

'JOB RETENTION OF YOUTH RELEASED
FROM YOUTH TRAINING CENTRES IN VICTORIA'

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SYNOPSIS

The recurring life pattern for many adolescents in Youth Training Centres (YTCs) is one of wardship, unemployment, offending and institutionalization. One aspect of current deinstitutionalization policies is to alter this pattern by developing meaningful, long term employment for these young people. This objective is supported by criminological theory and research which indicates the importance of employment to the development of attachments and commitments to conventional society. The objective of the present research was to conduct an exploratory study to provide qualitative data which might indicate why some YTC releasees develop stable employment patterns and others do not. Such information is essential for the development of employment policies and programs for these youth, and hence potentially their future life patterns.

The objective of this exploratory research was to examine the factors related to the low job retention rate of adolescents released from YTCs. Data were collected from three sources: 1) youth released from YTCs into employment (11 males, 10 females); 2) professional staff working with such youth; and 3) employers of YTC releasees. Youth were interviewed and administered structured questionnaires before leaving the YTC (where possible). A further in-depth interview was conducted three months after their release. Interviews were also conducted with employers and professional staff.

The results indicate that few young people (5 of 21) remained in the same job in which they were placed when they were released from YTC. Some young people (7 of 21) remained in employment even though they changed jobs. However, just under half of the subjects (9 of 21) held jobs for a very short period of time and did not find further employment. That is, three employment patterns became clear in the data: 1) Job Retained, 2) Employment Retained, and 3) Unemployed. The youth in these categories were not distinguishable from each other in terms of background characteristics such as level of education and prior employment history.

In explaining job loss the different groups who were interviewed emphasized different factors. The youth focused on problems with the job itself; the youth workers spoke in terms of personal characteristics which they often related to difficult life circumstances; the employers gave work related

matters (such as absenteeism, avoidance of work and arriving late) as reasons for final dismissal but often explained these in terms of peer influences or difficult life circumstances; and professionals in related areas spoke of the importance of the quality of the job, and the lack of supportive services.

While different factors were emphasized by different groups, seven factors emerged from across the interviews as most important for understanding the problems of job retention for these youth: 1) the type of job, 2) the level of training, 3) support, 4) emotional and personality problems, 5) institutionalization, 6) stigma and 7) peers.

In summary, these seven factors point to the importance for job retention of the young person's life circumstances once they have left the YTC. They are as good workers as other young people of their age, education and experience, but their particular backgrounds mean they face particular difficulties. In helping these young people maintain their jobs it appears that it is not only important to place them in "quality" jobs, but they also need assistance with other aspects of their lives. The following policy recommendations follow from the findings of this research; 1) improved access to quality jobs, 2) credentialing, 3) accommodation and transportation assistance, 4) support services, 5) continuous training for youth workers, 6) minimal institutionalization and 7) avoidance of stigma.

Overall the study indicates the importance of employment for the re-integration into the community of youth released from YTC and recommends that the issue of facilitating employment retention be pursued further.

1. THE PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The objective of this research is to conduct an exploratory study of the factors related to the job retention of youth following their release from Youth Training Centres. The specific concern of the research is the low retention of such youth in employment. It is anticipated that such research will aid in the development of educational and employment policies and programs aimed at the re-integration of youth into the community.

One of the stated aims of the Youth Training Centre (Y.T.C.) program is "as far as possible to minimize the penetration of these young people further into the welfare/correctional/criminal justice system and maximize their successful re-integration into society." (D.C.W.S. 1982) The Turana Task Force 1985 described work release programs based either in the institution or in the community as perhaps the most important phase of the sentence and essential for re-integration.

This concern regarding employment is supported by criminological theory and research which indicate the importance of employment for the integration of young offenders. Youth who leave Y.T.C. without employment or who fail to keep their jobs, face the general psychological effects of unemployment including the feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness, loss of identity and alienation that are often associated with anti-social and self-destructive behaviour. The research of Hirschi (1969) substantiated the importance for delinquency prevention of the development of commitment, attachment, and involvement in conventional society. For those young people whose family and school experience have failed to provide these, the world of work becomes a crucial institutional arena with the potential for providing the experiences of power, belonging and competence so important to the development of commitments to conformity which can arrest the "drift" into delinquency.

In a study by Anderson (1982) youth visions of the life cycle for themselves and their companions in Y.T.C. was one of recidivism and unemployment; a cycle of life on the dole and moving in and out of institutions. This vision is

substantiated by Y.T.C. statistics (1982) which indicate an increase in the percentage of young people with extensive histories of prior convictions and sustained contact with community based department programs - 74% had prior convictions, and 27% had had nine or more convictions. Female trainees had fewer prior convictions (37%), but tended to have greater contact with welfare services than males. Of female trainees (71%) had been wards at some time or had been in alternative placements such as foster or residential care. The unemployment rate of young people prior to reception at Y.T.C. was over three times that of young people of comparative age in Victoria.

Of added concern was the finding that 71% of the youth trainees would be seeking employment on discharge from Y.T.C. even though only a quarter of those who had left school had progressed beyond Form 3. Those people working in employment programs for delinquent youth are endeavouring to place young people who generally have little or no prior employment, low educational standard and disturbed emotional or family background. Added to these disadvantages is the difficulty of competing for jobs in a time of high youth unemployment.

As staff and management attempt to deal with the problem of obtaining jobs, it becomes increasingly important for policy makers to know the reasons why many youth remain in the position for only a short period of time. What are the relevant factors which explain why some youth released from Y.T.C.'s develop stable careers and others do not? Various reasons are postulated for the poor job retention of trainees including low skill and educational standards, poor social and communication skills, emotional problems, pressure from peers, stigma and the nature of the work itself. At this point, there is little systematic data which either documents the retention rate of young offenders in employment, or which can substantiate the various suggested explanations for the informally observed low retention rate.

The following review of the literature, seeks to establish the importance of the retention of delinquent youth in employment for their successful re-integration into the community. The research itself aims to provide data on the reasons for the success or failure of young people released from Y.T.C. in retaining their jobs. This is to be accomplished by carrying out:

- (i) In-depth interviews with 20 young males and females, both offenders and wards, released from Y.T.C. into employment.

- (ii) Interviews with professionals working in the field of employment for youth released from YTC's.

- (iii) Interviews with employers.

Such research is designed to collect qualitative data which will provide insights and information on the problem of job retention of delinquent youth. Such data could be used as a basis for the formulation of more precise research hypothesis, or as an adjunct to quantitative data. It aims to assist in the planning of training/employment programs for the integration of delinquent youth into the community.

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

In different ways quite divergent theories of delinquency suggest that the lack of work may contribute to alienation from conventional society and that work has a positive value in the integration of youth into the community. In this section some of the research regarding the importance of employment for young people and its implications for delinquency is reviewed.

2.1 RADICAL THEORY

Radical theory views illegal behaviour as a rational response to the inequities of the social structure. Emphasis is placed in these theories on the way in which the capitalist economic system creates criminality using the justice system as a tool of oppression, and generates delinquency by encouraging the conditions which produce it.

Herman and Julia Schwendinger (1976) claim that the fundamental economic structure of capitalist society supported by its social institutions, the family and the school, produces uneven development and a population of marginal youth in which delinquency is located. Delinquency is directly related to the unemployed, or semi-employed status of this marginal youth. The solution lies in advanced socialist policies of economic reconstruction. This perspective is recognized by Gibbons when he writes, "... a truly adequate analysis of the delinquency problem would need to examine the ways in which it is related to basic features of the American economy, such as the enforced idleness assigned to youth by the system, and the deficiencies of the current social order which lead to pervasive alienation of the young" (Gibbons 1986 p.5).

David Greenberg also argues that juvenile involvement in crime can be due to unemployment. However Greenberg does not restrict his analysis of delinquency to capitalist society, but to "any society that excluded juveniles from the world of adult work for long periods and imposed mandatory attendance at schools organized like ours." (Greenberg 1978 p. 72). In particular Greenberg refers to schools catering to the need for a docile, disciplined and stratified labour force. Three pressures towards delinquency are specified by Greenberg. First, the lack of employment to provide legitimate funds to finance leisure time pursuits. Secondly, the failing student whose schooling is prolonged, has low commitment to school, possesses little autonomy and

exposed to humiliating experiences. As a way of enhancing their self esteem such youth may react with hostility, resentment and participation in forbidden activities. Thirdly, violent crime, such as rape and assault, which occur more frequently in the immediate post school period, are associated with male status anxiety over the ability to fulfil traditional male occupational roles.

This theoretical perspective provides a framework within which the role of work in delinquency may be analysed. No work, poor quality work or intermittent work fails to provide material success and generates the economic conditions which encourage delinquency. The resulting loss of self esteem and status anxieties may be expressed in illegitimate behaviour. From this perspective there is a need for remedies to be related to wider change within the economic structure of society.

2.2 LABELLING THEORY

From this perspective it is argued that a child may be defined as "bad" or "delinquent" by official actions of the police or courts. The youth may adjust his/her self concept in keeping with this definition. The reaction of parents, teachers, friends and employers tends to confirm the delinquent status, and the child reacts to their expectations. By a process of identifying, segregating, emphasising and making self conscious, serious delinquent behaviour develops from a stigmatizing label.

The way in which the labelling experience contributes to alienation from school and future delinquencies is recognized in the discussion of commitment to schooling by social control theorists.

2.3 SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY

Social control theory explains delinquency in terms of a lack of commitment by youth to the expectations and values of society. The concept of commitment with respect to schooling developed in Travis Hirschi's theory of social bonding (1969) is further developed in relation to the world of work by later theorists (e.g. Polk & Schafer 1972). Hirschi viewed "the delinquent as a person relatively free of the intimate attachments, the aspirations and the moral beliefs that bind most people to a life within the law." (Hirschi 1969). The elements of the social bond (attachment, commitment, involvement and belief) direct our attention to different institutions of society, such as the school, the family and the world of work. The probability of delinquent

behaviour increases when these elements are weakened or do not operate efficiently.

Commitment to conformity is best developed in educational and occupational careers. People who invests time and energy in education and a career, build up a reputation, commitment and investment in conventional society which will be threatened by a criminal act. They have a stake in conformity. Such people must consider what there is to lose by deviant behaviour, not only immediately but what is to be attained in the future. Low status futures are less jeopardized by delinquent acts.

2.3.1 Commitment to Schooling

Polk and Schafer develop the position that "some youth become delinquent because of a basic lack of commitment to conventional middle-class adult roles and to community standards of behaviour". (Polk & Schafer 1972 p.18) In their analysis, the school itself may directly generate lack of commitment by certain practices within the system and thereby inadvertently contribute to delinquency. They argue that some behavioural control methods, labelling of deviant behaviour and streaming and tracking procedures, can serve to alienate students.

Polk discusses the self-fulfilling prophecy of the labelling experience in the context of the school. Class and ethnic bias, and ability assumption biases are exemplified in streaming or tracking processes which "lock" some students into low stream educational tracks and out of future academic success. When the routes or avenues to successful, conventional occupation become blocked, the relevance and usefulness of school is queried. The evidence from available research suggests that levels of misconduct are strongly related to low grades at school, because, among other factors, the academically unsuccessful have less to lose by delinquency - no valued future or good job. Cut off from school, youth are not drawn into conventional school groups and community activities and are more likely to turn to other peer activities.

"Youth are not passive receptors of the stigma that develops within the school setting". (Polk & Schafer 1972 p.18). When locked out, they respond by seeking an interactional setting where they can function comfortably. The resulting sub-culture of other uncommitted peers outside the school has built in oppositional forces. "Delinquency and rebellion are a way of striking back...what such behaviour represents is a way of rejecting the rejectors". (Polk & Kobrin 1973 p.14).

Arthur Pearl (1972) is a powerful advocate for the view that the 'Locking Out' of youth from future commitment to society in the world of work, commences in the exclusionary practices of the school. In the "credentialled" society, education is crucial to occupational choice, but from the beginning of schooling a sorting process occurs. Non-college material is drafted to vocational education which is mainly geared to the declining industries of the countries. Vocational training is often lacking in basic learning skills. It is occupation specific so the abilities gained are not easily adapted to other fields. Special ability tracks are other systematic means by which the disadvantaged are relegated to educational and economic oblivion. Pearl argues that schools must not segregate those believed to be deviant, emotionally or socially unfit into special and remedial programs. Through a sense of belonging to the school, achieved through legitimate educational activities, the student develops a commitment to educational and work opportunities.

