) for juvenile delinquents which are distributed across the cities of Algeria. This number increases each year. Their main purpose is to receive and rehabilitate minors who are sent to them by juvenile jurisdictions. The structural organization of all these institutions is controlled by the relevant ministries. The enforcement of the rules of the institution is seen as a necessary and complementary condition to the academic and vocational training available in the

institution. Its purpose is essentially to develop the spirit of initiative of inmates as well as their individual and collective sense of responsibility.

Each institution contains some or all of the following three units:

Observation Unit: its task is the study of the personality of the inmate and his disorder mechanisms. This is achievable by means of direct observations of his behaviour, and by different examinations and inquiries. At the end of this period, which lasts between three and six months, a report matched with a recommendation about a definitive measure is addressed to the competent juvenile judge.

Rehabilitation Unit: this is especially in charge of ensuring minors' moral, civic and sports education, as well as an academic and vocational training with a view to his social rehabilitation. This is achieved according to the official programmes prepared by the concerned ministry.

After-care Unit: this is in charge of minors social reintegration in society. So, at the end of his rehabilitation, this unit can initiate external assignments. This is possible for every minor, after the view of the ' commission of educative action' of the institution.

The internal organization of the institutional staff is also done under the supervision and control of the relevant ministry (Fadhel, 1976). However, the director works in close contact with his staff in order to set-up a suitable and satisfactory timetable which facilitates the good functioning of the

institution and meets the needs of the inmates. The handling and management of inmates depends especially on the calibre of the individual educator.

Now, probation offices are set-up at a rate of one office per Willaya (administrative county). Each office may have other and subsidiary offices at its disposal in the same Willaya. There are, however, less than 30 operative probation offices all over Algeria which gives an average of one office for every 700, 000 inhabitants.

Probation offices (S.O.E.M.0.) take care of minors who are placed on probation by a jurisdiction or juvenile judge's order. These minors are either delinquents, in moral danger, or at risk of social maladjustment. Probation offices are also supposed to work in close contact with institutions and welfare centres for the purpose of after-care. They contain consultation and orientation units, as well as a reception and classifying units. Their purpose is to look after the moral and material situation of minors, and to give them support until an appropriate type of rehabilitation is determined. They are also supposed to look after their health, education, work and make sure that they use their leisure time constructively.

As with institutions, the organization and functioning of the probation service is defined by a ministerial order (Fadhel, 1976). A full account about what is actually done with delinquents within one institution and one probation service is presented in the following chapters (6 and 7).

5.7 Discussion and Conclusion

All the jurisdiction practices that are explained in this chapter are the result of 25 years of practice. In fact, they have been modified and better adjusted to the needs of juvenile delinquents for care, education and vocational training on two occasions, in 1972 and in 1982.

Obviously, several practical problems arise within the system. Firstly, there are no explicit statements about how the placement decisions are to be made. What information is required for a judge to make a reliable decision? On what standards does he base his decision, for instance, to remove a child from home? There is nothing wrong with the court practices themselves, but what might become a problem is the manner in which these practices are applied. Some youngsters may not need to be removed from home and sent to an institution or a penitentiary, if their case was deeply studied and understood in the first place.

The second problem is closely related to the first one. It is concerned with the opinion of some sentencers about probation work. Some judges, according to the experience of some probation officers, have no faith in probation practices. For these judges, the only way to deal with a 'delinquent' is to send him away from the community.

It is well understood that the first purpose of a juvenile court or jurisdiction is the welfare of minors, notwithstanding the number and gravity of offences. However, when a minor is sent to an institution for an observation report, he will spend from three to six months there, and possibly more, before he is

judged. Judges or magistrates may not consider how the minor will react to this experience. Considering the way in which some institutions are ruled, some minors may react in a more delinquent manner. Further, institutions may be effective in dealing with some delinquents, but not with all of them. However, sentencers are supposed to be very well aware of the true kind of treatment delinquents will receive in this or that place, before they decide to send them there, even for a report. Accordingly, minors should be sent to the most appropriate place for their rehabilitation or a report.

Dealing with juvenile delinquents is a very difficult process and requires more focused, clear and less formal court practices, if it is to handle young people with care and in accordance with society's choice. In short, the court would be better off, if it worked in coordination with welfare agencies with more understanding, flexibility and less authority.

6. Description and Evaluation of an Institutional Programme

6.1 Background

Institutionalization is a means of dealing with young offenders. It arises as an alternative to imprisonment. Like a prison, one of its purposes is to keep individuals who are regarded as a threat to themselves and society in restraint until it is lawfully and socially determined that they may be released. At the same time there is usually some attempt to ensure that while restrained, the young people use their time to prepare for a law-abiding, selfmaintaining life after release.

Algeria has gained some experience in dealing with young offenders. However, no examination of the effect of institutions on offenders has ever been carried out. This chapter gives a detailed description of one particular institutional programme, its main problems, and an attempt is made to evaluate its effect on offenders.

The establishment was built at the end of 1898 while Algeria was under French occupation. It served as a prison until the application of the legislation on delinquent children in 1945. In 1954 the establishment was called a 'Public Institution of Supervised Education'. After Algerian Independence in 1962, it was taken over by the Ministry of Justice for the purpose of minors' welfare and rehabilitation. Only one year atter, the Ministry of Youth and Sports took it over for the same purpose. It was in 1981 that the Ministry of Social Welfare, at that time

called 'Secretariat of State to Social Welfare', became responsible for its management.

The institution is situated not far from the centre of Algiers the capital and the nearest town is Birkhadem. The institution is surrounded by small buildings on all sides. It can hold up to 130 inmates. The staff that work in it are divided into the following:

an administration and financial service.
- 2 principal educators.

6 'quarter' educators.

- 5 workshop teachers.

- 2 academic teachers.

- 1 physical and sports education teacher.

- 1 psychologist and a male nurse.

The <u>administration and financial service</u> is in charge of the management of human and material means as well as the conduct of the financial book-keeping of the institution.

The role of the <u>principal educator</u> consists of the following tasks: (a) the coordination between the groups of inmates inside the institution; (b) ensuring the training of probationers in the institution; and, (c) providing direction when the director is absent.

The <u>'quarter' educator</u> is in charge of a group of more than 20 inmates divided into 3 teams. He takes care especially of the welfare and rehabilitation of inmates in their living quarters.

Academic teachers are in charge of that part of the teaching which is in addition to their vocational or workshop training.

The workshop teachers (instructors) are in charge of the inmates' vocational or workshop training.

The physical and sports education teacher ensures the teaching of indoors and outdoors sports activities.

The psychologist and the institutional nurse look after minors' physical health and psychological state.

This is broadly how the staff is divided and the different tasks each member has to carry out with inmates inside or outside the institution.

6.2   The Main Components of the Institutional Programme

6.2.1   Diagnostic techniques

In order to study the personality of inmates, the institutional staff use a number of diagnostic techniques.   So, many staff members, 'quarter' educators in particular, study each youngster from several standpoints as it is explained in what follows.

6.2.1.1 Social History

Once the minor arrives at the institution he is picked up by the observation unit. A file is completed for each minor including some information about his general situation, his family, his social background and his personal history as well as his behaviour and medical state. The educator is also interested in what influences and opportunities have played a part in the

minor's life. So, he talks extensively with the youth, with the parents, relatives and all the persons such as former employers or teachers, who might bring some new information to the whole story.

6.2.1.2 Psychological data

The psychological investigation of cases seems to be a special step in the whole process of data collection about the inmates. It is ordered by the director or the principal educator only if one of the youths seems to be responding very badly to their rehabilitative programme or when his observation is very difficult. Consequently, those who tend to withdraw from the group or make sure that they are not caught in any troublesome situation, are considered normal and are not required to undergo any kind of examination. The psychologist declared the following:

> "My work here is very limited, it consists mainly in making some psychological examinations when it is necessary. For this purpose I proceed by means of clinical interviews and some paper and pencil tests which are more or less easy to interpret. My professional contacts with the educators is not encouraging".

In sum, his work consists of making psychological reports about the inmates who disturb the orderly collective life that the educators try to bring to the several groups.

6.2.1.3 Education Data

These data include educational achievement and vocational aptitude records obtained by interviews with the inmate and his parents. This phase of the diagnostic programme consists mainly of observing the individual during the different activities such

as school classes, physical education training, and pre-vocational or vocational workshop programmes.

6.2.1.4   General Observation

The main role of the staff members throughout this first period of institutionalization is to get to know how the inmate functions on a day-to-day basis; in this activity, it is borne in mind that people with similar backgrounds, interests and abilities differ greatly in how they apply themselves in a given situation. So they can get some impressions of how an inmate functions by observing him in formal programmes such as school classes, pre-vocati onal or vocational training lessons, and during the various weekly sports and cultural activities. The individual often reveals even more about himself during recreation periods in the yard, in the group or living quarters, at meals, and so on.

All the information and impressions gained by the staff members are, in each case, pulled together and organized in a written report after discuss on by the "commission of educative action" of the institution. These reports give a more of less specific idea about each case and could be used as a guide for the classification of inmates. However, this important and necessary procedure is completely neglected

6.2.2   Punishment and control

The inmate knows through discussions and explanations what is expected from him in matters of standards. He knows that living in an institution amongst a group of others requires some

respect and self-control in order to preserve and maintain acceptable and orderly conditions in the collective life.

Most people need more than this to do well. They may know that certain things are good or bad for them in the long-run. But they seem to require short-run consequences in order to help keep going. The problem is more complicated with young people, who usually do not look very far ahead but tend to live for the here and now.

Consequently, if the inmate does well he can expect certain verbal rewards and certain advantages especially in his relationship with his educator. On the contrary, if he does poorly during the week days all his mistakes are noted, counted, and disclosed during the weekly meeting. This weekly meeting takes place before a disciplinary commission which consists of an educator, the president of the group (one of the inmates), and the leaders of the teams that constitute the group. The inmate may suffer certain penalties.

These penalties are of two general types:
(1) A show of displeasure on the part of someone who has a privileged relationship with the inmate and whose opinion is important to him. Such a correction is often directed towards the inmate by his immediate supervisor who is the quarter educator. This is especially applied where the inmate failure is

not flagrant.
However, if it is a matter of violating some regulation or orders, the educator would consult with the commission during the weekly meeting and would decide upon one of the following penalties or losses:

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- deprivation from watching T.V. during a period of time (not more than 15 days);

   - deprivation from the weekly afternoon movie privilege;

   - deprivation from going home on weekly permission (may last a month);
- put him on fatigues doing extra tasks in the institution;

(2) The second type of penalty is more serious and can put the inmate in a very serious situation. So, when he fails to adapt to the standards, where his moral deficiencies are rather serious and persistent, or where the violation of the rules amounts to an offence, the educator immediately calls a meeting of the " commission of educative action". This commission draws up a report about the facts and sends it through the director to the relevant juvenile judge who must immediately decide about an alternative allocation. He may decide, for example, that the inmate should be sent to a correctional establishment for a period.

6.2.3   Incentives and rewards

The inmate sees his opportunities increase so long as he behaves according to the standards of the institution. Some of the available rewards are mentioned in the discussion of penalties. The other types of rewards are playing football, participating in table tennis tournaments, going for a walk in the nearby communities, and so on.