The lowering of a young person's commitments increases the probability of involvement with rebellious peers which in turn, affect the probability of delinquency. This explanation is consistent with the transient pattern of the 'drift' into delinquency, and 'maturational reform' (its frequent disappearance with the onset of adulthood) as observed by Matza (1964). The study of Polk and Schafer (1972 p.87-88) assumes that "if alternative commitments are developed as the youth moves into adulthood, he will drift out of delinquency. Such commitments can be expected to develop as the individual becomes rooted firmly in the occupational structure" and family responsibilities.

On this assumption, for the Y.T.C. population whose family and school have failed them, the creation of new occupational commitments at this stage of transition to adulthood, becomes vital for the "drift" out of delinquency.

2.3.2 Commitment to Work

The way in which a commitment to work provides a stake in conformity, is analysed by Polk and Kobrin in "Delinquency Prevention through Youth Development." (1973) They contend that the four significant components of legitimate identity in adult life which, when fully developed, insulate against deviancy are - a sense of potency, a sense of usefulness, a sense of belonging and a sense of power. These derive especially from roles in the work world. This is described as follows:

1. A sense of competence, especially in (but not limited to) the work role. For most, work conveys the feeling that there is something not only that they can do, but that they can do well.

2. A sense of usefulness. Work, family and other roles do more than occupy time and produce money. They also are the grounds for social definitions of the self. One such is the feeling that the person has something to contribute, that what he does represents something which people value.

3. A sense of belongingness. Work, family, political and other roles, serve through their active commitment to locate a person in a social world to convey a sense that he 'belongs'. The work setting, the family scene, create settings and groups wherein the individual knows he has a place, where he knows that he 'fits'.

4. A sense of power or potency....(The problem) has to do with our ability to exercise some control over those persons, organizations or institutions around us which are, or are attempting, to control us. (Polk & Kobrin 1973 p.5)

In the present day world of work a person's job defines his economic position and thus his power. In work-life the presence of an organization which has some control over work and occupational setting, such as union, business or professional organization, and the individual's involvement in such an organization, has its effect of feelings on power. (Polk & Kobrin 1973 p.5)

A recent study on young Australians carried out by ANOP (1984), documents the importance of work to youth identity. Young people place great importance on having a job in terms of their becoming independent members of society, leading their own lives and making their own decisions. Financial independence is the major factor in establishing their own identity, by giving a sense of control of their own lives. The young unemployed report feeling very dependent - dependent on society, on the government and on their families. As one young person is quoted as commenting:

To be independent you've got to be able to do what you like, and to be able to afford to do what you like...when you're on the dole, you've got to depend on others. (ANOP 1984 P.30)

Although the research revealed young people felt they had little influence on Australian society due to their lack of experience and knowledge, the report commented that:

participation and influence in Australian society is closely linked with participation in the workforce The main way young people feel that they increase their influence is by becoming independent, particularly in the workforce, and thus gaining the respect of others. In this respect, the unemployed

feel particularly powerless: They feel the community does not respect them. Having a job is the main way the young unemployed say they would like to participate - it is perceived as their main avenue for gaining influence. (ANOP p.17, p.18).

The value of work for youth was reflected in answers to questions regarding whether those out of work should 'do something' for unemployment benefits. The majority of response indicated that most young people did not want easy handouts. They wanted to be involved in some kind of "useful" activity such as doing community and social work, park and street maintenance. The young unemployed felt a personal stigma attached to being out of work and it was evident that they regarded the sense of usefulness which comes with "doing something" worthwhile, would help their self esteem and identity. (ANOP 1984 p.65)

The value of a job in according identity (including status) also depends on what sort of job - not just a job, but one in which an individual is happy. A Youth Affairs Council of Australia report (1983) based on nationwide youth consultation, found that many young people expressed anger that they were expected to take 'any old job' (where there were jobs available) rather than hold out for the occupation of their choice.

Work means a regular wage, new friends, security, confidence
'junk jobs' mean nothing. (YACA 1985 p.74)

2.4 THE CONSEQUENCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

If a job for many young people helps create legitimate identity through a sense of competence, usefulness, belonging and power, questions are raised about the social and psychological effects of unemployment.

In her study of Marienthal, an Austrian village, Maria Jahoda (1979) compared the impact of unemployment in the 1930's and 1970's, and examines the latent functions of work for positive motivation. These consequences of work help her to explain why unemployment is psychologically destructive.

First among (these latent functions) is the fact that employment imposes a time structure on the waking day. Secondly, employment implies regularly shared experiences and contacts with people outside the nuclear family. Thirdly, employment links an individual to goals and purposes which transcend his own. Fourthly, employment defines aspects of personal status and identity.

Finally, employment enforces activity. (Jahoda, 1979 p.313)

By removing the time structure imposed by work, the sense of time of the unemployed disintegrates. Jahoda observed that "being unemployed was very different from having leisure time". (Jahoda, 1979 p.309). Community participation gradually decreased, budgeting was progressively disregarded, and family tensions and quarrels grew. Taking away the daily contact of employment with other people leads to a demoralizing sense of social isolation. Without shared feelings of interdependence with other human beings, the unemployed are left with a sense of uselessness, of being on the scrapheap. The absence of status undermines personal identity. Marienthal and other studies at that time "showed demoralization and loss of self-respect as the most devastating impact..." "irrational self-doubt and depressive moods took over" (Jahoda, 1979 p.309)

Patton and Noller (1984) in a longitudinal study found the experience of unemployment to have very clear and strong effects on school leavers. The unemployed experimental group were significantly different on measures of self-esteem, depression and they were inclined to blame external factors, such as the economy for their unemployment. Although this may in the short term prevent the "irrational" self blame noted by Jahoda in the long term unemployed, it also means that the unemployed do not feel they have individually the power to change their lives - to initiate change rather than react to it.

Works based on case studies and reports which include interview or consultative methods to obtain qualitative data, reveal a similar pattern of lack of self-esteem, depression and powerlessness amongst the unemployed. In "Double Depression", Ian Watson's investigation of schooling, unemployment and family life in the eighties, he found the picture of Marienthal of the thirties emerging again. The unemployed felt denegated and humiliated by the "dole bludger" label.

I get labouring jobs now and then. I'm doing me fucking best they just say, "Dole Bludger", and once you're a dole bludger that's it, you're done. You cash a cheque they think instantly whether you've had work or not, they still think you're a dole bludger.. (Watson 1985 p.30)

With unlimited time people lose the ability to utilize their time.

Cause you can get to a stage when you just sit in a house, listen to records all day and all night and go to sleep and that's all you're doing. Like I've sat in a house for about a week, and just never got out, just to the shops to buy food and then just come back. (Watson 1985 p.34)

The unemployed express their loss of self-esteem in describing their treatment by others and their feelings of ostracism. As one youth explained:

When you get a job you just feel a better person. You feel like standing up to the world, and just sort of walking into it, but when you're on the dole you just back away from the whole world. Fucking half the time you think, "Oh, fuck, I don't want to go outside today. I'll keep me door fast". (Watson 1985 p.36)

The feeling of isolation, contributes to their feeling of powerlessness to do anything political in protest against their condition. They feel totally estranged from the mainstream of society. Windshuttle writes:

Work defines our standing with our fellows, our self-esteem, our income level, the scope of our lives. It is the most basic definition of our concept of humanity. (Windshuttle 1981)

Michele Turner, in a series of interviews with the unemployed, gives an insight into the human story behind the statistics. Loss of financial independence finds school leavers 'trapped' at home, leading to tension in family relationships and compounding personal problems. Their unemployed status means they are denied the opportunities to do something in the real world, co-operate with others, take responsibility, or feel they are contributing to society. (Turner 1983).

In the ANOP (1984) study which combines both qualitative and quantitative data, the same picture of the unemployed emerges. Those young people least happy with life are the unemployed, they are the most depressed and feel the most helpless. The most frequently mentioned "worst things about their lives" were lack of money (22%) and unemployment (14%). The area of employment (job, career, advancement) emerged as the key issue of concern to most young people, and a conscious and constant worry to many. As the research indicated, this was because of the perceived link between "jobs", their financial situation and their identity. The report concludes "Being employed and earning money are critical to young people's identity -- their self-image and self-esteem -- and to the process of becoming independent, to their social acceptance and social life." (ANOP 1984 p.23).

2.5 UNEMPLOYMENT AND YOUNG WOMEN

Traditionally and culturally, female identity was bound up with domesticity and motherhood. But, with increased participation in the workforce, for those women who look to employment as part of their life and future, a job becomes equally important to their social and psychological wellbeing as it is for men.

A survey conducted by Earley (1981) showed that a majority of girls defined their future in terms of paid work and employment rather than in terms of marriage, childcare and house-wifery. This was borne out by the ANOP study in which, of the young women between 21 and 14 years, only 12% expressed interest in full-time home duties over the next few years. Although a minority, close to half expected to be involved in this respect in a decade's time. The effects of unemployment on young women in the Earley study were the same as reported elsewhere - "boredom, financial hardship, lack of independence, loneliness, lack of confidence and self-esteem, irritability, feelings of worthlessness and that life had no future". (Earley 1981 p.210). The centrality of work to the girls' future plans stressed that the problems of unemployment applied to both male and female youth.

These findings were confirmed by Presdee's study (1982) of unemployed working class young women in Adelaide. Paid employment as a goal to achieve resources and social identity was evident, as in the young women interviewed by Earley. Presdee (1982) and Alder (1985) found that the unemployed young women are often reduced to the isolation and powerlessness of unpaid domestic labour at home. Denied access to a place in the workforce, young women do not necessarily choose marriage and children as an alternative, but rather experience the same feelings of insecurity and fatality as their male counterparts with respect to unemployment.

2.6 UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

The socio-psychological effects of unemployment which are discussed above are sometimes linked to anti-social or delinquent behaviour. Presdee (1982) and Watson (1985) both refer to involvement in shoplifting by their subjects to relieve the hardship and poverty of their lives. Drug taking and alcohol are part of the dole culture to escape feelings of rejection, depression and boredom. Michele Turner (1983) comments that resentment against being locked out can be expressed in outward directed behaviour such as vandalism, violence,

housebreaking and car-theft.

In 1973, Polk and Kobrin described the organization of the educational experience as denying large numbers of less successful students access to occupational careers which offered them purpose and future in life. They saw that denial as lying at the root of much adolescent alienation and rebellion, and new patterns of group dissidence, massive drug abuse and calculated violence (Polk & Kobrin, 1978 p.4).

Milten Luger (1978), Executive Director of the James McGrath Foundation for the Treatment of Drug Abuse, expressed the opinion that "there is no doubt in my mind, that the growing feelings of despair, hopelessness, hostility and self-destructive traits which characterize young delinquents, are severely aggravated by their perception that they have no legitimate role or vocational satisfaction". Again at the same seminar on "Unemployment and Crime" addressed by Milten Luger, G.D. Woods observed that he found it "very hard to believe that the present rates of youth employment do not contribute significantly to our present problem of drug abuse". (Woods, 1978 p.46). Similarly, Braithwaite notes that "it is one of the few fairly well supported facts of criminology, that unemployed adult males are far more likely than employed males to be convicted of both serious and minor crimes." (Braithwaite 1978 p.54).

However, studies which investigate a causal link between unemployment and crime rates have produced conflicting results. A contemporary investigation of working age male juveniles in New South Wales during the years 1964 to 1977 showed that increasing unemployment was not associated with an increase of juvenile delinquency (Kraus 1978). Arthur Pearl (1978 p.46-47) however, points out some striking correlations between rates of unemployment and delinquency. In the years 1963-1975 in the U.S. there was a sharp rise in both youth crime and youth unemployment. Arrests of persons under the age of 18 increased on the average 6.7% a year while unemployment grew at a rate of 7.7% a year.

There may be methodological reasons for the contradictions in the evidence on the relationship between crime rates and unemployment rates. For example there are difficulties in measuring crime rates, due to definitions of crime, changing police methods, changing laws and the existing punitiveness of the criminal justice system. Further, total crime rates do not allow for types of crimes: crimes motivated by economic gain may well be more sensitive to unemployment. In considering the correlation between crime and unemployment, there is recognition that other social, political and cultural factors cannot

be excluded.

A study on the individual level such as Thornbury's (1984) finds unidirectional casual theories inadequate to explain the interaction of crime and unemployment. A reciprocal model is far more successful in demonstrating how unemployment and crime appear to mutually influence each other over the individual's lifespan. Similarly Daniel Glaser, (1978) recognized the interaction of socio-cultural and political factors in youth crime. The social segregation of youth, the differentiation of students at school, and the criminalization of drug use, in his opinion, not only supplement unemployment in causing crime, but also caused much unemployability.

To explain the relationship between crime and unemployment, Braithwaite (1973) focusses on poverty and income inequality. To the extent that unemployment throws people into a situation of poverty, pressures towards crime are increased. He argues that it is not the number of people who are deprived in society that is relevant, but the perceived relative deprivation in an unequal society with a large gap between the highest and lowest income earners, between rich and poor. Times of economic recession may sometimes result in levelling income distribution, in which case the crime rate may not rise. In an investigation of inequality and crime rates over a seven year period in 193 of the largest cities in the U.S., findings indicated that it might be the size of the gap between average income earner and the poor which is correlated with crime, but not the number who are poor.

Theories such as 'relative deprivation' seem to suggest that it is the social structure of society which is the most important factor in explaining crime. For this reason, John Oliphant, of the South Australian Office of Crime Statistics, in a paper presented to the Australian Institute of Criminology in 1985 turned from the ambiguity of purely statistical studies, to a study of attitudes of unemployed people. It was hypothesized that the key to lower or higher crime rates was people's belief in the system. His research points to a movement of attitudes of the long term unemployed away from a belief in the system to a breakdown of values within whole groups and communities.

The literature on unemployment, its socio-psychological effects and relation to crime, indicate the importance of employment in delinquency prevention and control. Through work, the individual may avoid many of the negative effects of unemployment, poor self-esteem, depression, isolation and powerlessness, which can be related to alienation and anti-social behaviour. Although

empirical studies do not consistently show a casual connection between unemployment and crime, there is evidence that unemployment is one of the factors producing the social conditions which generate crime.

2.7 CONCLUSION

A review of the literature suggests that employment can play a crucial part in the development of commitments to conventional society. Both male and female unemployed youth feel the isolation, powerlessness and meaninglessness of their lives and have little sense of the future. Such young people have little reason for a "stake in conformity". It would therefore seem that a worthwhile objective for re-integration of YTC youth into the community would be to place them in meaningful, long-term employment. However while there are few statistics which can be drawn upon to substantiate it, youth workers generally agree that although they can place YTC youth in employment, the youth have trouble maintaining their position. The reasons for this low job retention of YTC youth is the subject of this research.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The objective of the research is to explore the factors related to the low job retention of youth released from Youth Training Centres in Victoria. This is accomplished by a 3 month follow-up of a group of 21 youths (11 male, 10 female) released from Turana and Winlaton YTC's into jobs in the community. The experiences of those who remain in employment are compared with those who do not. Additional data has been collected from concerned youth workers and employers in order to give a more complete picture of the motives and reasons involved in a many faceted problem.

3.2 AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Since the work retention difficulties of youth released from YTC is a relatively undocumented subject the research is essentially exploratory. The emphasis in an exploratory study is on the discovery of ideas and insights in order to develop more precise research problems or to develop hypothesis (Sellitz, Jahoda et al. 1959 p. 50).

Research is not simply a matter of experimentally testing well formulated hypothesis. The development of fruitful hypothesis does not occur in a vacuum, nor is it solely a matter of good fortune or ingenuity. It can be aided by carefully planned exploratory and descriptive studies, which have the purpose of accumulating the background information necessary to a pertinent formulation of the problem. (Sellitz, Wrightsman and Cook 1976 p. 156).

Exploratory studies satisfy a requirement of better understanding of the topic; they can be used to examine the feasibility of more intensive study and help to develop the methods to be employed. Babbie (1975 p.50-51) states that exploratory studies are essential whenever a researcher is breaking new ground.

In formulative or exploratory studies, where the emphasis is on the discovery of ideas and insights, Sellitz et al. (1976) recommend that the research design be flexible enough to permit the consideration of many aspects of the phenomenon. Methods may include 1) a review of related literature, 2) a survey of people with practical experience of the problems and 3) analysis of "insight stimulating" examples. Frequent changes in the research procedure may be necessary "in order to provide for the gathering of data relevant to the emerging hypothesis." (Sellitz, Wrightsman and Cook, 1976 p 92). For this purpose a series of steps were undertaken before the research began: a literature review was carried out, a series of informal interviews and visits were made with social workers and to employment programs which worked with "disadvantaged" youth; and information was collected from other local people with practical experience in the field on the characteristics of young delinquents and the effectiveness of different employment strategies.

3.3 STUDY DESIGN: LONGITUDINAL AND QUALITATIVE

The research is a longitudinal study in which the intended procedure was to firstly administer a questionnaire to trainees shortly before release into employment. The objective of this questionnaire was to collect basic facts and information and to establish a relationship with the trainee. Two weeks after release a brief questionnaire was to be mailed in order to renew contact and to check if the subject was still employed. It would also confirm address and telephone number for future contact. An in-depth interview about the subjects' work experience was to take place three months after release. The three month period of follow-up was established from the finding in the research of Semmens (1985, 1986) that in this time the pattern of future employment is set.

It was possible to carry out the planned procedure in the case of the male trainees released from Turana. The youths interviewed were approached through the Work Release Program at Poplar Cottage, Turana. The Work Release Program is essentially involved with sentenced youth, which means that the date of release from the institution is fixed and predictable.

It was discovered at the commencement of the research in 1985, that the small numbers of young women going into employment from Winlaton, were predominantly Wards of the State ("wards") This meant that the date of release was not fixed but at the discretion of the authorities. A collection of data by the initial method would have been potentially haphazard. It would have relied on the immediate communication from Winlaton staff of a decision to release a ward, and the availability of the researcher to administer the questionnaire in the institution, possibly at short notice.

Because of the unpredictability of the release date of wards from Winlaton, it was decided in the case of young women, to work retrospectively from the Winlaton employment officer's records. With the co-operation of Winlaton, the names, addresses and telephone numbers of all trainees who had left the institution between August 1985 and March 1986 to go into employment, and whose whereabouts were known, were made available to the researcher. This time period was set to ensure, as close as possible, that the young women had been released for the three month period used in the follow-up of male trainees. A reply paid letter inviting co-operation, was sent to each ex-trainee. This was followed up by a telephone call. At the interviews which followed the young women were administered the first two questionnaires. In one case the young woman was contacted before release from Winlaton and so the same procedure as for the boys was pursued.

The retrospective method had various problems. Only six letters were answered out of twenty even when the young women proved quite co-operative when contacted by telephone.

The difficulty common to both the male and female samples was the location of the young person after some time had elapsed. Many young people from institutions no longer live at home. They are in semi-permanent accommodation, hostels or flats. In addition, particularly with wards who no longer wished the supervision of the welfare authorities, they had absconded.

In the case of the male offenders, it appeared that fear of police harassment, or a desire for disassociation from the correctional system, made relatives and friends reluctant to make their whereabouts known. These difficulties accorded with those experienced by interviewers in Morris's (1965) study, "Prisoners and their Families", in which it was observed:

It was often extremely difficult to trace these wives, many of

whom moved home frequently and left no forwarding address. Others were stated to be unknown at the address when the interviewer called. This part of the work proved extremely laborious and required exceptional tenacity on the part of the interviewers. (Morris 1965 p 36)

Another of Morris's problems which struck a chord of sympathy with the present research was the subjects' hesitancy to tell the interviewer they did not want to be interviewed (Morris 1965, p 148). This resulted on three occasions in evasion and failure to keep pre-arranged meetings. One interviewee claimed she had to take her mother, who was in a wheelchair for a walk. At another time, not long after, the mother appeared in a perfectly normal ambulatory condition. Another interviewee had an urgent contact visit with a boyfriend in Pentridge, but disappeared in the direction of the prison when dropped off by a gullible researcher and failed to reappear one and a half hours later for the interview.

The problems associated with the mobility of the young people were only overcome by persistence, patience, numbers of phone calls and many miles travelled. Eleven of the sixteen youths from Turana who were administered initial questionnaires were finally interviewed, and nine of the twenty youths from Winlaton who were sent letters were finally interviewed. The tenth young woman was administered a questionnaire before release from Winlaton. Finally to allay fear of police harassment, before administering the first questionnaire the researcher emphasized the confidentiality of the research, and assured the subjects that the Criminology Department was a part of Melbourne University and was in no way connected to the police force or Community Services Victoria. In future contact, the researcher was careful to introduce herself as being from the University, and to make clear the subject of the research. Further incentive to participate in the research was offered in the form of payment for the completion of questionnaires (\$8) and interviews (\$10).

Additional data was collected through interviews with professional personnel. Initially it was hoped that these interviews would be with youth workers and employers directly concerned with the young people included in the study. However not all, thirteen of the twenty one subjects, were willing or able to give the name of a youth worker or parole officer to whom they related, and only ten were willing for their employer to be interviewed. One of these employers refused to be interviewed. It was therefore decided to include interviews on the general problems of job retention with youth workers involved with the employment of youth from institutions. This material includes interviews with Poplar Cottage Workers, the Winlaton Employment Officer, and

Employment Access Officers (EAO's) in the Affirmative Employment Program (Dept. of Labour) Interviews were also sought with employers used on a regular basis by these officers.

3.4 SAMPLE

3.4.1 Youth Sample

The youth sample consisted of 11 young men and 10 young women released from Y.T.C.'s into employment. In order to study this special "at risk" population it was necessary to select a non-probability, purposive sample, that is, a sample relevant to the issue being studied. A probability sample insures that each person in a given population has a specified chance to be interviewed, whereas the purposive sample of this research is not random.

The use of a non-probability purposive sample restricts the generalization of findings to a larger population. However, in an exploratory study such as this, where the focus is on the generation of theory and research ideas, the purposive sample is considered suitable. Sampling for ideas rather than for the estimation of population values is used in market research and motivation research. The problem is to find out something about motives, attitudes and associations (Sellitz, Jahoda 1959 p.39)

In order to minimize selection bias, the youths from Turana were to be the next 16 trainees released (16 were chosen to allow for some failure to make contact after 3 months). As has been explained, because most of the Winlaton trainees were wards and because of the smaller numbers of young women who filled the criteria for the sample, it was found necessary to conduct a retrospective study using available records to select the sample. Every effort was made to contact each eligible subject, so that there would not be a bias towards the more co-operative young women, or those more in need of the extra money through job loss.

3.4.2 Professional sample.

Youth workers and professionals were also a non-probability, purposive sample. Thirteen youth workers were directly concerned with the youth in this study. To obtain a degree of representativeness, Community Service Victoria (CSV) personnel from each of four YTC in Victoria were interviewed. Also interviewed were employment officers from the Employment Access Program for CSV clients, and youth workers from a number of community employment programs which were

known to include a proportion of "disadvantaged" youth.

3.4.3 Employers.

Twelve employers were interviewed. The names of nine of these were given by youth involved in the study. This sample was supplemented by three employers who had employed other YTC youth not involved in this study.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Two data collection techniques are used in the study: a structured questionnaire and focussed, in-depth interviews.

The structured questionnaire is the best and simplest method to acquire demographic detail, which can be used to give a basic quantitative description of the groups concerned and to assist in the comparability of data. Using this material the groups can be compared for representativeness with larger samples in other studies. Further relationships or patterns between background information and future job retention may be more readily analysed.

The limitation of the structured questionnaire as a self-report method is in the accurate representation of motives and attitudes. This may be illustrated by a case where the reason given on the questionnaire for leaving the job was, "Didn't get on with the boss." The interview revealed a saga of accusations of theft by the employer, based on his knowledge of the young person's institutional background. The reason for the loss of the job was thus more related to stigma than to a personality conflict with the boss. The questionnaire can seldom probe issues in any real depth. Williamson, Karp et al (1979, p 157) suggest that supplementary methods of data collection might be combined with questionnaire to enhance the overall effectiveness of the research.

The second data collection technique used in this study, the in-depth interview is the principal research method of this study. The intensive interview is characteristic of exploratory studies in which the researcher wishes to obtain a feel for what to ask and how to ask it in larger survey research. It is a technique which also offers an opportunity to probe more extensively for sensitive information about beliefs, feelings, motivation and future plans, or to gain information about relatively unresearched areas. It was therefore used by Skipper and McCaghy (1972) in a study of striptease dancers, and was

employed by Becker (1955) in his famous study of marijuana users (Williamson, Karp et al 1977 p164-165).