Furthermore, following the official regulations of the institution and under the authority of the juvenile judge a youth

can have unusual opportunities such as an apprenticeship in a specialized training school, or a job outside the institution. The completion of vocational training will also gain the

individual a certificate which is of practical value.

6.2.4   Working with groups
     The rehabilitative programme of the institution is mainly based on extensive group guidance. The educator looks forward to influencing the attitudes of inmates through his constant contact with them during the activities in which they have a natural interest. The work with groups takes many forms such as manual activities, football teams, table tennis teams, folklore activities, and the offering of political, civic and religious advice. The amount of time groups spend together under the guidance of an educator varies according to the importance of activities. The focus in these activities is placed primarily on promoting morality, sociability, self-respect and personal growth.

     The inmates gather each week with the executive board of the institution to discuss the problems they meet in their daily life and suggest some solutions. Every inmate can take part and expresses frankly what is on his mind. The president of the group must be aware of the principles and standards in accordance with which the group should perform its tasks. So he has to work continually to help the group keep in mind just what it is doing, what its goals are and what standards are important.

     Apart from group guidance and counselling, the educator is also interested in the group members as individuals, especially

those who seem, according to his view, in need of special help. This kind of help and individual guidance is of two types. The first is to help the inmate to face and solve his personal problems through discussion and supervision. The second is to provide the youth with an example of an adult way of life which he can use as a guide in his groping toward maturity.

Most of the staff members perform the second service: their personal way of life, their way of handling problems, their way of making use of their time are exposed everyday before the inmate. So, they represent the world of authority and law-abiding adults through this continuous contact, and hope to see the inmates identify with them and pick up some of their ideas, their standards, their interests and so on. In many cases this proves to be one of the most important features of their rehabilitative programme. At times the inmate is able to use such a relationship to expose his problems and future plans with them and pay a great deal of attention to their orientation or suggestions.

The question which may arise here is whether the educators are really able to perform efficiently and effectively these tasks and help the inmates to change in their behaviour, attitudes, socialization, personal insights, and so forth. Particularly, when we know that quarter educators complain not only about the lack of material and human facilities, but about the large number of inmates as well.

Here now are some glimpses of life in the institution extracted from interviews with the quarters educators and instructors:

Answer 1: " The number of youths is just too high and I sometimes feel that I am wasting my time and theirs'. Although I have been working with them for more than 15 years now, I still have problems in handling the inmates individually or in groups: firstly, because of the number of inmates: secondly, because there is no kind of adaptation to new techniques of reeducation (rehabilitation): finally, because we do not receive any kind of help from the specialized people working in or outside the institution."

Answer 2: " Not only has the number of inmates exceeded limits - twelve is the ideal number - but we do not have sufficient human and material facilities as well. However, I do admit that we still need theoretical and practical training in what has been developed recently in the field of reeducation of juvenile delinquents."

Answer 3: " Up to now I do not have any special method to use with inmates. I only try to concentrate on group cultural and sports activities as well as guidance and counselling. I also try to supervise the most difficult cases who disturb the orderly life which I strive to bring into the group. Besides, I have many inmates and this is really what makes it more tough for me to do a proper job ".

6.2.5 Quarters life

For a youth in a rehabilitative institution his quarters is the most important place. Here he spends more hours in the week than anywhere else. Thus, he sleeps here and takes care of his special hygiene. Here is where he can really enjoy a sense of

property and belonging. Here he can enjoy the company of the educator, his closest friends, he can talk about his dreams, can participate in the discussions by giving his opinions about how the activities and the life in the institution should be. Also this is the only place where he can take part in the different activities organized in the quarter under the supervision and orientation of the educator, watch T.V. and go to bed if he feels like doing so when the time arrives.

Nevertheless, observing and counselling youths in quarters is not limited to problems of hygiene and behaviour. The educator is also concerned with the youth who requires attention and guidance, with the youth who refuses to participate in the activities organized in the quarters, and with those who for some reason refuse to get out of quarters to take part in the outdoors activities.

The quarter educator is required to supply a quarterly report of observation about every youth. This report and those of the other educators (academic teacher, sports and education training teacher, work-shop instructor) allow the "commission of educative action" to make an evaluation of each case especially of those who are about to be released.

It also considers things such as the special problems of the inmate, his interests, his ability to do well in different activities offered by the institution. There are naturally many other specific problems which commonly occur in quarters and require special knowledge and training from the educator. These problems include patterns of stealing, illicit sex relations and activities, drug use, alcohol, fights and so on.

These special cases are normally sent to the psychologist of the centre who makes a clinical report on each case. This report is supposed to be used as an element to prescribe the necessary techniques of rehabilitation which each case may require.

6.2.6   Rehabilitation by work

The vocational training in the institution is designed to provide practical experience and knowledge in a particular trade. The inmate has the choice from only 4 trades and these are: soldering for beginners; soldering for more experienced youths; woodwork; and electricity. In each of these trades the inmate is trained by a specialized instructor who also received a period of training in rehabilitative techniques. He teaches the inmates technological information relevant to the trade.

Some of the problems which are believed to hamper the progress of inmates and in some instances discourage the instructors from doing their work properly are mentioned here. We first give a very short account of the recent history of workshops. In the late 1970's there were 9 workshops in the institution including the 4 previously mentioned and the following: mechanics shop, dark room, fitting shop, plumber's shop, and paint shop. These 5 workshops were closed for different reasons such as lack of equipment in the market, insufficient budget, lack of specialized instructors, and so on.

The 4 workshops which are still operating in the institution lack special and necessary equipment and materials. Further, the educational level of the inmates is very poor thus rendering the

instructors' task more difficult and complicated. The instructors seemed very unhappy and frustrated by the conditions they were compelled to work in and because they could not realize their hopes for the inmate's development. Here are some of their own statements:

First Instructor: "The purpose we all hope to realize with the inmates and the means we are using - material means specifically - are incompatible. Therefore, our purpose is hardly realized with most inmates."

Second Instructor: "If a man wants to do a proper job and has the appropriate means, the rest is his competence and knowledge. The situation which I and my colleagues often find ourselves in is that the second condition exists but the former is very poor. In other words, we are ready to work very hard but do not have sufficient means to realize our purpose with the inmates."

The youths themselves seemed to be very frustrated about this problem. Here are some of their important answers to the following question: "Do you feel that you are gaining some useful skills from the workshops in which you are working?"

First answer: "I was expecting more than that, I think we are acquiring only very simple things ."

Second answer: "I spent two years here and acquired many useful tricks, but I wonder if I can get a job when I leave here because things have changed outside. People are rather looking for more experienced workers ."

Third answer: "I guess, well I came here or was sent here with a hope that I would acquire some skills and useful tricks in

order to get a job when I get out of this institution and stop (
running) stealing -. The workshop in which I was put few days
after I arrived here is not well equipped and the teachers are
hell -. I feel that. Sorry:"

While some workshops are acceptably equipped, especially
those which do not require sophisticated equipment and, more
importantly, safety equipment, both the instructors and the
inmates are not very satisfied with the way that other
workshops are equipped.

6.2.7   Education
    The programme mainly consists of the teaching of Arabic,
grammar, arithmetic and general information. The youths are
divided into three different levels which makes the task of the
teacher simpler. The teachers are full-time workers in the
institution. They develop some relationships with the inmates.
In this as in other ways the academic programme is much like
the vocational programme. The main problem which the teachers
within the institution face is the fact that the academic level
of the inmates is in general very poor. They remember little of
what they had learnt in the past. As with the workshop
instructor, the task of the teacher is made more difficult by
the lack of materials and the necessary equipment.

6.2.8   Recreation
    The recreational programme is important in the institution.
Part of the inmates time is spent in recreational activities

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during which they can enjoy themselves and liberate
the frustrations they often meet in the institution.

These recreational activities include healthful physical
activities such as football, table tennis and cross country
running; activities such as manual work where the youth has the
chance to produce objects that his friends can appreciate;
cultural activities where the youth can have the opportunity to
dance and sing traditional songs, as well as T.V., movies, and
their weekly 'permissions'. Going home for the weekend is very
important for the youth, but. to be allowed this he has to behave
in an exemplary way during week days in all the activities in
which he takes part and be obedient to the orders of his team
leader, the president of the group and the educator in
particular.

6.2.9   Absconding
In an institutional setting, absconding or 'runaway' is
often one of the major problems the administration and the
educators have to deal with. Runaway could be considered a
natural reaction of some special cases who cannot adjust to
the life in the institution or simply because they were not
having as much fun as they were expecting.

This situation becomes a problem only when the average of
runaways is considered rather high, as is the case in the present
institution: up to 23% of inmates runaway at least once during
their stay. Some of them rejoin the institution under the
direction of the parents or the police, but many of them never
come back, particularly those who come from other cities.

Apart from a tight surveillance, no other solutions have been suggested in order to counter the problem of runaway. However, the only explanation which was given as an excuse is the following:

> ... we were told to leave the doors open so that the inmate does not feel that they are in a state of confinement ..
>
> . which is after all his reality ."

6.2.10   Medical services

The medical service is represented by an inexperienced male nurse in an institution which houses more than a hundred youths. Some of the inmates suffer some simple illnesses and injuries but they are not treated properly. The inmates seem to be more or less concerned with their health, but are most of the time frustrated because they can not get the right drug for the right pain.

6.2.11   Outside contacts

The inmates are allowed to engage in correspondence with their parents, their relatives or friends. This correspondence is controlled by the quarter educator and registered in a special notebook. The parents and relatives of the youth are also encouraged to visit the inmate from time to time. For this purpose there is a special visiting room where the inmate can talk freely to his parents, relatives and maybe his friends.

Each week a group of inmates visits nearby communities under the supervision of the educator. This gives an opportunity to

those who can not go home over the weekend to buy some special things such as cigarettes.

6.2.12   After-care

After-care is regarded as one of the most important steps in the fulfilment of whole programme of rehabilitation. When the inmate gives firm proof of his good conduct in all the situations within and outside the institution, and when it is lawfully determined that the inmate can be released, the institutional after-care unit takes charge of the case. Thus, the youngster is supposed either to be sent to one of the specialized training schools in order to fulfil his apprenticeship, or he is helped to get a job in one of the private or national firms. Getting a job for a youth who has been the subject of an institutional measure is not a simple process. The after-care service works very hard on job placement but without success in many instances.

Sometimes, the inmate himself may be able to obtain a job on his own using the help of his parents and his friends. The worst thing which can happen to a youth is that after release, he is left alone wandering in the same situation or worse than before having been labelled 'delinquent'. In this unfortunate situation, the youth can find all the reasons to recidivate. This time, however, the offences are likely to be more serious than before and might lead him to adult delinquency which is more difficult to correct.

The educators in charge of the after-care service who are better aware of the situation explain:

<u>First educator:</u> "The after-care period is the key step in the process of re-education and reintegration of the youth. Unfortunately in many instances we fail to manage an interesting job or apprenticeship for him. This is mainly due to the lack of cooperation of those who have the

ability to help us fulfil our job."

<u>Second educator:</u> "All I can say is that we want to help the youth to find something interesting and useful to keep him going without thinking about his past. However, those who are supposed to help us to help the youth are most of the time misunderstanding and do not cooperate."

6.2.13   Conclusion

on

The programme is, in general, directive in the sense that no kind of individual or group psychotherapy is applied with the inmates. It is directive so long as its base is guidance, counselling and supervision. The inmate is obviously helped indirectly through his participation in the range of group activities, work education and physical training, and so on.

On the other hand, the institution lacks many fundamental human and material facilities such as:

- the number of staff members working directly with the

  inmates is far from being sufficient.

- the staff are not well-trained to be effective in their

  work.

- the lack of medical facilities within the institution is very

  frustrating to the inmates.

- lack of cooperative work between the personnel of the institution.

- lack of necessary equipment and material within the workshops.

It was thought of some importance to mention the very last statement of one of the inmates who said:

"Let me tell you something ... this is not a re-educational institution, this is rather a place where a

youth can become more delinquent than he was before ...

Although this statement is not fully true, it represents what part of this thesis is all about. Thus, this assumption will be confirmed or invalidated in the following pages.

6.3 An Empirical Study 6.

3.1 Research design

Two groups of inmates from the institution at Birkhadem were selected for study. Measures of personal and social adjustment were used to examine the effectiveness of the rehabilitation programme. Two research designs were used as follows:

Group A - the 'before and after' sample - was first studied at the beginning of the period of rehabilitation and again after 3.5 months.

Group B - the 'after only' sample - was examined after an average period of 10 months in the institution and the results were compared with those from measures taken on Group A at the beginning of its rehabilitation period.

A series of steps was employed from recruitment of the

subjects to their follow up. These steps were as follows:

- identification of potentially eligible subjects and random recruitment;
- matching of the two groups;

- pre-testing of Group A and testing of the Group B;

- re-testing of Group A after 3.5 months;

- follow-up with interviews about inmates' feelings and

  attitudes towards the institution in general and including the staff.
  Group B was to be used to check outcomes from the follow-

up study using Group A. It is, obviously, difficult to draw

entirely satisfactory conclusions about the reactions of the
inmates to the programme only after 3.5 months. Lipton et al (1975)

say in this context:

  "   certain changes in the performance of offenders are
  immediate; others are delayed. To judge a treatment as
  successful, the length of time in follow-up must be taken into
  account" (p.20).
It was felt that the 10-month gap in experience between the pre-

tested Group A and the post-tested Group B would be sufficient

time to see change occurring, if the programme of rehabilitation

was any good. [The experimenter spent six months in the

institution living alongside the inmates and staff, but with out

financial support. Considering the difficulties of evaluating the

present institutional programme of rehabilitation - the first of

its kind in Algeria - the above designs were the best it was

possible to use.]

6.3.2   Selection of subjects

After many contacts with the institution two samples of 15 subjects each were selected from a pool of 103 subjects which was the total number of inmates in the institution at the time of the study.

The mean age of the Group A was 16.7 years. This group was used for two different purposes:

-   for a longitudinal study - pre-test and post-test - that

    lasted 3.5 months.
-   for a comparison with Group B from which post-rehabilitation

    measures were obtained.

The subjects of Group A were all new inmates who had not received any rehabilitation. They were additionally chosen according to the following criteria: they had been sent to the institution for an offence or because they were in moral and physical danger; and they had been institutionalized for rehabilitation.

There are two main reasons why this sample contained only 15 subjects. The first was that the institution did not receive, as was routinely expected, a high number of delinquents at the time that this study was taking place. The second reason was that several of the new inmates had been sent to the institution only for an observation report.

The second sample – Group B – was selected according to the first two eligibility criteria of Group A and, in addition, we required that each subject should have spent not less than 9 months in the institution and without absconding ('runaway') for

more than a week. Group B had spent an average of 10 months in

the institution and its average age was 17.6 years.
        Two of the difficulties experienced in selecting the samples

might be noted as showing something of the nature of the

institution. First, several inmates had a record of at least one

'runaway' which lasted more than two weeks. Secondly, most of

them had spent less than 9 months in the institution.

        The two samples were roughly matched on the following

characteristics:
    -   family situation (shown in Appendix Table A.1);

    -   family size (Appendix table A.2);

    -   academic achievement (Appendix Table A.q);

        reasons for institutionalization (Appendix Table A.4);
    -   age at admission to t)⁻.,_; institution;

The age of the Group A was 16.7 years and for Group B (at admission)

was 16.8 years.

6.3.3   Measures
        The instrument used to evaluate the effectiveness of the

institution's programme was a 100-item Egyptian questionnaire

called "Self-Conception Test" constructed by Mohammed, 1984.

According to the author, this test has been used with a

substantial number of cases to evaluate therapeutic changes in

various types of populations under different conditions. The

average pre- and post-test reliability of its scores over a week

interval is r=.955.

        Another reason why this specific test was used is the fact

that the items are written in a very clear and easy reading

classical Arabic. Considering the educational level of most inmates and probationers, it was the ideal test to use at that time.

The test consists of 100 items like the following:

1. I need another person to push me to do things.

2. I often blame myself for my deeds.

3. My relationship with others is very strong.
4.   I consider myself responsible for all the troubles I

    meet in my life.

5. Girls are attracted to my personality.
The full set of items and instructions is given in the Appendix. Each item is rated on an 8-point scale expressing the extent to which the item applies; or the respondent can say that the item applies 'not at all'. The respondent has, in effect, to do the task three times, giving 3 different ratings expressing 'personal self', 'a normal self', and 'an ideal self'. Three scores are derived from the responses:

  - General Adjustment is obtained from the sum of the

    numerical differences - item by item - between the

    ratings given to personal self and normal self.

  - Self Acceptance is obtained from the sum of the differences

    between the answers to personal self and ideal self.

  - Acceptance of Others is obtained from the sum of the

    differences between the answers of the normal self and

    the ideal self.

However, only the first scale (General Adjustment) was used in this study, because respondents found that providing the

answers about the ideal-self on the third run through the questionnaire to be very boring.

In addition, five other scales were defined by the author using the responses to the above test in a different way. A number of items were identified among the original 100 items of the test which corresponded to particular types of personal characteristics. These scales are as follows: Social

adjustment

e.g. I mix very well with others.

Feeling of personal well-being

e.g. I think highly of myself.

Dependency

e.g. I am easily influenced by other people's opinions.

Social withdrawal

e.g. I am afraid to mix with others.

Self dissatisfaction

e.g. I distrust myself.

The full selection of items is shown in Appendix B.

Finally, a 9-item scale about delinquent behaviour was developed on the basis of some interviews which were conducted with the staff of the institution concerning the types of irrational behaviour which was most often observed in inmates. Some other interviews were carried out with inmates for the same purpose. The scale is shown in Appendix and is described as 'Delinquent Behaviour'. This scale was applied by the quarter educators who observed the behaviour of the inmates during the different activities in the institution.

6.3.4   Research questions

It is explicitly stated that the purpose of the institutional programme was the rehabilitation (re-education) of the inmate and his preparation for a better re-integration in society. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the

institution in meeting this aim, the following research question was asked: Does the institutional programme of rehabilitation have any effect on inmates? To answer this general question two other specific questions were asked: Does Group A show any improvement between the first and second assessments (after 3.5 months)? Does Group B (after 10 months rehabilitation) show any improvement over Group A (0 months)?

These questions were studied on the seven scales described above.

6.3.5   Results

In order to answer the question whether any change was shown between the first and the second measures (after 3.5 months) taken in Group A, a one-group or 'correlated' t-test was used. The data in Table 6.1 show that none of the 7 measures yielded any significant differences (p>.05). Moreover, the highest difference, but still an insignificant one, was obtained on the scale of 'dependency' and showed a deterioration, an increase in dependency. Also shown in Table 6.1 are the numbers of subjects (out of 15) who show a positive change (improvement in adjustment) from first to second assessment on each of the scales. This was done to examine the changes additionally, but in a non-parametric way. None of the numbers of positive changes approached significance using the sign test (p>.05).

Table 6.1

Mean Scores on Adjustment Scales in Group A, Before and After

3.5 Months of Rehabilitation (N=15)

Scales	Mean Scores		t-ratio	no. of positive changes
	Before	After		
, General adjustment	104.26	103.26	0.10	7
Social adjustment	57.86	57.13	0.30	7
Personal well-being	35.73	38.60	0.70	7
Self dissatis.	33.66	34.73	0.25	7
Social withdrawal	30.66	33.40	1.35	1
Dependency	09.46	11.80	1.55	6
Delinquent behaviour	07.93	08.20	0.39	8

The answer to the second question - whether there is any differences between Group A (at zero months) and Group B (after 10 months) is shown in Table 6.2. Again the analysis yielded no significant differences (p>.05). The highest difference (t=1.73) was obtained for the Social Adjustment scale and this also showed a deterioration (although non-significant).

[Table 6.2 overleaf]

Thus the two studies gave rise to similar (insignificant) changes.

Table 6.2

Mean Scores on Adjustment Scales in Group A (0 months) and
Group B at 10 Months (N=15 in each group)

Scales	Mean scores Gp A	Gp B	t-ratio
General adjustment	104.26	97.53	1.27
Social adjustment	57.86	50.20	1.73
Feel person well-bein⁻	35.73	36.40	0.18
Self dissatisfaction	33.66	25.46	1.46
Social withdrawal	30.66	27.26	0.81
Dependency	09.46	09.06	0.18
Delinquent behaviour	07.93	07.80	0.08

6.4   Discussion and Conclusion

According to the 7 measures used in this study, the answer to the research question is that the programme is not effective in dealing with the inmates. However, the lack of significant differences and the negative tendency of some of the results may be explained in one of the two following ways:

(1) The present institutional programme of rehabilitation, is working but the research designs and statistical analyses failed to demonstrate its effectiveness.

(2) The programme was very unsuccessful in promoting change in its clients.

Regarding the first possibility, the lack of a control group may have been the reason why no significant differences were found with respect to the first design. Also important is the fact that the time that separated the two measures only 3.5 months was not sufficient to detect, the Longer term impact of the programme. It is also possible that the subjects who were included in Group A may have started with less delinquent behaviour than Group B. The fact remains, however, that according to the outcomes no significant change was found in either the longitudinal sample - Group A - nor in the comparison with Group B.

The second major possible explanation is that the programme of rehabilitation is not having major and positive effects on its clients. It may lack many fundamental components to become an effective programme. Some of these components were mentioned in the earlier description of the programme; some others are discussed here.

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At first, the majority of the inmates seemed to enjoy their stay at the institution, but several weeks later they markedly changed their views. Here is a view from one inmate which summarizes many others:

Researcher: "what do you feel about life in this institution?"

Inmate: "I really am feeling pleased because I am in this institution. There is a good atmosphere and I have already

easily made many friends. I am also very determined to acquire a full trade in order to get a good job after

release —

Almost 4 months later, after a short reminder about the previous interview the following interchange occurred:

Researcher: " -. what about now? Does the situation look better?"

Inmate: Not at all. On the contrary, things went all wrong. I understood exactly what was going on in this institution."

Researcher: "What do you mean?"

Inmate: "I can not tell you exactly what I mean, but I can simply say that this is not the place where most of us should he sent in the first place."