The type of intensive interview employed is described as a focussed interview (Sellitz Wrightsman and Cook 1976 p318). The interviewer decides in advance what specific aspects of an experience are to be covered in the discussion. A list of topics or aspects of the problem, derived from an analysis of psychological, criminological and sociological theory, were drawn up in advance. However, the manner in which questions were asked and their timing were left to the interviewer's discretion, allowing freedom to explore in individual directions. Responses were taped to enable the interview to be as free flowing as possible. Only the researchers had access to these tapes on which no names were used.

The interviewer in this research on ex-trainees hoped to present a non-threatening, sympathetic figure. Youth talked quite freely. The main problem was to appear non-judgmental of activities of which the interviewer did not approve. The presence of a parent or adult, before or during an interview, was in some instances valuable, as a basis for further information and observations, as Morris (1965 p147) found, but was not encouraged as it could be inhibiting. In one instance where the subject was in conflict with her mother, who had talked at length with the researcher on arrival, it was felt that the interviewer was then aligned with the mother. The interviewee was defensive and not very communicative.

3.6 MEASURES

3.6.1 Youth Questionnaires

The first questionnaire administered to youth (Appendix 5) was structured to obtain demographic details including work experience and offending history. As well as details of age, address, telephone number and date of release the following questions were asked:

Questions 1 and 2 related to previous schooling, training and the training received at YTC. These questions were considered simple to answer and non-threatening as an introduction to the questionnaire. "What age were you when you left school?" should have been included, as the standard reached is not always indicative of age where a child is backward.

Question 3 concerned previous work history and required more concentration on the part of some subjects. Sometimes this

question was embarrassing, for example when the trainee could not remember the number of jobs because there had been so many, or when dismissal was not under agreeable circumstances - "I got nicked".

Question 4 established the job they were going into on release, and whether or not it was the job of choice, and whether they had any future ambitions.

Question 5 introduces peer relations.

Question 6 examines the likelihood of support from family and relatives.

Question 7 asks about institutional history. This potentially most sensitive area was left until last. Interviewees were asked to volunteer this information, as youth officers believed that few would allow the researcher access to police and departmental files.

This approach to collecting information regarding offending history may have had the advantage of encouraging co-operation with the research. However it had the disadvantage of inaccuracy and uncertainty of the respondents' memories. The respondents interpretation varied as to what was a 'sentence', and as to whether they had been on probation or a supervision order. The information collected sufficed only to give a general picture of the subjects' institutional history.

The second questionnaire (Appendix 6) sought to verify the existence of employment, and to obtain some further details of that employment, as well as to re-establish contact. In the case of the Turana youth, the questionnaire was mailed to the subject. The return rate was low. When second questionnaires were not returned, they were filled in by the researcher at the interview.

3.6.2 Interviews : Trainees

Initially a question guide (Appendix 7) was developed. Adhering too strictly to this guide was found to make the interview too stilted and often the questions were inapplicable. For example when a young person states that she has been in a job for one week and left because "she couldn't stand the wogs", it seems inappropriate to ask if she received any on the job training. Working from the two questionnaires was more useful. The questionnaire information was used as a basis for further probing. Usually the starting point was the job or jobs they held on release from YTC and then working back into a life history "tell me

about yourself" approach. The interview question guide was then used more as a checklist to ensure that all aspects had been covered in each interview.

3.6.3 Interviews: Professional Workers and Employers

Interviews with professional youth workers and employers fall in two categories. The first group is made up of those who were named by the young person who gave permission for them to be interviewed. This group had personal experience of the individual young person. The second group are those professional youth workers and employers who had general experience of the employment problems of YTC youth.

An abstract of the research (Appendix 8) was prepared for the information of youth workers and professionals, and an interview guide was developed. People in this group were asked firstly what exactly their job was in relation to youth from YTC. Secondly, they were asked about their philosophy in relation to work, unemployment, offending and the work they themselves were doing. Thirdly, they were asked about their own experience as to the barriers to holding a job for these youth. Finally the interviewees were asked for their personal opinion of what is needed to assist these youth in employment retention (Appendix 9).

Professional youth workers in the first group, that is who had worked with youth subjects of this research, were not necessarily solely concerned with employment, but with supervision of the young person in some capacity. They were asked about the particular problems of the youth concerned and whether they thought these were common to other trainees.

Of special interest in the interviews with employers was the impact of stigma. Employers were asked about the main factors in the job retention of particular youth (where relevant), whether young people from YTC were any different in employment than other young people, and whether they would continue to employ ex-trainees.

3.7 PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

The project, "Job Retention of Youth Released from Youth Training Centres in Victoria", was approved by the University of Melbourne Human Experimentation Committee on the 15th August, 1986.

The potential risk to the subjects was a breach of confidentiality and anonymity. Because of the follow-up nature of the design, the data collected could not be anonymous. But, following collection, names were not written on questionnaires or notes of interviews. Codes known only to the two researchers on the project were used in analysis. No information which would allow personal identification has been used in any report.

A further potential risk was to the job security of the individual through the interview of his/her employer. Employers were not interviewed without the consent of the young person concerned and clarification as to the employers knowledge of the young person's affiliation with Winlaton or Turana was sought beforehand.

The importance of informing participants in advance of the nature of the research, of voluntary participation, of ensuring anonymity and confidentiality and of informing the participants of the findings, was acknowledged and appropriate procedures were incorporated into the research project.

Subjects expressing interest in the project were given an explanation of the research in simplified language (Appendix 10). This explanation stressed the voluntary nature of the research, gave details of payment offered on participation, and guarantees of confidentiality. Upon agreement a consent form was signed by both Trainee and Researcher which confirmed the foregoing. (Appendix 11).

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 WINLATON : TEN YOUNG WOMEN

4.1.1 Introduction

Questionnaires followed by an interview were administered to ten young women, who were released from Winlaton into jobs. The aim of the initial questionnaires was to gain basic background information including previous schooling and training, work record prior to coming into Winlaton, future aspirations regarding school, training and work, and institutional history. Information on peer group association was sought through questions about the schooling, behaviour and employment of their friends. As an indication of family ties, questions were asked about their living arrangement before and after going into Winlaton. This material is discussed in the section "Background Information" (See also Appendix 1).

A follow up interview was conducted with each of the girls in which further details regarding their background were obtained as well as material concerning their employment experiences in the first three months after release. This latter material is discussed in the section labelled "Post-release from Winlaton - The Job Experience." (See also Appendix 2).

4.1.2 Background Information

(i) Schooling and Training

In general, schooling level was low: half the young women had reached Year 9 level of schooling, four had reached Year 10 level, and one trainee left school in Year 8. None of the young women had done further courses or training since leaving school, except for the programs, work preparation or schooling at Winlaton. While one young woman specifically mentioned doing a floristry course at TAFE this was organized as part of her education program at Winlaton. All young women at Winlaton must take part in work/education programs. There is a wide variety of options to allow for personal choice, including classroom subjects, art and craft, business studies, trade training, human relations, work experience, cross age tutoring, radio room experience,

aerobics and first aid. Participation was high; most young women (eight out of ten) indicated that they had taken part in at least seven of the nine areas listed, including the compulsory Triad therapy.

When asked about their future aspirations, six of the ten young women wished to do further education or training of some sort. This ranged from further schooling, to truck driving basics, floristry and counselling. Three young women desired no further education or training, and one, while aspiring to be a kindergarten teacher, did not wish to do further education/training because she was getting married.

Four young women expressed alienated attitudes to school, such as "I never liked school, never will", "I hate school. I was alright at it but I was bored", or simply "I hate school". One of these four young women described the sort of trouble which led to her expulsion from school:

We used to set the fire alarms off every second week - wagging school - getting drunk at school - swearing at the teachers - picking fights with the teachers - all that sort of thing. I didn't like school, I didn't like the teachers, I didn't like anything about school. The stuff they taught was about Grade 3 or 4. If you don't want to do the work you just don't do it. They're really stupid.

This particular trainee revised her opinion of schooling while at Winlaton, and participated in all of the program areas because she "liked the teachers and the style of teaching."

(ii) Previous Work Record

Prior to their last period of detention at Winlaton all of the young women had held some form of employment, either part time or full time. The full time jobs were as factory hands, cashiers, sales and office assistants and in fast food service, child care and hairdressing. Part time jobs included paper and chemist deliveries, a petrol attendant and work in a floristry shop. Of the eight young women who were wards, the longest held employment was in part time jobs: a petrol attendant for three years, a hairdressing job for nine months and a shop assistant for eight months. Five of the wards had held more than one job, up to as many as ten jobs. Three wards had been in part time employment only. With regard to job duration, the two offenders, who at age eighteen and twenty were also the oldest of the sample group, had held full time jobs for the greatest length of time, as a factory hand for nine months and in a child care creche for six and a half months.

This pattern of previous employment is one common to teenagers and early school leavers - an amount of part time work sometimes combined with school, and a movement in and out of a number of short term, unskilled jobs.

(iii) Institutional History

At the time the young women were first contacted for this research eight were wards and two were classified as offenders. Of the wards, four were aged seventeen, three were sixteen and one was fifteen years; the two oldest young women, aged eighteen and twenty, were the offenders.

To establish the length of time these young women had been in contact with the correctional/welfare system, they were asked how old they were when they first appeared in court. The length of time varied from one to five years; three had been in contact for three years, three for two years, two for four years, one for one year and one for five years. This did not always prove to be an accurate estimate of wardship periods, as one ward mentioned in the interview that she had been a ward for seven years.

Frequency of contact with the correctional/welfare system was indicated by the young women's reports of the number of times they had appeared in court. All of the young women, except one, had been in court three or more times. Since first appearing in court, one young woman had appeared twenty times and two others had appeared nine times. All of the young women had been institutionalized or on some form of court order (that is on probation, supervision order or bond) before going into Winlaton on this last occasion. Six of the young women had been in Winlaton before, two on at least four occasions.

The type of behaviour which had brought these young women into Winlaton varied from the burglary and culpable driving offences of the two sentenced young women, to "status offences", such as running away from home or under age sexual relations. Wardship in circumstances of cruelty and incest was also mentioned. One young woman asked to be made a ward because she could not get on with her father:

I was put in Orana with cottage parents. They had their own little girl, a proper little shit. I ran away because I didn't like Orana and I didn't like the people.

Another young woman admitted to being an uncontrollable child:

My boyfriend was considerably older than me. He was ten years older and I was fifteen or sixteen. That didn't go down too well in court. Mum and Dad were worried and because I wasn't allowed to see him, I used to do my little trick of jumping out the window to go and see him.

However, in most cases wards had also been responsible for offending behaviour. Of the eight wards, five had previously been on a probation order or a bond. Of the remaining three, one gave the taking of illegal drugs as the reason for not keeping her jobs. Of one ward, her mother complained, "All of a sudden she started not coming home in the evenings. Then the police started to call. She got involved in car thefts, assault and fraud." At the interview, this young woman had two court cases pending for burglary charges. Another ward, asked if she was sent to Winlaton because she ran away, responded, "Oh, I did other things. I assaulted a policewoman and stole a bike. The assault was what got me put in". She had also been on probation for burglary.

Generally, the institutional history of these young women is of repeated trouble with authority throughout their adolescent years, either on the basis of care and protection orders or for criminal offences.

(iv) Peer Group

Involvement in offending behaviour is also reflected in peer group associations. Of the sample, nine had friends who had been in trouble or were likely to be in trouble with the police; one ward had no such friends. In the interview, several referred to boyfriends who had been in trouble or had been in Turana; according to one young woman her boyfriend was currently in Pentridge for attempted murder and assault. Some of the less serious behaviour of their associates was described in the following way:

My friends are not really bad, they don't go round breaking windows. But Saturday nights we go down the railway park and play cat and mouse with the cops, not that much trouble. Sometimes there'll be a fight... a couple of the guys get put in the can for the night... not really bad... we don't go robbing banks or anything.

Yes, they've been in trouble, not continually. They have been mainly .05, a fight or two... not close to jail or nothing.

In two cases, friends were mentioned as participating in the drug scene. One ward moved from Winlaton into a flat, where she was joined by 22 (sic) others,

"druggies" who were kicked out. She said she had no hobbies or other interests when she left Winlaton except drugs, alcohol and the friends associated with them. She had some straight friends, but her boyfriend who had a drug problem had been in trouble and in an institution.

When asked about the employment status of their friends, six young women had closest friends in employment, three had closest friends unemployed and one had friends in each category.