Researcher: "Why is that?"
Inmate: " -. because -. 'cause nothing works in this institution. Everybody is complaining even the educators .- and we are badly treated."

Although this view seems extreme, there were many similar statements and some of them were even more critical. Here is a

statement of an inmate who spent almost 10 months in the institution:

> "   as I was told, this institution is meant to take care of us and straighten young troublesome people like me, and him, -. Well -. I think that this institution is achieving quite the contrary of what it claims -. I wonder if any of the educators can really help one of the inmates here!
> "

In sum, most of the inmates who were interviewed individually or in groups reacted in a striking similar way. There were other problems which may also explain the generally negative tendency of the outcomes, though insignificant. Such problems are as follows: drug use, alcohol, homosexuality, acts of vandalism

within the institution, theft, and so on.

In brief, the present programme of rehabilitation resulted in insignificant differences on several measures concerned with personal and social adjustment according to the outcomes of both research designs. The impact of the institutional programme of rehabilitation on juvenile delinquents appears to be very limited and, if anything, seems to have deleterious effects in several respects.

Nevertheless, further detailed and more focussed research studies are required in order to be certain about the effect of this programme.

7   Description and evaluation of a probation programme

7.1 Introduction
     One of the most practicable alternatives to
institutionalization or imprisonment of young offenders is
probation care. In Algeria the potential of probation is growing
and, more importantly, it is on its way to established
recognition. As explained previously, legislation exists for
making probation orders for the supervision of young offenders.
Thus, the use of probation in Algeria is increasing and gaining
the interest of social welfare policy makers and the different
juvenile jurisdiction.

     This chapter gives a description of a probation office and
its programme, along with a discussion of the main problems that
are encountered by the probation officers. It also reports
results obtained from a first level analysis of an evaluation of
the programme.

7.2   Description of a Probation Service (S.O.E.M.O.).
     The SOEMO of Algiers was created by a ministerial address
of 19 August 1965 and since this date it has been under the
responsibility of the Ministry of Social Welfare. It is housed in
two ground floor flats situated in the centre of Algiers, the
capital. The first flat contains the director's office, the
office of the secretariat, and the office of the psychologist and
probation officers. The second flat contains a reception room,
two probation officers' offices, a psychologist's office, a

materials store.

The team of the SOEMO is composed of 13 staff, these are the director, an administrator, 9 probation officers and two psychologists. This office functions under the authority of a director attended by an administration, the probation staff, and medical and social personnel.

7.2.1 The Director

The director is responsible for the functioning of the office and he is also in charge of the following: minors' movements, personnel movements, quarterly financial reports, annual report of activities, statistical enquiries, summary of the notebook of audiences, budget project.

In addition, he directs the probation team with whom he draws up the plan of work, and he initiates the distribution of the tasks to the officers. He also summons, organizes and directs the weekly meetings of the personnel and fixes the agenda. The purposes of the weekly meetings are: to evaluate officers' work, to examine complex cases, and to draw up the reports concerning the situation of minors who are still on probation and those who are about to finish the period of the measure.

7.2.2 Administrative Personnel

The administration is the responsibility of an administrative secretary working to the director of the administration. She keeps up to date the different registers and in particular the register of jurisdiction orders; she plans the specialized examinations and summons the necessary persons; and,

she fixes the dates of case-reveiw meetings and provides its secretariat.

7.2.3 Probation officers

Probation officers take charge of the organization of the office and the rehabilitation of minors who are sent to them either on probation or welfare. They look after different geographic sectors of the city. Their rehabilitative work is achieved by means of enquiries performed within the family, at school and at work in order to diagnose the minor's maladjustment and to look for the solutions likely to hasten the reintegration of the young person.

In addition, every probation officer pursues the improvement of the minors in his charge. He also works in close contact with the relevant juvenile judge. He must keep his notebook, diary and minors' files up to date; he summarizes reports about minor's situation after the discussions of the special meetings; he calls to the attention of the juvenile judge in charge by writing to him about minors' behaviour or about any incident that seems to him to justify a modification of the probation order; he makes a half-yearly report about his activities to the director; he ensures continuity in the service.

When the probationer is undertaking vocational activity, the probation officer who takes charge of his surveillance must refrain from disclosing to the employer the measure to which he is subjected. However, this obligation does not bind the probation officer who had arranged a job for the minor.

The probation officer attends juvenile court hearings and
the preliminary investigations of cases at the request of the
relevant juvenile judge. For this purpose he advises the
juvenile judge about such things as the number of places
available in the living-in system, and the nature of any academic
or vocational opportunities offered to the minors.

7.2.4 Medical and Social Personnel

The medical and social personnel look after the physical and
mental health of minors who are sent to them either by the
probation officer or by a welfare establishment. Two
psychologists are available.

7.3 Background of the Probation Officer

Not all probation officers have the opportunity to go to a
university. They all spend two years in study and in
probationary periods before they start working with delinquents.
Most of them have been trained to work in institutional
settings. It is only after a period of at least 5 years of
institutional work that they have the right to work in probation
offices. This period is meant to enhance their experience and
expertise in handling delinquents. The training of the probation
officer or "educator" is mainly based on some theoretical
background in the following subjects: developmental psychology,
causes of delinquency, techniques of making social enquiries and
reports, as well as techniques of working with delinquents. The
probation officers are not trained more generally in social work
techniques. Consequently this deficiency has many important

implications and restricts their work only to supervision, social inquiries and the exercise of various legal options. The main tasks of the probation officer will be further explained later.

7.4   General Considerations

Every probation officer works according to a specific time-table. He is in charge of at least 12 cases, and perhaps as many as 20, at any one time, but they are not all offenders. Some of them are referred either by a juvenile judge or by a school director for a social enquiry report. Some others are sent to the probation office for a provisional period not greater than 3 months either for a social inquiry or on trial.   While this research was taking place in the office, the 12 probation officers were dealing with less than 60 full probation cases that had been referred to them by a juvenile judge. There were many other cases sent by other agencies. Those formally placed on probation were there for a period varying from 6 to 18 months. The average period is 9 months since most of the youngsters attend for either 6 or 12 months. It is very rare for probation to exceed 12 months.

In general, the offenders who are sent on probation are different from those who are either institutionalized or imprisoned. The academic level of probationers is higher. Accordingly, they had more chance to get a place in one of the specialized training schools of their choice. They are helped in this by a formal letter of support which is intended to strengthen their application to the authorities in the training schools.

Most of the youngsters come from unbroken families. The family size of probationers is similar to that found among the youth of the institution, seven members being the average family size. More than 90 per cent of youngsters have no previous records. They showed some guilt for their deeds. Almost all of them showed only little proneness to delinquency and maladjustment, although they seemed to be most in need of some help to assist them to get on with their parents and in some instances with the outside world.

In interview with the researcher, the parents seemed dissatisfied and disappointed by the unexpected acts of their sons. Some parents gave evidence about their children's irresponsibility, irrationality and instability. Although they showed some concern for their children and their futures, some of them claimed that they could not handle their child and therefore were asking for help. The only problem with some other parents was that they considered their children innocents and ascribed their antisocial deeds to the quality of their companions. These parents actually did not come to seek help for their children and themselves, but rather came to exculpate their children. They apparently showed a sort of concern for them, but in fact they could be regarded as trying to defend themselves against their feelings of guilt and of being bad parents.

In general the parents showed a lot of concern about their children but were not prone to cooperate with the probation officers and the psychologists of the office in the way the latter would have liked them to do. This may be due to the fact

that probation officers have had no kind of training in the
techniques of social work.

7.5 The Programme and its Main Problems

7.5.1 Probation officers' use of time
    The probation officer works following an organized time-
table. He or she works according to the importance of the tasks
he or she is supposed to achieve in his or her specific
geographic sector. He or she has also to ensure continuity of
service by the office. In other words, every officer has to
organize his timetable so that at least three of them stay in the
office while others are working outside.

        The following section is specifically reserved for the
description not only of the tasks of the probation officers and the
psychologists, but also of the main problems which they meet in their
work.

7.5.1 The Officer's work in the office.
    The probation officer performs four different tasks in the
office.

            I - Work on probationers' files.
    He spends three half-days in his office working on the
files of the cases who are personally entrusted to him by the
director of the office or by the juvenile judge. These cases are
sent either on probation or on trial plus social inquiry, or
simply as social inquiry cases. He also brings up to date all the
files by adding some new information which he might have
gathered about any of his cases. In addition, he organizes the

files in a way which would help him to draw up the final reports. These reports will be sent to the juvenile judge.

The study of the files is aimed to locate the important information required for the case which he might have forgotten to inquire about. The other aim is to decide about the next steps in his work, either with the youngster alone or with the

parents, or with both of them.

This aim is also to compare the detailed accounts he has been given by the parents, the youngster and all those who might have contributed in the inquiry by giving any information concerning the personality, behaviour and conduct of the youngster. During these three half-days the officer draws up all the reports concerning especially the cases who are about to finish their measure.

II - Welcoming and Interviewing of Parents

Only one half-day is dedicated to this task by the officer. He summons the parents of the new or old cases by means of an official letter. He usually asks them to come accompanied by their son and the necessary papers such as the family record book for registration of births and deaths, the last school certificate of the youngster, and so forth. If the parents miss a half-day of their work, the probation officer gives them an official letter to justify their absence to their head of department at work.

During the interview the officer concentrates on the family's material situation, housing conditions, their way of bringing up children, the problems they usually meet with their children and especially with the child in question. Thus he

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focuses upon the behaviour of their young child at home and outside and at school. He also inquires about the youngster's attitudes toward his father, his mother and his brothers. In sum, the officer asks the parents about his behaviour, attitudes, health and any problems or illnesses he might have experienced during the different stages of his development.

Most of the parents are worried about what will happen to their child, particularly if the juvenile judge in charge did not explain to them the nature of the measure and its implications. In this specific situation the probation officer has the responsibility to explain everything that the parents would like to know about the situation of their child and the way he (the officer) would like them to co-operate in the future. He often ends the meeting by making arrangements to visit the family at home.

Further, if the young person belongs to a known family, the interview is mostly concerned about the his improvement and his problems in order to think about the ways of handling him correctly and effectively in the future. Nevertheless, if the parents miss the meeting at the anticipated time, he then sends a second and third letter to them. When they still do not show up he goes to them personally to find out the reasons.

The officer often finds difficulties in hooking the parents into the programme, and especially those whom he thinks are in need of help. In many cases this is due to the lack of social work skills which are specifically required with parents of delinquents. This point will be discussed further in some detail.

III - Dealing with probationers and writing reports

It is obvious that the officer summons the youth to the office since he is the objective of his entire work. He usually tries to build up a strong relationship with him. He gives him all the necessary advice and guidance. He also discusses with the youngster the possibilities and the different opportunities which are offered to him according to his academic level. The officer gives some useful advice about the most important career prospects.

Once they decide about 2 or 3 types of apprenticeships or jobs, he gives him several official letters. Each of these letters is supposed to facilitate the youth's application to the different training schools or firms. After finishing with him the officer summarizes all the eventual new information he may have found useful for his future work with the youngster.