(v) Family Life

It is to be expected that the behaviour of these young women would be reflected in some way in their ties to family life and happiness at home. The questionnaire indicated that seven of the ten young women were in accommodation other than at home before going into Winlaton; the same number held true for the living situation after leaving Winlaton. Accommodation was generally in a house or flat shared with other young people, or in two cases, housing arranged by Winlaton with a supervising adult. All of the young women except one, admitted in the interview that they did not get on at home, usually with one parent or another, but most interviewees were unwilling to be more explicit in what appeared to be a sensitive area.

Two young women mentioned cruelty in the home. One explained:

My father was a pretty cruel bloke - he spent most of his time bashing us. Because of that Mum put us in a home rather than kick him out because we needed protection.

In the second instance the young woman was put in Allambie as a child because she did not get on with her mother's defacto husband, who use to beat her mother. She said:

Mum's boyfriend used to drink a lot, and get stuck into Mum, and I didn't like it. I had to get out, and whenever there was any problem, I'd just go.

In some cases, the disruptive behaviour of the young people appeared to be creating a conflict situation. One social worker remarked:

She has family problems - her lying and stealing made trouble at home and with her brothers and sisters...

Of another situation, the youth worker said:

I had Mum and Dad in here on numerous occasions having long sessions... they were admitting their mistakes, but she wasn't prepared to admit her mistakes. She couldn't see where she was going wrong.

One mother told the interviewer she felt that she could not have her daughter home permanently as she created tension in the house - she wouldn't get up, played loud music and spent her nights out. The worry of police involvement was affecting the mother's health. Her husband would not allow the daughter home until she got a job. In discussing problems at home, one social worker remarked that when problems arose many parents did not know how to cope with them.

When a young person begins to act out, Mum and Dad often reinforce the behaviour because they don't understand or know how to cope.

This could be illustrated by the case of the young woman previously cited for undisciplined behaviour at school which led to her expulsion. She continued:

I met some blokes from Turana. They were staging a (word missed) and Dad caught them. Dad said he was going to ring the police and he was going to hit me so I just bolted off.

Many young people will claim in their adolescent years to have trouble with, or not to get on with their parents. However, whether caused by marital conflict or parental mistreatment, or by the interactive effect of their own misbehaviour, most of the young women from Winlaton experienced sufficient friction and unhappiness in the family situation to result in their living away from home in their mid-teen years.

(vi) Summary

In general, the background picture of these ten young women is one of low schooling and training achievement. Jobs held had been unskilled and of short duration. They had had repeated contact over several years with the correctional/welfare system. While most were wards of state, they had also engaged in offending behaviour. The majority associated with peers who had been in trouble, and most were unhappy or in conflict in the home situation.

4.1.3 Post-release from Winlaton: The Job Experience

The research sought to establish what happened to the young women with respect to their employment in the first three months after release. Interviews were carried out with the young women, three of their employers and with eight youth workers involved with the young women.

All of the jobs held by the young women were unskilled; they were in sales, as cashiers and as factory hands, one was a clerical job, one as a technical assistant and one in conservation work. The employment retention pattern

appeared to fall into three categories at the three month point.

Category 1.

Job Retained (3 months). One young woman still held the job she had had on release six months before.

Category 2.

Employment Retained. Four young women terminated their first job before or at approximately the three month point but had obtained a second job and appeared to be moving in and out of jobs of various duration, sometimes interspersed with periods of unemployment. One young woman who was interviewed six weeks after release had held, according to an interview with her youth worker at a later date, three to four short term jobs in the three month period. The other three young women in this group had had two jobs in the time between release and interview.

Category 3.

Unemployed. A group of five young women while unemployed at the three month point, had held a single job for a length of time from one day to five weeks. When the job had terminated they had remained unemployed for various reasons; one was not looking for a job, another could not get a job, two were pregnant and one had been returned to Winlaton.

(i) Interviews with Young Women

These three employment patterns are used as the framework for the following analysis of interviews with the young women. The interviews are treated as case studies, focussing on the reasons for leaving a job.

Category 1. Job Retention.

W6. This was the one case where at interview the same job had been held since leaving Winlaton. She thought the job, a cashier, was really good. Pay was alright, her co-workers and the customers were nice to her and there were opportunities for training and advancement. One of the managers now in head office had told her, "Jane thinks you're ace, you're a good worker and if D. left you'd be trained to be head girl."

Category 2. Employment Retention

W3. This young woman could not cope with the features of the job as a

supermarket cashier. She described her experience as follows:

I wasn't suitable. The job was too demanding for me. It was expecting too much and I couldn't give it... Standing in one position for eight hours a day was pretty tiring and trying to please every customer coming through is really demanding. It was just when it got busy and you get grumpy people through and I couldn't handle the grumpy people, and I got upset and really uptight... It just takes one customer to ruin your day.

W4. At the time of the interview, this young woman had just started a second job as a clerical assistant. The reason for leaving her first job as a sales assistant was that she didn't get on with her boss. However, the explanation which she consequently gave indicated that she had been stigmatized as a ward of state:

Well, I went for (the job) and I told them I was a ward of the state, and they'd had wards there before, but I'd always felt they were watching me and keeping a close eye, because people get the wrong idea...What really made me decide to leave was, at Xmas time, when we closed up the shop after trading and cleaned up, I got a phone call when I got home here and it was my boss to see if I had seen her purse or not. Mum took my bag off me straight away cos I'd just walked in the back door and searched me, and nothing at all, and it was Saturday afternoon and I haven't got a key card to put money in. A sum of \$3000 was stolen that day. So the finger was pointed at me, but I hadn't done it, then the police came over here and the CIB and they questioned me, and from that day on I thought, no way, I'm not working for this lady. She wouldn't trust me. So I didn't go back.

W5. This young woman had held two jobs. She would give no further reason for leaving her first job except that she wanted to leave. The second job, which she enjoyed, was doing conservation work in national parks, pulling up weeds and working on a dam wall moving rocks. It was a good job, good money and funny people. She was fired because she went to hospital. The job was not held over for her. A feature of this CEP job was that it was of only six months duration.

W10. This young woman left her job because of features of the job itself and a lack of motivation, financial or otherwise to continue in the job. She said, "I could afford not to work. I hated the manager." When asked to elaborate she explained how the trouble arose through sales incentive arrangements.

It was all to do with a sales competition. Whoever makes the sales, it goes down in their book. I picked up a few orders and he changed the initials to his. He told me if I started with a customer just to tell him and the sales would go to me and I'd do the same for him. But a couple of times he didn't do it for me and I was pretty pissed off, and then when I found he'd changed the orders I just said stuff him, and walked out.

Category 3. Unemployed

W1. The reasons given for leaving a factory job after five weeks were for health and the type of work. She pulled a couple of muscles in her back doing work around the factory. She was having too much time off work and the employers did not like it.

I had several run-ins with one of my bosses about my back. He said "lift that" and I said "No", he said "that's what you're paid for" and I said "I'm not putting my back out again!".

W2. This interviewee gave up her job as a cashier because at the time she did not like the job. However in retrospect she regretted her decision. She thought she did not have enough work experience, and did not know what working was like and just "couldn't handle a full time job straight from Winlaton. I was just so immature with school and everything...". Her reasons appear to be a combination of features of the job which she did not like at the time, and a lack of work skills.

W7. The reason given for not keeping the job was, "I didn't like the wogs," but in the interview she stated that her motivation for the job was release from the institution. Apart from not liking this certain feature of the job, motivation to work was lacking.

W8. The reason this young woman left her sales job after a week was given as "Drugs and alcohol." She said that she got very upset and emotional and this was why she used drugs and alcohol. This young woman mainly associated with offending peers in the drug scene, she claimed she really loved the job but was not really interested in working. Her only interests were drugs, alcohol and the friends associated with them.

W9. Since leaving Winlaton on the last occasion, this young woman did not turn up for her first job and the second job was only for one day. She had been unemployed for twelve months and was pregnant. She commented that the only reason that she had got the job was to get out of Winlaton. "I didn't want to work", she explained, "I just wanted to get out." This lack of motivation was reflected in answers to queries about her previous five jobs held for up to a period of two weeks before going into Winlaton.

Well, sometimes I felt out of place and sometimes I'd rather be with my friends... I wanted to have a job for the money but not for the job itself... they just didn't interest me at the time. I had better things to do with my time... There were easier ways to get it (money) like stealing and unemployment.

Some degree of a consciousness of stigma was suggested in her answers:

When you say you felt out of place, was it because you didn't get on with people in the jobs?

It was just that I felt really awkward... no, I just felt I had nothing in common with them. Nothing to talk about, people had different sorts of backgrounds.

Do you think it's because you have been in and out of institutions that you feel like that?

Yes, and in trouble. Yes, I felt they were different sorts of people.

From these cases studies, explicit reasons given by the young women for leaving the jobs obtained on release from Winlaton, could be ranked as follows, according to the number of times each reason was mentioned.

Job features	6
Attitude and motivation	4
Health	2
Emotional and behavioural (including drugs & alcohol)	1
Stigma	1
Social, Communication and Employee Skills	1

It appears that the problems in job retention of Winlaton youth from their own account, were due mainly to features of the job and the motivation to continue in employment.

(ii) Interviews with Youth Workers

Seven youth workers were interviewed in connection with young women from Winlaton who had lost their jobs. The youth workers, if unaware of the young woman's employment situation, were informed of her present circumstances. They were asked for their opinions for the failure of the young woman to retain her job. The reasons given by youth workers were often not in agreement with those given by the youth themselves. Where appropriate, this conflict is mentioned.

Emotional and behavioural problems were often seen as the underlying reason for poor job retention. One youth worker interviewed felt that the lack of motivation to work expressed by his client was because of emotional problems caused by an unstable family background and lack of support.

Youth Worker: She is very friendly charming lovable sort of kid when she is on top of things, when things are going bad for her she had nothing to fall back on, she would fall apart,

become totally non-compliant. She needed to be settled and secure before things like school and work.

Interviewer: So you think the problem is mainly emotional?

Youth Worker: Absolutely. Their aspirations, misgivings, about life are exactly the same as other adolescents only the degree to which they have them and what supports other kids have at that age. If you haven't a base on which to work, school and work are more difficult to hold down. She never knew where she was going from one situation to the next. It was on again off again with her mother. She's been in institutions on and off for years.

Interviewer: So the job was really too early for her?

Youth Worker: Yes - many times I have seen job expectations placed on kids to make them achieve something rather than sit on the dole. We didn't ask anything impossible but (the trainee) as you say, just chucked it in.

Similarly another youth worker, whose client expressed herself keen to work, explained the young woman's failure to keep a job in terms of motivation associated with emotional hassles at home.

She seems very keen with every new job she gets but after a week or so getting into the boring routine of what a job is really all about - "No, I don't think I want to work anyway". When she was at the first week or so she was there, she came home raving about the job, and then as time progressed she came home with excuses as to why she didn't want to go to work and other excuses, and so it went on, and what it boiled down to was that even talking about having problems with some of her supervisors, I think it was that she didn't want to work. It's as simple as that, and that's probably associated with all the emotional hassles she's going through as well. Heck, it's bloody hard to settle into a job and really make the job work when I can't sort things out at home with Mum and Dad.

One social worker spoke of a behavioural problem with respect to the young woman's inability to cope with some aspect of the job.

She falls down in the same way every time; She can't control her annoyance and takes it out on the customers. She is rude to the customers and staff. There is a lack of temper control. Of course she is only 15, but the same problem comes out in her living arrangements. It's really a behavioural problem. She has no trouble getting jobs but she can't cope with people. She loves the job, gets on well, then starts criticizing things - little things upset her - a late tea break - the cash register - it's always something else that's wrong, not her.

Another social worker disagreed with the health reasons given by another young woman for leaving her job. According to the social worker the young woman had a behavioural problem, telling unnecessary lies which caused trouble socially and with her employment.

She has problems in keeping jobs and can't learn new ones. I haven't heard about this health problem. She had been telling people at work she had been receiving treatment for cancer, which was not true, so in fact she only worked one out of four weeks. Her social skills are lacking. Her lying and stealing made trouble at home with her brothers and sisters and friends.

In the case of another young woman, the youth worker considered that the drug problem given as a reason for leaving the job was an excuse to hide her other psychological problems. She also lacked motivation to work and had insufficient support to cope with release from Winlaton into a job.