When a summoned probationers fails to come along, the officer uses his time to work on the preparation of the reports either for the juvenile judge or the director of the office. The officer obviously tries to work according to what is called " social casework" but he is not trained in any way to do such a job. Therefore, his work is in many instances restricted to gathering useful information about the case and *giving* simple advice and guidance.

IV – Office's team meeting

The personnel staff gathers each week in a meeting. During these meetings the following concerns are discussed. If one of the officers finds that one of his cases presents many complexities, he makes a detailed report and presents it during

the meeting. Two cases are presented each week. The presentation of the case is obviously fully discussed by the personnel including the psychologists and the director who leads the meeting.

At the end of the meeting the officer who presented the case must draw up a report making use of all the ideas and suggestions he took note of during the discussion. This report is destined to help him in his future work with the case and his eventual contacts with the parents.

These meetings are also aimed at evaluating the extent to which their work is effective by studying the previous and current situation of the probationer. In addition, all their problems and future plans are discussed. These meetings usually last 2 1/2 hours.

7.5.2   The officer's work outside the office
Apart from those tasks which take place within the office, the officer performs other tasks in the outside world. These are four:

I - Attendance at Court Hearings
Every probation officer attends court hearings in his geographic sector. He works in close contact with the juvenile judge. At the request of the judge he can express his opinions about the case, especially about whether a probation measure might be appropriate. He also discusses all the old cases with him or her and the main services that have already been provided for them.

When it is necessary, the officer can contact the judge by writing to him about the situation of the probationer, particularly if he gives firm evidence about his behaviour which may necessitate an alteration of the previous measure. In some instances the officer can root out some youngsters from prison, if he or she finds that they might perform better on probation. Unfortunately, not all the judges are co-operative in such cases because of their lack of belief in the effect of probation methods. They tend to prefer to send the youth to an institution particularly when he presents some confusing and doubtful social and personal characteristics. However, there are some judges who are interested in probation and believe in it as an alternative method, and they display their interest through their constant concern in the gradual change and improvement of probationers.

The officers who work with such co-operative and sensitive juvenile judges are obviously very contented and show a strong desire to use new techniques of work with offenders and their families. Social work skills are of course the required

techniques of work.

II - Visiting the Family

One of the most important tasks of the probation officer is to visit the family at home. This visit is intended to gather more information and to check upon what he already gathered during the first meeting with the parents in his office.

Discovering the material well-being of the family at home is of a great importance. It gives a specific idea about the material conditions in which the youngster lives and was brought

up. It helps the officer to know the general state of health of the family, the sort of appreciation the parents have about hygiene and the quality of their way of bringing up their children.

He can even ask the neighbours to be sure about the validity of the information he was given by the family. All the information he gathers will contribute to the completion of the general story of his social inquiry about the youth and his family. It also aids the drawing up of the final report.

III - Working with Schools

The officer has contacts with a number of schools in order to prevent delinquent behaviour or the rehabilitation of the pupils who display types of deviant behaviour. Thus he talks to the teachers at school and discusses the different cases with the director.

In the case where the youngster has been expelled from school for some deviant behaviour, the officer can intervene to put him back and help him to get going without causing further trouble. This task is obviously very difficult particularly when the officer is not armed with social work skills specifically performed to deal with troublesome boys at school.

IV - Supervision of probationers

The probation officer supervises the youth in his natural environment. This task is the most difficult and least realized. It is only by chance in many instances that he is able to observe the youth especially if he does not know where the youth spends his time. However, it could be said that the average time spent

on a youth's supervision is less than two hours a month in
many instances.

This is broadly the work of the probation officer. There
are of course many problems but before discussing them let us
turn to the work of the psychologists.

7.5.2   Psychologist's use of time

The psychologist works with some of the probationers and
draws up reports. He or she uses some paper-and-pencil tests in
order to study the personality of probationers with whom she or
he works. He or she also works with probationers' parents
particularly mothers who are always available when it comes to
help their children. Like the probation officer the
psychologist makes occasional visits to the families and works at
juvenile courts as well.

The main problems that psychologists face are usually the
strong defensive attitudes towards their invitation to give help.
The youngsters are not always co-operative. They actually show
almost no interest in the help of the psychologist. A
psychologist said:

"I always find problems capturing some of the parents
and youngsters in the programme...".

There are also some parents who, according to the
psychologist, have no educational level and therefore do not
understand what it is all about. The main problem is with the
techniques that they are trying to use. A psychologist said:

"I am not a professional in psychotherapy or social work but
I have to manage, otherwise my presence here would be
worthless."

7.5.3 The probation officer's report

The officer's report is very important for the future of the probationer. He is not always able to draw up a true, valid and reliable one, matched with a convincing recommendation to the juvenile judge. The reason is that he does not have enough opportunities to supervise and observe the case in his natural environment.

Nevertheless, the following is a typical example of what might be written in the last section of the report when the officer has reached a view about the general state of the case: "-

> .The behaviour of the youth is that of a very normal person. He has no physical handicap or mental deficiencies. He is very serious in his work and his companions are good enough. Due to his good behaviour, his good conduct at work, his good relationship with the whole of his family as well as his improved company, we think that the youth should simply be kept in his family." Officer's report, (1986).

7.5.4 Problems

There are many problems which interfere with the effective work of the probation office. It was found of importance to mention some of them here with a special emphasis upon the real ones:

- lack of co-operation of some judges who still have some

  doubt about the effectiveness of probation.

- lack of human facilities: the officers will suffer overwork

  in the future particularly as the use of probation comes to

  establish its reputation in schools and the general

  population.

- lack of co-operation on the part of the parents and

  the youngsters themselves in many instances.

- lack of premises and so on.

The main problem which is emphasized so many times in the description of this programme is the lack of the various social work skills. These are required from probation officers in order to provide acceptable help for both probationers and their families.

During the time this research was taking place in the probation office (S.O.E.M.O.), the topic of central interest to the youngest probation officers and the psychologists was "skills of helping individuals and families". They clearly explained that they were facing problems in their work particularly when it comes to work with some probationers and their families who are very defensive and manifestly reluctant.

The following are some glimpses extracted from the discussions with the psychologists and probation officers.

Psy: "There are individuals and families who do not accept our help and are very defensive. It is not a simple matter for me who is not a professional to break this defensiveness."

P.O.: "I often work with individuals and families. At the beginning I feel that I am doing well because there is so much necessary information that I need to know about the case. It becomes gradually difficult during the 2nd and 3rd sessions. Consequently, I find myself sitting opposite the youth or the parents and say or do nothing. I sincerely think that the probation officers and educators working in this area are most in need of practical methods by which they can do a better and probably a more effective work."

It is very obvious that what is of concern here is the need

for social work skills, or as Shulman (1964) calls it, "skills of

helping individuals and groups". This is the most important

problem for the probation officers and most who work in the area

of social welfare.

7.6 An Empirical Study

7.6.1 Research Design
Ideally, we would have preferred to follow a group of youths

placed on probation from the start of their period of

rehabilitation through to the end. Due to the short length of time

which was spent on this study (5 months only), it was found

necessary to compare two independent groups - one beginning

probation and one ending probation - rather than to follow one

group over a long period. The two groups were roughly matched on

the following criteria:
- age at the beginning of the measure;

- family situation;
- family size;

- academic achievement;

- type of the offence.
Both samples were tested within a period of three weeks. It was

impossible to summon them all at the same time. Although an

attempt was made to gather 5 subjects together, only one came to

the office at the anticipated time: the others were missing for

unknown reasons. Another but lesser problem was that those

already on probation did not all finish their term on the same

Finally, an attempt was made to interview both the parents and probationers about the kind of services that were provided for them by the office, and the opinion of probationers about the way they were handled.

7.6.2 Subjects

After a few contacts with the probation office two groups of 12 subjects each were selected from a pool of 57 using the following criteria:

(1) they had been put on probation for an offence;

(2) they had been sent on probation for rehabilitation, and not only for a social inquiry report or for a trial period of probation;

(3) they were aged between 16 and 19 years.

The sample-size used in this study is small because most of the youngsters who are sent on probation are either under the age of 16 years or have been sent on trial for a period of three months.

The other major reason why the number of subjects in each group decreased to 12 was the fact that the youths and their **families** did not come to the office each time they were summoned by an official letter, despite the fact that it was clearly explained that their presence was so important as they would contribute in a research project which takes into consideration the interest of the youth and the parents as well.

The subjects of the first group had just been put on probation for a period that varied between 6 and 12 months. They were tested before they had any real contact with the probation officer and the psychologist. Group 1, therefore, is the 'before

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treatment' group. Whereas, the subjects of the second group - Group 2 - had spent an average period of 9 months on probation and make up the 'after treatment' group.

At the time as the subjects of Group 1 were tested their average age was 16.8 years and the average age of the subjects in Group 2 was 17.1 years. Most of the youths in both Groups had been charged with theft: 83.3 per cent of Group 1 and 75 per cent of Group 2 had committed a simple theft. The rest were on probation for other types of offences (Appendix Table E.1 gives further details).

The family situation of probationers seems to be normal in most instances. So, 83.3 per cent of Group 2 and 75 per cent of Group 1 came from unbroken families (Appendix Table E.2). Further, most of the subjects of both Groups came from families sized 7 on average which can be considered quite large (Appendix Table E.3). Although none of the youths had attended secondary school, up to 66.7 per cent of Group 1 and 50 per cent of Group 2 have spent more than two years in middle school (Appendix Table E. 4).

7.6.3   Scales
In order to evaluate the probation programme of rehabilitation, 7 scales were used. The first 6 scales were exactly the same as those used in the study carried out in the institution, but the scale called 'Delinquent Behaviour' was constructed according to the types of delinquent behaviour which were reported on some probationers' files.

This last scale was intended to be given to the parent who accompanied the probationer to the office. However, most of the parents were illiterate, a fact which necessitated the use of another approach. The researcher himself filled out this scale after a detailed discussion with the parent about each of the items. These interviews took place while the probationer was filling out the 100 items of the Self-Conception Test.

The following are the 7 scales that were used:
- general adjustment (the original scale from the Self-Conception Test);

- social adjustment;

- feeling of personal well-being;

- self dissatisfaction;

- social withdrawal;

- dependency;

- delinquent behaviour;

7.6.4 Research questions

The aims of the probation office were similar to those of the institution reported in the last chapter, except that during or following rehabilitation probationers are meant to be placed in one of the following ways:
- back at school (if he was recently expelled from school;

- in one of the private or public establishment;
- working in a private or public sector occupation; Thus,

the following research questions were asked: "Does the probation programme change probationers, as measured on the 7

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scales? Are they successfully helped to be in one of the places mentioned above?

7.6.5 Results

In order to answer the first question a two-tailed t-test was used. Table 7.1 shows that two measures yielded significant differences between the two groups: the group that had completed their period of probation (Group 2) were less self dissatisfied (t=2.21, p<.05), and had less delinquent behaviour (t=2.18,

p<.05) than those who were just beginning their probation.

[Table 7.1 overleaf]

The second research question was answered using the records on probationers' files a few days after they had completed their period of probation. This exercise showed that only 1/12th. of Group 2 were placed in any vocational training establishment, but that 5 further probationers were expecting to be placed in the near future. The remaining youngsters were either engaged in domestic work, or were still searching for a job or an apprenticeship grant, assisted by the probation office (Table 7.2).

[Table 7.2 overleaf]

Table 7.1

Mean Scores on Adjustment Scales Before (Group 1) and After
(Group 2) Nine Months of Rehabilitation (N=12 in each group)

Scales	Mean scores		t-ratio
	Grp 1	Grp 2	
General adjustment	98.0	86.8	1.87
Social adjustment	55.6	57.3	-0.34
Social withdrawal	28.0	27.0	0.28
Self dissatisfaction	31.7	21.8	2.21*
Feel person well being	37.2	39.4	-0.46
Dependency	12.5	9.3	1.77
Delinquent behaviour	5.3	3.5	-2.18*

* p<.05

Table 7.2

Numbers of Youths Who Achieved Various Occupations at the
End of Their Period of Probation

Occupation	n=12
Private/public training	1
Expecting job/apprentice	5
Helping at home	2
Still unoccupied	3
Recidivism	1

7.7   Discussion and Conclusion

According to the scales which were used with the two groups of probationers, the programme of rehabilitation showed some improvements in social adjustment: all the results tended to show positive changes, two of which reached the 5 per cent level of significance.

However, these positive differences can be explained in one of the following possible ways:

   the research design was inappropriate or insufficiently strong to study the effectiveness of the probation programme;

-   the positive performance of the probationers may be the result of outside rehabilitative help provided naturally by persons other than the probation officers or the psychologists.

-   the third possibility might be characterised as 'first offence, bad experience, never do it again'.

According to the first possible explanation of the results, the two groups might have started with quite different personality characteristics and delinquent behaviour, the fact that the present research could not account for. It is also possible that many other unknown factors have influenced probatiners.

The second major possible explanation is concerned with the fact that probation officers spent **an** average time of only 1.5 hours with probationers, which is hardly enough time to establish a trusting relationship. Thus, other persons and circumstances might have intervened to cause the positive effects mentioned above.

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The third possibility is that almost all the probationers had appeared for the first time in their lives before a juvenile court; their relatives and friends - the parents in particular - had become alarmed and this caused them to apply greater surveillance on the youngsters. It was evident from interviews with parents that this is what had happened in many cases.

In summary, the programme of rehabilitation of the probation office resulted in some evidence of improvement among the probationers, but the probation office was not really successful in its other task which is to assist its clients in finding an occupation. Although this can be explained by many possible reasons, it remains true that some probationers or ex-probationers were still without any occupation.

Finally, further research is strongly required in order to study this programme in a more detailed and reliable manner using larger samples and different research approaches as well as

different analytical methods.

8. The Algerian Correctional System:
Critique and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

Algerian society has known many socio-cultural, political and economical changes since Independence in 1962. After nearly 26 years of independence, the correctional system which is in use today in Algeria could be considered as traditional and out of date. It has not adjusted enough to the changing needs of juveniles for care and rehabilitation in the emerging society. There are many problems and especially those related to human and material resources in both institutions and probation offices.

This chapter hopes to demonstrate some fruits of this research. It deals with the correctional system with a special reference to institutionalization and to probation and after-care; their future prospects; the importance of prevention; and some recommendations for the future development of the correctional system.

8.2 The Institution: Today and Tomorrow

The number of institutions for juvenile delinquents is increasing each year. The purpose of this policy expresses the wish of the government to satisfy the needs of all the cities in this respect. Unfortunately, this policy also expresses the gravity of the growing problems of juvenile delinquency.

It should be borne in mind that increases in this kind of institutional provision are achieved at the expense of other important social needs, particularly when we consider the

national economic crisis which has, according to the media, reached a state of emergency. Besides, the institutionalization of young offenders has not yet given any kind of acceptable evidence about its effectiveness in dealing with them.

8.2.1   The Present situation

The institutional programmes of rehabilitation as are applied nowadays in Algeria have not seen any significant developments since 1962. Many qualified persons see that the primary purpose of these institutions is to keep young offenders in restraint (out of sight and out of mind).

Though the findings of the present research may not be generalizable on other institutions, they give some indication of the types of problems which exist inside these institutions. Our major criticisms of the present institution are as follows:

- lack of collective staff work.

- lack of a well defined and determined philosophy of work.

- lack of a rational punishment versus reward system.

- lack of serious case studies.

- lack of a determined and sensible religious sub-programme.

- the weak use of the psychologist's skills.

- lack of work with the families of inmates.

- weak use of the methods of after-care.
- the marked decrease in the number of workshops.

The list could be longer.

The institution, actually, functions more like a barracks regime than a specialized institution of rehabilitation. It is

obvious to say that the outcomes of the present case study might have been expected, when all the above problems are considered.

However, all the problems mentioned above and others are the responsibility of not only the institutional staff, but of the relevant ministries as well. Considering all these problems, is it necessary to start thinking of closing institutions?

8.2.2 Should institutions be closed?

Increasingly, many societies are coming to recognize that the institutionalization of young offenders is not the best means of dealing with them, and that building more institutions is unlikely to solve the problems of delinquency. Besides, it has been stated many times in this research that institutions were

not as effective as it was thought, because:
- firstly, the changes which can be caused in delinquents

    during their stay in the institution may soon disappear

    after release;
- secondly, some of the delinquents who are sent to

    institutions are more delinquent than others, the fact which
    could transform the institution to an academy of crime,

    rather than an institution of rehabilitation as it is

    perceived by some people.
- thirdly, institutional treatment of delinquents has always

    been very expensive, and thus has a very bad effect on the national

    economy.

Nevertheless, institutions remain a place where the majority of dangerous young offenders are sent whenever necessary. So, in

order for the institutional staff to succeed in dealing with its clients, some conditions may be strongly required such as:

- the selection of offenders according to some specific characteristics and circumstances before they are sent to the institution.

- developing a programme that has the best chance of meeting offenders' needs for treatment, education and training, as well as helping them to adjust to the reality of the institution and prepare them for life after discharge.

Garrett (1985) says in this context:

> "Adjusting to and meeting demands and expectations in the institutional environment may help to prepare the youth to meet the demands and expectations of the non-institutional world if the treatment programme is designed to facilitate that transfer" (p.305).

No programme may ever be able to realize this purpose without the introduction of an after-care service which effectively enhances the offender's chances of accepting and being accepted by the community without re-offending.

Although the institutional treatment of young offenders is difficult, lengthy, expensive, and not demonstrably effective, it likely that the institution will remain and will continue to be used for the treatment and rehabilitation of young offenders. Accordingly, one may have to start thinking about a programme which may help to realize this purpose at least with most offenders. There are some new ideas which have recently emerged and which may bring about some changes in institutions.

8.2.3 The Emergence of new ideas.

There are some new ideas emerging which may bring about some revolutionary changes in the way institutions function. One of those ideas is concerned with the introduction of

psychologists as directors of institutions in Algeria.

This new step will undoubtedly have an impact on the organization and functioning of institutions. Most importantly, it may avoid the traditional ways of dealing with inmates, and introduce some new ideas, new philosophies of treatment and rehabilitation, and new methods.

Accordingly, this may result in a variety of programmes which gives a great opportunity to evaluation researchers to play their role in eliminating the bad and ineffective ideas and to develop those which are more acceptably effective. Thus, a selection of specific programmes could be made and generalized nationally.

In conclusion, it could be said that the present programmes of institutions are traditional, out of date, ineffective and very expensive. However, society does not seem to be willing to close institutions as long as there are dangerous young offenders who need to be sent away from the community.

The introduction of new ideas such as employing psychologists as directors of institutions, is not necessarily going to solve the problems, unless new programmes are developed. These programmes require to be very well discussed, prepared, executed and then evaluated.

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8.3   Probation and After-care: between hesitation and
confidence

Although probation is recognized as an alternative to
institutionalization and imprisonment, its generalization has
not yet been achieved. There are only 27 offices in the whole
country, excluding the new offices which are to be opened in the
near future. This number of operational probation offices is far
from being satisfactory: for example it is lower than the total
number of Willayas (administrative counties) which number 48.

In addition, some Willayas require more than one office.
For example, the capital Algiers has more than a million
inhabitants and is covered by only one office and three part-time
dependent offices. This means that the city is in need of more
full-time offices in order to cover the capital's demands in this
area. The one full-time office in Algiers faces many problems.
The most important of these are discussed below.

8.3.1 Problems

There are two types of problem which can be discussed here.
The first type is purely practical and depends upon the people
associated with the service. The second concerns resources and

depends on policy makers.

The practical problems have to do with the number of tasks
that probation officers have to carry out during each week.
Firstly, their work with probationers and their families is
restricted to a few interviews to gather the necessary
information for a report. Probation officers seemed to have
difficulties in dealing with their clients in a proper way, and

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in providing them with the psychological help and support that they need. This is due to the fact that they had not received, and do not receive, training in any kind of social work techniques.

Secondly, the reports which are prepared for the court are rudimentary and lack convincing arguments and recommendations which can help the judge to see a rounded case and to determine the appropriate means of rehabilitation. Content and presentation of a report requires further research and clarification in order to find out what could possibly be done to make better reports to the court.

Thirdly, some of the probation officers seem to have problems with some juvenile judges who reject the idea that probation is an alternative to imprisonment and institutionalization, and that it could be effective in preventing further unlawful behaviour. This is one of the most important issues which necessitates further research in order to understand the reasons for these negative attitudes towards probation and to explore the possibilities of reconciliation between welfare and justice.

Next, one of the most evident resource problems is related to probation office premises. In fact, the present probation office is situated in an obscure location. Most clients have problems in locating it, a fact which may encourage them to avoid contacts with the office. The idea of opening some subsidiary offices within the town halls of various areas has not solved the problem, because only two probation officers were allowed to share an office within the town hall. Further, this subsidiary

office functions only on 3 half-days a week, which is not enough to provide the service for an area of more than 100,000 inhabitants.

This is a problem for policy makers who must be urged to do their best to solve this problem and to put new offices to work to satisfy the growing demand of these kind of services of an entire population.

There are other problems too.
- the problem of transport: probation officers have problems in doing their job properly because of poor transportation facilities.
- the lack of promotion opportunities: most of the probation officers have 15 years to 20 years of service, but they always remain where they first started their work.
- lack of volunteers: it is clearly stated in the official texts (Article 479, 480: 1966) that some voluntary individuals who have interests in the problems of youth should be introduced to help probation officers in their work. The problem is that volunteers do not exist and no explanation has been advanced.
- lack of power: the probation officer lacks power relative to some official administrators who sometimes do not cooperate to realize the welfare of minors. For example, some of the middle and secondary school directors do not cooperate with probation officers when it comes to putting a youngster back in school.

These are the main problems which have a disproportionately negative effect on the work of the probation

officers and the office as a whole. This situation explains the hesitation in using the service which is manifestly expressed particularly by some judges and policy makers. What is more alarming is that nothing seems to be moving to improve the probation office and officers' professional and social situation.

8.2.3 Probation and the community

The main tasks of the probation officer, as described in Chapter 2, cannot be fully achieved without the involvement of some volunteers. The lack of volunteers' help may be one of the reasons why probation officers are not efficient in their principal tasks and spend too much time on lesser tasks.