She has a strong self-image in the negative sense...She had become a very self destructive young lady and appeared to resist any positive input altogether.. nothing had really been done to tackle that; there was certain psychological work that really did need to be done...Basically it would be general attitude towards work... Her priorities really aren't work orientated at all. She has a number of priorities which include basic self fulfillment and immediate gratification type things. She was certainly far from stable in an outside situation where she was living, so she had to cope with an enormous amount within a very short period of time; she had to cope with a new place of work, work itself was new.. Her place where she was living, that once again was new to her. She's a country girl so she had no networking down here at all, though a certain amount of back up was offered to her to try to help her through the problems. It wasn't sufficient or effective in the circumstances." (The young women) "require an enormous amount of support and backup. They will fall down many times but as long as they know the support's here they will climb back up again; but it has to be consistent and strong support... She unfortunately didn't have strong enough support during that time. Now that's not to criticise the people that were involved because everybody can only do so much.

Lack of motivation in another case was further described by this youth worker:

Well, I just don't think she is interested personally. She's not ready to settle down into a job, she's still with her friends and flat, going out and doing what she wants, if she wants a job she can keep it, put it that way. She's not a stupid kid, she certainly knows the facts of life out there, but I don't think she wants it at this point, I really don't. I'm tired of hearing people blaming drugs and peer groups, but I feel that if the kid's ready she's ready and she'll fit everything else in with it.

Consistent with the explanation of the young woman concerned, one youth worker explained her not keeping the job in terms of aspects of the job itself and the young woman's motivation to work.

The reasons for her not holding the job were twofold. It probably was not a very nice place to work. In a personal incentive sort of job her next-in-charge would come along and try and take her customers. She reacts to that sort of thing and I think she saw the next-in-charge was dishonest so she

didn't have any faith in the place at all. The other reason was at home. She's living with a guy and she was the cook and cleaner as well as working full time... and I think she felt she was doing two jobs. With her boy friend working there wasn't a great need to work for her. I think she saw resigning as giving her time to do what she wants.

Many of the youth workers interviewed gave the emotional or behavioural problems of the young woman as a principal reason for her failure to retain the job. These problems were often related to the young woman's life circumstances, most often consisting of a lack of supports and/or problems at home. These were seen to be responsible for low motivation to work.

4.1.4 Summary

The background of the ten young women was in general one of limited educational attainment, and repeated contact with the correctional/welfare system over several years. Most of the young women were wards of the state. Their prior employment experience tended to be in unskilled jobs which they held for relatively short periods of time. The majority associated with peers who had been in trouble, and most were unhappy or in conflict in their family.

From the follow-up interviews, three categories of job retention were defined: 1) Job Retained (1 young woman) - the same job was held for the three month follow-up period; 2) Employment Retained (4 young women) - the young women were still employed at the end of the three month follow-up period but had held more than one job since release from Winlaton; and 3) Unemployed (5 young women) - these young women were no longer employed at the three month follow-up point.

The one young woman in the first category appeared enthusiastic about her job, interested in the future prospects of the job and had a good report as far as performance and attitude were concerned from her employers. Two of the young women in the second category expressed interest in working to the researcher, but were described by their youth workers as unmotivated or behaviourally not able to cope in the job. The third young woman in this category self-reported that she "did not need to work", and another young woman had given up her job for health reasons. Two of the young women in the third category were pregnant at the time of the final interview and a third had been returned to Winlaton. The fifth young woman in this third category gave a health reason for not working which was questioned by her youth worker.

The main problem for job retention given by Winlato youth concerned features of the job itself which made it difficult or unpleasant for them to continue in the job. Some expressed a lack of interest in or motivation to work. Youth workers in most cases explained the young women's problems in emotional and behavioural terms or lack of motivation. The emotional and behavioural problems made it difficult to concentrate, to cope or to give a priority of interest to the job. These problems were often seen as related to the young women's life circumstances including a lack of supports and/or problems at home.

4.2 TURANA : ELEVEN YOUNG MEN

4.2.1 Introduction

Eleven young men were issued questionnaires before leaving Turana and three months after release were interviewed about their work experience. Information which was collated from the questionnaires regarding their backgrounds - schooling, work experience, institutional history, family situation and friendships, has been outlined in the section "Background Information". (See also Appendix 3). This section also includes relevant information from the interviews which followed three months later.

4.2.2 Background Information

(i) Schooling and Training.

The level of schooling of most of the subjects was low; seven of the young men, five of whom had been wards, were of Year 9 level or below when they left school. Of the remaining four who were also the oldest, two were in Year 11 and two were in Year 10. Only two youths had done further training since leaving school; one had started an apprenticeship in carpentry and the second had commenced a basic computer course. Neither course had been completed. Seven of the youth wished to do further training or schooling in apprenticeships (fitting and turning and welding), in computers, and in general schooling. Three who did not wish to do further schooling expressed alienated attitudes to school and one youth saw no need for further schooling.

While in Y.T.C. seven of the eleven youth had participated in the school program which is not compulsory unless trainees are under school leaving age. As five of these youth had been in Turana as wards it is likely that five of the seven attended the school program at some time on a compulsory basis. Apart from art and craft which seven youth attended, four did the traffic safety course, three youth mentioned trade programs, three work experience and others did kitchen work and gardening. One youth spent his sentence on the Acheron program in the bush.

(ii) Previous Work Record

These eleven young men had been in the workforce from two to four years. In that time they had all had more than one job; three had three jobs, two had had two jobs, two had held four jobs, two held five jobs, one had six jobs and one had seven jobs. However more of the young men had held jobs for a markedly longer time than the young women. Seven young men had held jobs ranging in duration from three months to two years. The remaining four young men had held jobs in duration ranging from one day to eight weeks. While the seven young men with longer job experiences were of mixed ages (3 were in the 16-17 year old category and 4 in the 17-18 year old category), all of those who had held jobs for shorter periods were in the younger 16-17 year old age group.

(iii) Institutional History

The young men involved in this research appear to fall into two groupings with regard to age and institutional background.

Four young men formed an older group aged eighteen or nineteen years. The work release of three of these young men who were from Langi Kal Kal was being supervised from Turana. The fourth, who was nineteen, was on the Acheron bush program, supervised from Turana. The remaining seven youths formed a younger group aged sixteen or seventeen and had been at Turana during their sentence. All of the young men in this study were offenders with a sentence of at least two months. For six of the offenders, who were also the six young men who had not been wards, it was the first time in Y.T.C., although their contact with the system was for up to a period of five years. Of the remaining five youth who had been wards three had been in Y.T.C. twice before, the other two repeatedly, one 7-8 times and one 15-20 times over a period of four to five years. The number of times sentenced varied widely from twelve and ten times sentenced in court at one end of the range, to four youths who had been sentence once only. The majority, ten out of eleven, of the sentences were for property offences, burglary, theft or theft of a motor vehicle, robbery and forgery. The remaining youth was convicted of assault. Some of the youth were sentenced for more than one type of offence; three were convicted of assault as well as property offences, and two other youth specified offensive behaviour and unlicensed driving respectively along with the property offence.

The motivation behind these property offences was given in some of the interviews. One young man said he just wanted things so he took them; in two

instances the burglaries and car thefts were associated with the need for money for drugs over and above what could be earned; one burgled because he was out of a job and had no money or food in the flat and another youth was described by his social worker as a "chronic car thief": "He steals cars to feel good, for excitement and power - for joy riding." His offending was also alcohol related. The two young men who were associated with drugs had also been wards and had also been sentenced the most frequently, one twelve times and the other eleven times.

Generally, these young men had been serving a comparatively long Y.T.C. sentence as a result of repeated offending over a number of years and/or conviction for a serious property offence. Those who had a background of wardship were amongst the most frequent offenders and amongst those who had the longest contact with the welfare/correctional system.

(iv) Family and Friends

As an indication of family ties, six of the young men had been living with their families before going into Turana, and eight had gone to their families in the work release period, though seven of these eight young men had moved to other accommodation by the time of the interview. They had moved into flats, in with girlfriends, one had board with a family, one had got married and three were back in Turana. The young men were not very willing to discuss family relationships. In seven of the families parents were single, remarried or in a de-facto relationship although this was not always a source of conflict. Five youth admitted to friction at home, one with mother, one with father who had remarried and would not have him living at home, one with mother's boyfriend, one with stepfather who was giving him his last chance to stay home, and one who commented "got on alright with my parents, but don't think I could live with them." One youth, who had been a ward at aged three, did not know his parents. An employer said of one youth "He hasn't a chance. His mother was killed when he was young and his father is an alcoholic."

All of the young men except two had friends who had been in trouble. The remaining two had changed friends and no longer associated with their former friends who had been in trouble. All of the friends were employed except for the friends of one young man. The peer group of this young man was of particular concern to his youth worker because of previous offending associations. She had actively introduced him to other local youth groups.

(v) Summary

The young men in this study fall into two age groups, those who were eighteen or nineteen and those who were sixteen to seventeen. Seven youths had not been in Y.T.C before and five, who had been wards, had previously been detained. The youths had been in contact with the court for one to five years, and had been sentenced mostly for serious property offences. The majority of the youth had low schooling levels. Seven youths had demonstrated their ability to hold jobs of from three months to two years. In seven of the families there was some indication of some degree of trouble, trauma, friction or lack of support and all youth had friends or had had friends who had been in trouble.

4.2.3 Post Release From Turana - The Job Experience

The eleven young men who had been on the work release program from Poplar Cottage, were released from Turana into unskilled and semi-skilled jobs ranging from building trades to upholstery, motor mechanics, welding, painting, gardening, labouring, clerical work and one was a truck jockey. On interview at the three month point after release from Turana, the young men appeared to fall into three categories (See also Appendix 4):

Category 1: Job Retained

Four young men held one job for the three months of the follow-up period.

Category 2: Employment Retained

Three young men had held more than one job during the three month follow-up period, and were employed at the time of interview.

Category 3: Unemployed

Four young men were unemployed at the time of the interview. They had held only one job each, except for one youth who had had a second job for three days. These young men had worked in jobs after release from Turana from three to ten weeks. Three had re-offended and were back in Turana.

(i) Interviews With Young Men

The interviews with the young men will be analysed in the categories described above as case studies which focus on the reasons given for leaving jobs and other details relevant to the job situation.

Category 1: Job Retained

T1. This young man was still in his job as a house renovator in a family business. He liked working, it was good money and he would hate to be on the dole; but it was lonely working on your own.

T2. This young man had been employed for three months but had just left his upholstery job because it was not paying enough.

Where my brother works its \$400 a week and \$303 in hand and that's what I want to do. He's teeing up a job for me there. (At the upholstery job) I was getting \$240 a week, when I worked Saturday and \$200 in hand - not enough for me anyway. He offered me more pay and I still said no. It's just I wanted to get out. I wanted factory work, an outside job. This other job's going to be working in a paint factory, but it's air conditioned and it's only a casual job. I want to get another job with a mate of mine, he's making \$280, he's working on roads...

The main job motivation was to earn enough money to buy a car. Every job, including the upholstery job, he found boring.

T6. In this case, the youth was happy in his job as a brickie's labourer. He had held the job for four to five months (work release included). His boss picked him up in the morning and he got on well with the other four workers. He had moved out of home into a flat with his girlfriend.

T8. At the interview, this young man was still in his job as a window maker, putting the aluminium frames together. He was happy with the pay and conditions and he got a lift to work with his mother.

Category 2: Employment Retained

T3. When he left Turana this young man was working as a stock assistant at Myer, which job he held for 3-4 months (work release included). When asked why he left he said:

I had problems, personal problems and hassles and I left and went up to Sydney for a while. The job was great but I had to go. When I came back I started a handyman's business with another guy, but he didn't know what he was talking about and we ended up doing jobs three or four times so I quit that... then Dick, my partner, offered me a couple of days work here (a motor mechanic's)... I said yes, then was offered a full time job and then I was offered to buy into the business.

He was not qualified as a motor mechanic but had done a lot of work with cars and hoped to do his apprenticeship.

T4. At interview, this youth had just found a third job cleaning caravans. He left his job as a welder which he had on leaving Turana because they were not paying him enough, and because they were complaining about his work to his father who also worked there and not telling him.

They kept on going to me dad about me; they wouldn't say anything to me, they kept getting me dad to say it to me and that's why I left.

He then got a spray painting job which was well paid and he was very happy with it. However, the police pulled him in for questioning during working hours for something he did not do. He did not explain to his employer why he was not at work; he did not go to work that day because he was embarrassed and lost his job as a result.