Voluntary work can only be achieved if the whole community is more fully involved with the (local) probation office. However, the involvement of the community is not easily achievable. It requires a great endeavour not only from the local probation office, but from official newspapers, T.V., and radio broadcasts as well. This is necessary to educate the citizens about the role of the office, to urge them to cooperate with it and, most importantly, to change their attitudes to the presence of offenders within the community.

The use of community service must not be perceived merely as a means of making community orders so that the offender pays the price of his misbehaviour and to avoid spending money on him whilst in restraint. On the contrary, keeping some offenders in the community is a way of alerting it to the extent to which it is responsible for delinquent behaviour, and the extent to which it might play a role in preventing it.

The involvement of the community is very important, because it can become more socially oriented towards the cure of its own pathology which lies behind social problems such as delinquency. So, community service becomes, not only a means of rehabilitation, but more importantly a means of prevention of further crime by tackling its roots in the community.

Nevertheless, the achievement of this highly priced social goal, requires probation officers to broaden their technical approaches in order to become more effective agents in the community. The volunteers, also, need to be highly sensitive to the problems of the community such as families which produce more delinquent offspring, delinquents as individuals, delinquents as groups, and so forth.

The offender can be given more attention and can be dealt with both individually and socially. Again, community service could be a very strong means of creating better communication between members of the community and between the service and the other formal services whose help is necessary for the organization and the good social functioning of the community.

In sum, the lessons from research and policy studies in many other countries is that it is better to think in community service terms. What could be achieved by this service, is hardly achieved by the probation office.

8.4   Prevention: The Higher Aim

There is no doubt that the best way to tackle crime and delinquency is to cut off the causes that lead to it. It is always said that "prevention is better than cure". Conventional writers agree about the fact that delinquency and crime are not the product of a single and unique cause. They are due to a combination of a variety of factors summarized by the composite concept "bio-psycho-social". Therefore, the prevention of crime and delinquency cannot be achieved unless all the factors are taken into consideration. Many factors lie within the framework of the family, the school, and other institutions that influence and forge human personality. The focus in this section is specifically placed on the role of the family and the school in preventing delinquency and crime.

8.4.1 Family and prevention

If the family is one of the significant factors in the genesis of delinquency, it can also be one of the contributing agencies to its treatment and prevention (Juan and Gatti, 1972). Indeed, observation and experience have given evidence that a high percentage of children who are repeated lawbreakers have a history of chronic family problems such as child abuse, spouse abuse, alcoholism, hard-core unemployment, either excessive or inadequate discipline, lack of supervision, and so forth. This family dysfunctioning leads to juvenile delinquency as well as having other damaging effects on children (Lewis, 1978). Thus, any preventive effort should be directed more to this micro-social environment where the child is first socialized. Early

interventions that consider both the child and his family are

best made before antisocial patterns become firmly established.

Further, the causes of family dysfunctioning and

disorganization may be due to outside factors such as social

injustice, misuse of mass-media, lack of public education

especially among adults, the deep socio-cultural changes which

are operative in many countries of the third world, and so on.
These factors might also be controlled in order to diminish

their negative influence on the family which often results in

family breakdown and family conflict. Thus, it would be

desirable if family therapy, social work or any other
intervention concentrated on strengthening family ties, the

attainment of better behaviour and responsible conduct by all the

members, more discipline and supervision by the parents, and on

deepening moral education.

In addition, leadership needs to be given in relation to the

more damaging T.V. and radio programmes. On the other hand, more

educational programmes could be broadcast in order to educate the

parents in child up-bringing, supervision, and control. The

government has also the responsibility to implement sufficient

social welfare agencies and make the nation aware of their

existence, their role, and so on.
Nevertheless, the family is not the only environment where

delinquency can be prevented. The school is considered by some

researchers as the primary instrument through which delinquency

could be countered and prevented.

8.4.2 School and prevention

Failure at school has always been thought to be associated with the youth's appearance before juvenile court. Indeed, as mentioned previously, a high percentage of young offenders have experienced the frustration of school failure. Many researchers see that success at school is a major contributor to the strength of an adolescent's linkage to school (Johnson, 1979), and it is the child's achievement in school that is the deciding influence (Empey, 1974).

Thus, the school may be considered as one of the most important youth institutions and a major source of socialization in society. For this reason, a number of researchers and writers think of it as the main institution for prevention of deviant behaviour.

In order for it to be an effective agent in preventing misbehaviour, the school has to achieve a number of conditions. It has to be prepared to receive its students in such a way that it facilitates their adjustment. It has to provide its students with a number of indoor and outdoor leisure activities, so that they strengthen their ties with the school and keep away from involvement in misbehaviours.

It is also desirable, that the school establishes a strong link with the parents of students and keeps them constantly aware of the conduct of their children and their achievements relative to abilities. In this way the parents may have a better basis for supervising and controlling the child in a more acceptable and objective way.

Problems are a natural part of school as a social institution. So, a number of links and cooperative work with specialized social welfare agencies may be of great help, specifically with students who present signs of deviant behaviour, or who find difficulties in following the teaching programmes of the school.

Again, the school has the responsibility to provide its students with academic programmes that are psychologically and intellectually adapted to the needs of students. This goes hand in hand with the quality of teachers who will not only teach the different academic subjects, but will have to handle classroom problems which are very likely to emerge from time to time.

The school is truly an important place where prevention of delinquent behaviour could be achieved with a large number of students who may be prone to become delinquent. Its failure to do so, however, may make it the main institutional base for causing delinquent behaviour.

However, the home and school are not the only places where delinquent behaviour may be controlled and prevented. In fact, any institution or establishment which house young people may be the right place for prevention. Indeed, all youth clubs, sports, social and cultural establishments should also be armed with some guidelines specifically designed to obviate any kind of alienated behaviour. The control system should also be trained to prevent any kind of delinquent behaviour.

Preventing delinquent behaviour or any other psycho—social and cultural deviation may be very difficult to achieve, but it

is worth trying all the possible means in order to decrease
crime in society.

8.5 Some Recommendations
      There are many problems that can be identified in the
present situation of the Algerian Correctional System, and
particularly in the role of institutionalization and probation.
Many changes in the institutions and probation offices will be
required if the whole system is to attend to the needs of juvenile
delinquents, and if it is to contribute not only to the
rehabilitation of delinquents, but to the prevention of
delinquency as well.

      Some of the possible changes which might be made
are summarized in the following recommendations:

1)   Before any delinquent appears before a juvenile court, he is
      first of all dealt with at a police headquarters. The

      treatment some of them receive in the cells (physical and

      verbal punishment, frightening messages, and so on) may

      often increase the complexity of the cases. Thus, law

      enforcement agents should be trained in such a way that

      makes the process of rehabilitation of young offenders start

      at the police headquarters.
2)   It would be desirable, if the attitudes of juvenile judges

      towards the means of rehabilitation were more positive.

      Thus, the youngster should have a good chance to be put on

      probation and to avoid prisons or institutions where he may

      acquire further knowledge and skills of committing offences.

      This implies that any juvenile judge should be required to

weigh up all the possibilities and decide about the most suitable placements in the light of the latest research on rehabilitation outcomes.

3) In order for a judge to be able to make wise and reliable decisions, he or she would need to learn that serious consideration of probation officers' or institutional reports is a necessary step in the process of sentencing. These reports are specifically carried out to help him perceive the true situation of the case from a number of standpoints that he or she may easily neglect.

4) Although the final decision is the responsibility of the judge, he should similarly give strong considerations to the placement recommendations given in social inquiry reports.

5) The standards of the court should be made clear, so that those who provide social inquiry reports can be specific, accurate and explicit in their reports. Meanwhile, probation officers should be more open and more independent in their reports.

6) Institutions should be used only when absolutely necessary. Some youngsters are better off on probation or in vocational training establishments. Institutions should never be used merely because they exist and because they must be filled.

7) Institutionalized youngsters are supposed to acquire an acceptable trade not some tricks. The diversification of trades and the supply of the necessary resources should be one of the priorities of any institution. While achieving this change, one should keep in mind that unskilled workers,

are unlikely to be accepted in either public or private organisations.

8) The institution is not only a place of vocational training, it is first of all a social institution. It requires a clear philosophy of treatment and rehabilitation in order to meet the needs of youngsters, the staff and the society. Thus, all those who work with inmates should be qualified and well motivated to do the job.

9) Some methods such as 'behaviour modification' should be introduced in institutional settings. The evaluation of these methods is necessary in order to estimate their true value in the Algerian context.

10) The institutional after-care unit should start working seriously after all these years of timid interventions.

11) Probation and after-care, as a social service, should be made available to a much greater proportion of the community. To achieve this requires the creation of other probation offices all over the country.

12) Probation officers and institutional educators should be trained in social work techniques.

13) Probation officers require more recognition by the official administrations, if they are to achieve an interesting job and a more productive role. Decision makers have to give more consideration to all the workers in this sector with regard to their promotion at work.

14) A broader notion of evaluation research must be encouraged as the way to control and develop social programmes. So,

decision makers and the whole community should employ it

whenever possible.

These are some of the recommendations for the future of both

institutions and probation offices. We cannot claim that they are

the best, but they could be of practical use in the future.

8.6 General Conclusion
        The main conclusions are summarized in the following

paragraphs: Each delinquent case is a unique one, when it comes

to assessing the causes of delinquent behaviour. However, the

notion of a unique cause that purports to explain why a number

of people in a given society become delinquent is perceived

nowadays more as a myth than a reality. Most researchers agree

that there are many causative factors in delinquency and that

they should be considered in combination.

        However important the Algerian socio-cultural and economic

situation may be in generating many psycho-social problems, they

are not sufficient to explain delinquency. While, the socio-

cultural and economic situation has major responsibilities for

the causation of delinquency, it does not explain all its

aspects.
        Dealing with delinquents has always been a difficult task to

perform successfully. A variety of methods and techniques have

been used in some developed countries without clear evidence

about their effectiveness. However, we can exploit this wealth of

information and experience in order to gain some insights in

dealing with delinquents in our own society.

The introduction of community service in Algeria, for instance, may be achieved in light of the specific conditions of the society. It is not necessary that the Algerian community should adopt the service in exactly the same form as in other societies. For example, if community service is used in some countries to keep as many delinquents as possible out of prison, its purpose in another society where there are less delinquents may be more effectively used to prevent delinquency.

Further, any government which pays for a social service is bound to develop it so that it meets the changing needs of its citizens. Modern conceptions of evaluation research provide the most useful way in which a social programme can be rationally developed or changed. Social policy makers and all concerned administrations are urged to consider evaluation research to better serve the citizens.

Furthermore, while the court practices that are applied to juvenile delinquents have been changed on several occasions to meet the needs of young offenders in a changing society, the attitude of some judges and courts towards means of rehabilitation should be studied and deeply explored in further research.

The results from the two case studies reported in this thesis cannot be generalized to all the other institutions and probation offices in the country. Nevertheless, it is likely that many things will require change if better results are to be achieved from the correctional system of the country. Further, evaluation of Algerian's programmes is strongly indicated, using

a variety of methodological approaches and techniques of
analysis.