T9. The job that this young man was in on leaving Turana was a CEP job that was only temporary for 17 weeks. He was offered another full time job as a despatch officer and he thought it best to take it. He had been there at interview, about two and a half to three months and everything was "going great." He was happy with the pay and they were possibly going to train him as a purchasing officer.

Category 3: Unemployed

T5. This young man left his job as a spray painter after two and a half months because the factory was moved and he was no longer doing painting but sweeping floors and cleaning. He didn't like it so he quit. A second job lasted three days, but the work was outside in the rain and he did not like that. At interview the youth had been returned to Turana.

T7. In this case the young man kept his gardening job for three weeks after leaving Turana. His reason for leaving was that they would not pay him sick leave. He did not try to get another job because he got into drugs again and "stuffed up". He was returned to YTC two months later for breaking parole and theft charges.

T10. At the time of the interview this young man had been unemployed for two months. Bad public transport was the reason for leaving the job as he had to make two connections, had to leave very early and was often late. He was looking for another job locally or to find board closer to the city.

T11. This young man had worked as a truck jockey three months on work release but lost the job shortly before getting paroled through not turning up. He was

hitting the drugs "pretty bad" which "kept me up of a night but made me sleep of a morning". He was also getting into trouble and was returned to Turana at interview with four more charges to face.

In summary, three of the young men who had stayed in their jobs for three months, spoke of how they liked their work and were pleased with the pay. They also appeared to have some personal supports; one had a mother, and another a "boss", who drove them to work, and the third worked in a family business.

The most frequent reason for leaving jobs given by youth were problems with the jobs themselves. These included pay, working conditions, and the temporary nature of the job. Two of the youth left jobs because of drug-related problems. One lost his job because being an offender he had been stigmatized and detained by the police. Two young men had enjoyed their jobs but left, the first because his job was a CEP position and the second because of transportation difficulties.

(ii) Interviews With Youth Workers

Six youth workers named by the young men were interviewed in connection with the work experience of their clients. As two of these young men had kept jobs, their remarks in regard to job retention were general. Three of the remaining four youth workers whose clients had lost jobs, did not agree with the reasons given by these young men.

Of his client who had kept his job to the time of interview, one youth worker said that he felt the youth had got his act together for the first time. He liked his work, it was heavy work, but he did it well, was on time and did not take days off. He was a contrast to boys from YTC who generally fell down in these areas. They lacked an ability to concentrate, to form work habits, to get up on time, to pull their weight and generally motivate themselves to work.

A youth worker had positive comments about a young man who had progressed from one job to another. He noted that the young man had applied himself well at Acheron (Turana bush program) and most credit was given to the youth himself for his success plus some encouragement from staff, support from his brother and a steady girlfriend.

A youth worker, whose client gave the boring features of the job as a reason

for leaving, disagreed with his client and believed a lack of motivation to work as a consequence of peer relationships was the underlying reason:

Because the situation changed and conditions changed and he wasn't doing the same type of work I don't really think was why he lost the job. I think he was knocking around with a mate who was unemployed and didn't really have the motivation or the inclination or the confidence to stay with the job... I think that he went away for a couple of weekends with his mate camping and he thought "Oh this is a good thing to do all the time so I'll give the job the flick and off I go." So that's what happened.

Another youth worker thought his client's explanation in terms of drug-related problems was a "convenient" excuse. The youth worker felt that his clients "institutionalized background" contributed to his inability to develop work routines:

He's got the same problems in holding a job as he has generally - he's very disorganized, plus he was using drugs heavily. He had no time sequence, wandering around at night, sleeping during the day and being late for work. He has a very institutionalized background. He's always been woken up and told what to do. And now he's out in the community there's no-one to do that and I think he's finding that impossible.

I don't think he was really interested in working. The drugs were a convenient excuse for him not be at work.. He could get more money doing burgs., and things like that. He was able to do that, enjoy his drugs and keep his own hours - just convenient to have a drug habit.

A youth worker disagreed with a client who claimed he left the job because sick leave was not paid. He thought the reason was that the pay was not sufficient to support a drug habit and he had to turn to criminal activities.

The client of the sixth youth worker had given up his job where he had been happy and had had good reports shortly after his interview with the researcher. The employer refused to see the researcher about the problem. The youth worker was of the opinion that as the job was a government subsidized position under Job Start, and was coming to the end of the subsidy, the employer was forcing the youth's resignation by hassling him and making him unhappy in the job.

In summary, youth workers explanation for why their clients remained in employment were related in one case to the young man enjoying his work and doing well at it, and the other to a supportive family. When explaining why clients left jobs, youth workers referred to peer pressures, an "institutionalized background" and drugs. These factors were sometimes related by the youth workers to a lack of motivation or interest in work.

4.2.4 Summary

Both the youth who stayed in employment and their youth workers spoke of the young men enjoying their work and conditions, especially the pay. A second key factor appeared to be the presence of other personal supports from family and in one case from an employer. When other youth were asked why they had left their job they most often referred to some aspect of the job itself such as the level of pay or in one instance the non-payment of sick leave. One youth who was unhappy with his pay finally left his first job and his second job after embarrassment at having been contacted by police. Two youth had to leave their jobs because of circumstances beyond their control; one had been in a CEP position of limited duration and the other had unresolvable transportation and accommodation problems. Two youth had drug related problems. The youth workers tended to focus upon factors which affected the youths motivation to work such as peer pressures, drugs and institutional history.

4.3 INTERVIEWS WITH EMPLOYERS

4.3.1 Introduction

In the following section data collected from interviews with twelve employers of youth from Y.T.C.'s are analysed. Nine of these had employed youth in this study. However the young people were not always willing for their employers to be interviewed. In other instances the job was of such short duration or the time lapse between job and interview so long, that a follow-up interview with the employer was considered unlikely to be helpful. Two young men were self-employed at the time of interview and one employer refused to be interviewed.

The interviews summarized below are from employers both of youth who had left the job or who were still in the job. Whether the youth was still in the job or not, the main concern of the employers was the performance of the youth as an employee - punctuality, reliability, the standard of work and attitude to the job and to other employees. To varying degrees the employers were understanding and sympathetic as far as was practicable.

The employers were asked about the specific youth as an employee. They were also asked to comment on the problems of employing youth from Y.T.C.'s and

whether they would do so again.

4.3.2 Interviews : The Employer

Employer 1 agreed that the young person had left the job for health reasons. It was a program which used CEP funding to employ disadvantaged and unemployed youth. She had been a good worker, but she banded together with two other youths from institutions to make trouble, to play practical jokes etc., on other mentally disadvantaged workers. He thought that kids from institutions were very volatile and needed more time. It meant that other workers were neglected. It would be better if they could mix them with more volunteers and other good and stable workers.

Employer 2. This employer of a young woman said that for the first few weeks she was very good, but her attitude changed after her parole ceased, she went into a flat, back to her old environment and friends and she just went down the drain. Asked to describe her attitude further, he said that she was not happy in her job and did not want to work. In the last couple of weeks before she walked out she was rude and emotionally unstable. "I have now helped two people, but I won't do it again, it's a waste of time and money."

Employer 3.

I could see it happening. The friends started to come round, he moved into a flat with them and he started not turning up for work.

Employer 4.

He did really well for about two months then he started missing days. He had been sick and he reckoned he was due for sick leave but he wasn't really - he made himself sick. His only accommodation was a rented bungalow... it was no home for him and he went out looking for companionship and fun. He started getting depressed and met a girl who was older and into smack. He did seem to have potential, but by the time he left he was no use for anything. He became a real problem and hated the work. He was avoiding the hard work and became a divisive influence. He was disruptive and made the job a misery. He wouldn't work, he was bad tempered and then he got sick.

Employer 5.

His absenteeism was one thing. He just wouldn't appear for work at all. He'd ring up and say "I've been held up and I've slept in." I went along with that for a while because I knew he'd been in Turana.

Then after a while they put him in a house in Footscray and that's when he seemed to be having the trouble. He couldn't make that adjustment to work... He was a genuine guy, good on the job when he got here... I've carried him as long as we could. We gave him lots of chances. He was constantly late. We'd hold up deliveries and we couldn't afford to do it any more.

Employer 6.

One youth, who had held a job for four months as a brickie's labourer simply did not turn up. His employer had this to say:

I didn't have any problems at all with him. None at all.. he was fairly regular getting to work. I never had any problems at work, he was keen enough to do the job... He rang to say he had a sore foot three and a half weeks ago and his job was here right up until last Friday if he still wanted it. I thought, if he wants the job, he'll get in touch with me.

Employer 7.

The youth who left his job because of bad public transport received a good report from his employer.

He was eager to please and tried to hang onto it (the job). He put in and tried above average. He did have days off and was late. He can have his job back if he can organize closer accommodation.

Employer 8.

The youth had worked as a clerical assistant on a CEP job for about eight weeks under the Head of Special Education, Melbourne CAE. He was filing material, using the typewriter and computer, calling up data, in a learning situation.

He was tremendous with his duties. He was surprised we had offered him the job as he was from Turana. He said he would not let us down and he didn't. He was a very outgoing fellow, and quite confident and competent. He was punctual and was not absent. He got on well with the staff. As it was a CEP job and short term we encouraged him to look for a job and wrote him a reference.

Where job retention by youth from YTC was concerned his employer continued:

They are unlikely to get a job of higher status, so that characteristically they are likely to get jobs as process workers or labourers which may be short term or of a casual nature anyway. But if they stay at the job and there is continuity of employment and they stay longer than three months, the likelihood of them getting into trouble again is much reduced. So the first three months is the most critical.

Employer 9.

The trainee from Winlaton still in employment was found by her immediate boss to be enthusiastic, good at her work, reliable, punctual and had not missed any time. They had no policy for or against taking youth from institutions. Whether or not they were hired depended on the person interviewing and on the individual being interviewed, on their appearance and presentation.

The following three employers had recently employed YTC youth although none were the youth included in this study.

Employer 10.

N. was an excellent worker to begin with. He had great potential in the firm. Customers liked him, he was pleasant, enthusiastic and confident, perhaps too confident. He was trustworthy and had full use of the till.

He then became unreliable. He did not turn up for work, especially on Saturday mornings. I would go and get him out of bed. It happened too often. He was warned. I think he got into a bad crowd... he couldn't manage his money. He bought things he couldn't afford and after he left the bank came looking for him.

Employer 11.

This employer was in charge of a Commonwealth Employment Program for an "Odd Job Squad" which did work for different people round the city. The youth concerned had been in Y.T.C. and had left the program. He had clashed violently with an employer's son, so they had been hesitant to send him anywhere else on "odd jobs", where he was under pressure. It was felt that with violence was the way the youth had learnt to react in Y.T.C. and like other youth from Y.T.C. he also lost interest quickly and had difficulty in communicating. The employer believed that they seemed to think they were smarter, that it was a matter of attitude, and that they needed a more intensive program and more personal attention than this program was able to give.

Employer 12.

The youth in question from Langi Kal Kal was still in employment as a farming trades apprentice under SAAS but the employer felt that he would not last his six months probationary period. He had emotional problems and it had been arranged for him to see a counsellor. In the job he had a negative attitude to people, to the animals and to the tools. He did not work well, had no "stability" and had no respect for authority. He was often sick, bad tempered

and seemed to have a chip on his shoulder. The employer thought he had learning difficulties and need more intensive help.

4.3.3 Summary

Eight of the twelve employers who were interviewed thought that the young person they had employed had been a good worker. They made comments such as "eager to please" "pleasant" "good worker" "I never had any problems at work" "He had potential". However all but three of the young people who had been employed by these employers were put off the job. One of these young people was still working for the employer, another had been in a CEP position for which the funds were to be withdrawn, and the third had transportation and accommodation difficulties which could not be resolved. A fourth youth who had the support of his employer had simply not turned up to work again and the employer was uncertain of the reason. In the remaining four cases where employers had initially been impressed with the work performance of the young person, the employer thought that the influence of peers had been detrimental to the person's job performance. The influence of peers was also mentioned by two of the remaining four employers who had never been impressed by the work performance of their employees. Whether the youth started off as a good employee or not, and whether the cause of the problem was perceived as peers or life circumstances, the final reason for dismissal most often had to do with absenteeism, avoidance of work, arriving late or disruptive behaviour at the work place.

4.4 INTERVIEWS WITH PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELDS OF YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND DELINQUENCY

In the following section, data is analysed from interviews with fourteen professionals working in the areas of youth employment and with youth from Y.T.C.'s. These interviews were of a general nature, and not related to any particular youth involved in this study. Professionals and youth workers were asked for their opinion regarding 1) the value of work for youth development and the prevention of delinquency, 2) the relevance of job quality for job retention, and 3) what they considered the main barriers to the retention of jobs by delinquent youth.