The most important changes which should be achieved in
Algerian Society are expressed clearly by one of the Algerian
ministers as reported by Bahmane (1987):

> " he sees the solution of the problem of juvenile
> delinquency in harmonious economical development, a just
> partition of the national wealth, a judicious policy of
> employment, a struggle against social disparities and the
> increase of the cultural level of the entire population" (p.12)
> .

We close with a statement reported by Harding (1987):

> "The Rule of Law is Nothing Without Social Justice. Social
> Justice Cannot be Achieved Without the Rule of Law" (Lord
> Scarman, 1985).

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Appendix

Appendix A

Self-Conception Test

Instructions

In the following pages you will find some expressions or phrases, and each one describes a characteristic of a person. The degree of these characteristics of course differ from one person co another. What we would like you to do is as follows. Firstly, give yourself a rating on each of the characteristics according to your own idea about yourself, or according to what you know about yourself: To what extent does a given characteristic exist in you? This can be done following the instructions below.

1. Take the answer sheet and a pencil.
2. Read carefully every expression from the expressions that are on the items booklet.

3. If you find that the characteristic contained in the first expression, for instance, does not exist in you 'at all' then put the sign (x) with the pencil in the appropriate space upon which is written "not at all".

4. But, if you find that the given characteristic exists in you by any of the degrees that vary from rarely CO to highest degree (8), then, put (x) in the appropriate space to the answer you choose.

Remember that you have to evaluate, according to your own point of view, the degree to which a given characteristic contained in the expression exists in you. Moreover, you shall

have to specify your answer by one of the degrees that vary from zero (not at all) to eight (highest degree).

In addition, make your evaluation according to your own idea about yourself as it really is, do not forget to put the sign (x) in the appropriate space and please do not leave any expression unanswered.

When you have finished this first section, read the following paragraph.

Secondly, when you have finished the answer sheet with the pencil, take a red pen or pencil and go through the same expressions in exactly the same way. However, instead of evaluating your own characteristics as they exist in you, you shall have to evaluate them as they exist in the 'normal person', or as they exist in people in general according to your own point of view. The answers should be put on the same answer sheet.

Take, for instance, the expression that says "I am intelligent". We are not asking you here to answer according to what people see in themselves, because people normally find themselves intelligent, they may claim to be intelligent but in fact they are not. Rather, and what is more important, is your own point of view about the degree of intelligence of the normal person. Once you have finished the second section you are allowed to take a break.

Thirdly, when you have finished the two sections and having taken a break, please take the same answer sheet for the third and last time and, using a blue pencil or pen, go through the expressions the same way as the first and second time. Unlike

the first two exercises , this time your evaluation should be on
your ideal. In other words, you should answer the expressions
according to what you wish to be in the future.

Thus, please read carefully every expression then give to
each characteristic the degree that you would like to exist in
you, or, evaluate the characteristics as they exist in the

person that you wish to resemble.

Note.
As you will see from the above paragraphs, you have to use the
same answer sheet to write your three different answers with
three different coloured pencils or pens. Therefore, it would be
much better if you made your signs (x) small and clear so that
there will be no confusion if you put more than one answer in
the same space.

The_ Full scale

1.   I need another person to push me to do things.

2.   I often blame myself for my deeds.

3.   My relationship with others is very strong.
4.   I consider myself responsible for all the troubles I
     meet in my life.

5.   Girls are attracted to my personality.

6.   It is very difficult for me to control my sexual drives.

7.   I'm egocentric.

8.   My most violent struggle is the one against myself.

9.   I feel that I have to give myself a push to realize things.

10. I often feel discontented.
11. I tend to be careful with people and later discover they
     were nicer than I thought.

12. I often criticize others.

13. I often feel guilty.

14. I feel that I am useless.

15. I behave the same way others behave.

16. I think highly of myself.

17. I distrust myself.

18. I feel confused.

19. I feel that I am nervous.

20. I feel that I am pre-eminent.

21. I feel that my thinking is confused.

22. I am loved by my friends.

23. I feel that I am different from others.

24. I feel that I am achieving nothing.

25. Self-control is not a problem for me.

26. I am serious in my work.

27. I demand a lot of myself.

28. I am a reliable person.

29. I am a self-willed person.

30. I am content with myself.

31. I make good use of my spare time.

32. I can freely express myself.

33. It is not possible to rely on me.

34. I cannot make decisions on my own.

35. I am afraid of sexuality.

36. My life is full of problems.

37. I am a panicky person.

38. I dislike sexuality inside my mind.

39. I am easily influenced by other people's opinions.

40. I always feel humiliated.

41. I feel dejected "hopeless".

42. I am unsuccessful.

43. I am timid.

44. I am a secluded person.

45. I have doubts about my sexual ability.

46. I so much look like the opposite sex.

47. It is very difficult for me to restrain my sexual drives.

48. I try not to thing about my own problems.

49. I feel inferior.

50. I am interested in knowing how I appear to other people.

51. I am a wise person.

52. I can decide about something and stand firm on it.

53. I understand myself.

54. I am a person upon whom people can rely.

55. I often feel aggressive.

56. I like to prove myself.

57. I can live well with people around me.

58. I am impulsive.

59. I am oppressive.

60. I feel that I have lost all sense of shame.

61. I fear to mix with others.

62. I cannot make up my mind about anything.

63. I am deranged (unbalanced).

64. I do not feel constricted when I go in a public place.

65. I am optimistic.

66. I am not stable.

67. I am in a good state of mind.

68. I am able to influence others.

69. My status is good with regard to my friends.

70. I am successful in my life.

71. I often feel alone when I am among a group of people.

72. I feel insecure.

73. I do not feel relaxed when I am talking to somebody else.

74. I am afraid of what people may think of me.

75. I do not respect myself.

76. I cannot face a crisis or difficulty.

77. I do not underestimate myself with respect to anybody else.
78. I find myself pretending and making excuses in order to

protect myself.

79. I fear new situations.

80. My will is strong.

81. I feel dejected.

82. I have no tricks at all.

83. I am ambitious.

84. I mix very well with others.

85. I am a good initiator.

86. I am a forgiving person.

87. I am a strong competitor.

88. I am egoistic or "selfish".

89. I am quick at understanding.

90. I feel that I am emotionally mature.

91. I feel that I count on myself.

92. Almost everybody who knows me likes me.

93. I can accept most of society's values and norms.

94. I am intelligent.

95. I have only a few personal values and norms.

96. I am an optimist.

97. I feel that I cannot face the truth.

98. I despise myself.

99. I fear failing in everything I want to do.

100. I feel relaxed and nothing bothers me.

Social adjustment

My relationship with others is very good.

Girls are attracted to my personality.

I feel that I am loved by my friends.

I am interesting in knowing how I appear to other people.

I am a person upon whom people can rely.

I can live well with people around me.

I do not feel constricted when I go into public places.

My status is good compared to my friends.

I do not underestimate my self with regard to anybody else.

I mix very well with others.

Almost everybody who knows me likes me.

I can accept most of societies values and norms.

Social withdrawal

I tend to be careful with people and later discover that they
were nicer than I thought.

I often criticize others.

I feel different from others.

I am timid.

I am a secluded person.

I am afraid to mix with others.

I often feel alone even if I am amongst a group of people.

I feel insecure.

I do not feel relaxed when I am talking to somebody else.

Self dissatisfaction

I often feel discontented.

I feel that I am useless.

I distrust myself.

I feel that I am achieving nothing.

I always feel humiliated.

I am unsuccessful.

I am inferior.

I fear failing in everything I want to do.

My life is full of problems.

I despise myself.

Feeling of personal well-being

I think highly of myself.

I feel superior.

I am content with myself.

I can understand myself.

I am optimistic.

I am in a good state of mind.

I am successful in my life.

I feel relaxed and nothing bothers me.

Dependency

I need another person to push me to do things.

I behave the same way others behave.

I can not make decisions on my own.

I am easily influenced by other people's opinions.

Appendix C

Delinquent behaviour (inmates)

Does he steal things?

    Often...Sometimes...Never...

If he steals...

    I-he steals trivial things.

    II-he steals valuable things.

    III-he steals anything.

He damages his or others properties.

    Often... Sometimes... Never...

He is disobedient.

    Often... Sometimes... Never...

He tells lies.

    Often... Sometimes... Never...

He provokes his mates.

    Often...Sometimes...Never...

He quarrels and fights his mates.

    Often...Sometimes...Never...

He openly breaks the institutional regulations.

    Often...Sometimes...Never...

He does not show any respect towards adults.

    Often... Sometimes... Never...

    <u>Questionnaire given to</u> the institutional staff I-

    Speciality: Class teacher...., Quarters Educator....,

    Workshop Teacher....

II-Number of years of experience: (..-)

I would be very grateful if you would summarize your answers to the following questions.

(1) How do you define your role in the institution?
CO What are the aims you wish to realize with inmates in your group?

(3) What methods do you follow to realize your aims?
(4) What are the problems that you think they have negative

   effects on your work?

 (5) What is your personal opinion about the number of inmates

      which untrusted to you?

Delinquent behaviour (probationers)

He drinks alcohol.

        Yes... No...

He takes drugs.

        Yes... No...

He quarrels with his brothers and sisters at home.

        Yes... No...

He provokes his brothers, sisters and mates.

        Yes... No...

He tells lies.

        Yes... No...

He fights his brothers and mates.

        Yes... No...

He steals things from home and\or outside the home.

       Yes-.No

He breaks his or home properties.

        Yes-.No-.

He runs away from home.

Yes...No...

Family Style	Group A	Group B
Normal	60.0	60.0
Broken by death	26.7	33.3
Broken by divorce or separation	13.3	06.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Family Size	Group A	Group B
Between 2 and 4	33.3	20.0
5 and 7	33.3	53.3
More than 8	33.3	26.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Table D.3

Academic level achieved by subjects in the institution
(percentages) (N=15 in each group)

School level	I Group A	Group B
Primary school	86.7	86.7
Middle school	13.3	13.3
Secondary school	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Table D.4

Types of offences committed by the two samples from the
institution (Percentages) (N=15 in each group)

Types of offence	Group A	Group B
Simple theft	60.0	66.7
Theft and association	26.7	13.3
Voluntary assault and battery	06.7	13.3
Moral and physical danger	06.6	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Table E.1

Types of offences committed by subjects of the two groups of probationers (percentages) (n=12 in each group)

Type of offence	1 Group 1	Group 2
Simple theft	83.3	75.0
Theft and association	0.0	8.3
Voluntary assault and battery	16.7	16.7
Total	100.0 1 100.0	

Table E.2

Family style of subjects composing the probation groups (percentages) (N=12 in each group)

Family Style	Group 1	Group 2
Unbroken	75.0	83.3
Broken by death	16.7	08.3
Divorce and separation	08.3	08.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Table E.3
Family sizes of subjects composing the two groups of probationers (percentages) (N=12 in each group)

Size	Group 1	Group 2
Between 2 and 4	25.0	25.0
5 and 7	41.7	25.0
More than 8	33.3	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Table E.4
Academic level achieved by probationers (percentages). (N=12 in each group)

School level	Group 1	Group 2
Primary school	33.3	50.0
Middle school	66.7	50.0
Secondary school	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0