Interviews were conducted with the following:

(i) Community Service Victoria personnel who work in Y.T.C.'s. The Deputy Superintendent of Langi Kal Kal explained the organization of the training program and work release program at that institution. Three youth workers in the Poplar Cottage Work Release Program at Turana were interviewed and the employment officers at Malmsbury and Winlaton. The Director of Education at Turana gave his views of the education and work experience program at Turana.

(ii) Seven people connected with employment programs in the community. Five were Employment Placement Officers with the Employment Access Program (E.A.O's) of the Department of Labour (Victoria) whose target group, statutory clients of C.S.V, includes youth from Y.T.C.'s; also the person in charge of placing State Additional Apprenticeship Scheme (SAAS) clients, and a youth worker from the East Preston Community Centre employment program.

4.4.1 The Value of Work

Some workers felt that a job was important if only to see the young people occupied and out of trouble: "the devil finds mischief" philosophy.

All of the professionals agreed on the value of a job to delinquent youth.

Well, they need either employment or some sort of training, for sure - I mean that's where they get into trouble, they sit around in drop-in centres and you know, have their coffee and play pool and things like that, and unless there's something structured there that they are going to learn from, they are only going to go off and get into more trouble - that's, I mean you don't have to be Einstein to work that one out.... they are, they're going to offend again. Time's heavy on their hands, they've got nothing to do, they haven't - if they're fifteen - they haven't got any money 'cause they can't get Unemployment Benefits - and someone's going to say - "Aw come on, let's do such and such" - and you know, off you go again. So you have got to have them occupied.

In one program, unemployment and its accompanying feelings of boredom, worthlessness and acting out are viewed in the context of community health. Work is viewed as psychologically beneficial to youth in the relief of boredom and worthlessness:

There are some kids who can't get employment and they are so bored the boredom becomes almost a disease, they're bored, they're ill, so community health in this definition is not just the absence of illness, that we don't need to see a doctor. These kids will do anything to relieve the boredom - they'll smash shop windows or they'll mow a lawn, so if you can give them a mower and a big paddock they are not particularly worried about the money - they want to relieve that feeling of

boredom and worthlessness; and if at the end of that you can say, "That's terrific, here's \$10.00," that's terrific, that's better than breaking shop windows. "Well - anything tomorrow?" That's how we started in East Preston.

Youth workers recognized the value of work in building a feeling of worth and self-esteem:

Work is very much involved with self-worth. A lot of the boys that we have at Turana don't have very high regard for themselves; their self-esteem is at an all time low, they've had many blows through their lives, some of them have no family network, nobody who really has had the time or taken the effort to push them in the right direction before, and so for those people work is one incredibly good chance for them to gain these things.

A characteristic of delinquent youth, mentioned many times by youth workers and the youth themselves, was that they lived from day to day with no forward planning. Work was seen as giving youth, in terms of social control theory, a commitment to a future, which may be jeopardized by illegal behaviour. This was expressed as a "vision", by one youth worker, and illustrated in concrete terms by another.

Well financially you need the money to survive, secondly without a job and money you haven't got a vision and a vision is required for all kids. If they haven't got a vision then they have got nothing to live for. So from that point of view and from a self-esteem point of view, I think a job is necessary for everybody, not only for kids but also for grown ups.

Young offenders often talk about yesterday's conquests, but no forward planning as a means of achieving an end. I'll give you an example: This kid's parents came from Scotland. He was a rotten kid, in all senses of the word. He worked on the work program, saved his money and went back for a trip with his parents to Scotland. Then he came back, got a full time job, and convinced a mate to save his money too for a trip to the Phillipines, and he did. And now there are five of them who've paid their air-fare deposit, they've started forward planning, with peer pressure, instead of talking about last Saturday we punched so and so up at the pub, they're talking about next January we're off to the Phillipines. It's unbelievable for round here - usually a car with wide tyres is the highest aim.

- And the other good thing about that is, N. was over there prior to the political situation in the Phillipines. And he's becoming aware of the world, not the big trip to cross the creek to East Preston.

They become aware that re-offending jeopardizes their chances of doing those things. Of going to other countries and so on. You take a risk if you re-offend. N. was charged with assault last summer, but he didn't do it. The two he was with did, but he walked out of the fight, because it jeopardized his chances to travel with criminal convictions at his stage of life. He's

20 now...

Langi Kal Kal YTC emphasizes the importance of work and of holding a job, by running a program based on a token economy in which they have tried to re-create the outside community. The jobs in the trade shops and positions on the farm and around the YTC have a wage. The trainees must apply for jobs, pay tax, board and rent and budget for their extras, cigarettes, outings and weekend leave. They may get the sack for taking too many 'sickies'. By exposing the youth as realistically as possible to the work environment, it is hoped to instill some good work and social skills to cope with employment.

A parole officer had this to say when asked how important she thought employment was in the parole situation:

Extremely important.... these kids need a lot of support to hold a job... to show them the long term gains of what they are doing. Because they don't look into the future much, they live day to day and consequently they have no plans for themselves because they have no confidence in themselves, because most of their lives people have been telling them they are just useless and hopeless and they'll never be anything, so they really believe that; their self esteem is extremely low.

With the young people who do get a job and hold their jobs, you really do see a difference in their progress compared to the other kids. They feel good about themselves and have a bit of money to splash around - having to socialize with other people who have not been in trouble is good for them.

4.4.2 The Quality of the Job

Progressing from a discussion of the value of work as a reintergrating factor in the lives of young delinquents, it was asked if any job was better than no job or was the quality of job important. It was agreed that for the retention of a job, quality, meaning the suitability of a job for a young person and their happiness in it, was necessary. Opinion was divided between an employment placement policy which emphasized job match and employee satisfaction, and one which saw the job market as a place for learning skills and gaining experience. In this latter view retention in employment was what was important not the retention of a job.

The first attitude to job placement is illustrated by the following quotations:

I make it a practice to assess the young person first and I believe that if it takes a month or two months or three months to find the right niche for that person I'd rather do it that way than just into a job for the job's sake.

Someone was very critical about this young person that he'd had about eight jobs... I just had a look at the card and said to the person who made the criticism, "would you have stayed in any of those eight jobs?" (That the jobs available were boring or lacking in interest due to low education was) one of the big issues, particularly I felt with the boys. Quite a number of the boys could get jobs like falling off a log. I had one lad who has about six jobs in as many weeks. But he was quite a bright young fellow even though he had not had much education, he was quite a bright kid, and for him to be doing what he was doing was just so boring and meaningless and he couldn't see any point in going to work. I mean you need to have some satisfaction, everybody needs some sort of job satisfaction.

One employment officer described the importance of job satisfaction in job retention, in the following way:

I think the satisfaction is the main thing. I think for the initial stage any of the lads want any job. Once they've got to the end of their work release time, I think it's essential that they be getting job satisfaction. If they are not getting job satisfaction they are going to leave that position fairly quickly. That satisfaction can range from a whole heap of things like the transport to the job might be unsatisfactory. You know he might have to go right across Melbourne, and so the job might be okay and he likes the work but it's the transport. He might have to be relocated and have no friends; the job may be a quality position but because of the relocation he is away from his family and subsequently no support. Another thing is if the job is not a worthwhile position, repetition type work and his satisfaction, his self-esteem is not being felt. If he can feel worthwhile - that he's doing something, that he's getting somewhere, then I think there's more chance of staying in a position.

Social interaction in the job was considered to be an important factor in countering the routine and boredom of low skilled occupations.

It goes back to quality of employment which is something I've swung back towards, the combination of having the kids who are least likely to hold a job in the worst sort of jobs. These are the jobs they're most likely to be offered if they get offered a job at all and that doesn't work. So I've been keeping away from those sorts of jobs, concentrating on better quality jobs, as it were leap frogging a stage which was a real barrier to them to become an active member of the labour force - that is the "shit work".

Well, an example, one young fellow out of YTC - I got him a job sanding bookshelves surrounded by bookcases - He couldn't see anybody else, let alone talk to them, and was doing the same thing eight hours a day and lasted a week, which is a bloody sight longer than I would have lasted. But now he's in a job two factories down, not a real flash job, but one with a bit more variety in it and is working next to someone else and he can have a yak while he is doing his work - and just those two simple things towards quality of job has made the difference between retaining a job and not retaining a job and being happy

in it.

In retention, repetitious jobs in factories or processing had the least to offer.

(This lad) started the job a week ago, it's in a foundry, it's a cold damp floor, he's standing there... he punches items and he puts out 2000 a day and he's been there a fortnight and he's sick of the job. You know, he wants more - he wants another position. Yes, I would think most of the jobs are repetitive, uninteresting and usually there are some manual skills required and they become bored and so they leave - its more exciting to get unemployment benefits and be with your mates than being in a boring job...

Jobs which encompassed the possibility of skill training were also more likely to hold the interest of young people.

Jobs where there is some flexibility to learn. Like this girl who took on a secretarial job. Now she was working at the desk, she had Form 4 so she was probably at the top rung of the kids; but they said to her "Do you want to learn how to work the word processor?." They taught her to type and so it was built into the job...

In the State Additional Apprenticeship Scheme (SAAS) ex-YTC clients were doing "rather well" though not as well as other clients, probationers and wards.

An apprenticeship had a lot of status to the kids in Y.T.C. and gives them a quality job. The support mechanisms of an apprenticeship are also helpful.

Rejection of jobs because they were boring or uninteresting was not always considered by all those interviewed as an issue in job retention.

The view of job mobility as a learning experience was considered valuable for those young people who because of their background, age or lack of exposure to the workforce, did not understand what work involved or know what they wanted to do.

There is also the opportunity of matching a lad to the type of job that he's going to stick with because he enjoys it because it takes advantage of natural aptitudes and that's always something we push towards. Sometimes inevitably a boy is going to have four or five jobs and intuitively we know that before we start; the process is going to be a long hard row to hoe but we do. You know, we'll approach it and it may mean moving from several jobs, all the time the boy is improving his personality skills, his interaction skills, his capacity to work. For some lads who haven't put in an eight hour day for some time, some years and sometimes never before, then just getting up in the morning and getting to work, alone, is a learning experience.

I think I get cross with officers who say you get a job you've

got to stay in it, and I say, get a job, if you don't like it, work your week's leave, leave with respect because you expect to be treated with respect, get out and get another job. How the hell do you know where you want to go, what you want to do when you've been where these kids have been? You haven't got a bloody clue. You want to get out there and do as much as you can and build up a multiple of skills. You become multi-functional... By virtue of what they've done and where they've been, their ability has been stifled. Everybody has done everything for them. They've never really realised they've got skills and they've got abilities.

4.4.3 Barriers to Job Retention

(1) Lack Of Education

By reason of their education and training, poor quality jobs were those most available to youth from Y.T.C's. Many of the youth could go out and do the factory type work, the menial and be quite happy with that, but there would be some who would be dissatisfied.

A lot of them are people who are quite bright but because of family situations and just the history of their involvement in the system they've not gone through schooling. Most of them will have years 7, 8 and 9 but are still young people who need a lot of stimulation; they are not slow and they are not wanting routine so what happens is because of their education level they've only got access to routine jobs and they can't stand them. And we've found that particularly with SAAS, the girl who went into secretarial traineeship, one who was doing accounts assistant, another one who was doing secretarial (work) doing computers, those people have really learnt at a fast rate and responded well to those courses.

But not many had the educational skills to take on an apprenticeship. One EAO assessed that there would be probably 15% - 20% who could step into an apprenticeship. The State Additional Apprenticeship Scheme (SAAS) employment officer stated that many YTC youth had trouble with the schooling component once placed in apprenticeships. Efforts were being made to get help for those not coping educationally as schooling had been the reason for some dropping out.

Literacy and numeracy skills were holding youth back and were also a problem in the job.

There is, how would you say it, a lack of roundedness in their development. They can sort of hold a conversation and they can do all of the natural things but it's when they're under stress, in a position where they have to deal with figures or they have to write a letter or something like that or apply for a position, then their lack of skills in that area hasn't been completely rounded off. Their education skills, once they've obtained the position, if it is a quality position, then they still need extra work to get them where normal kids, kids that have been through Year 10 or maybe Year 11 take for granted -

these kids struggle in these areas. And usually a lot of it is because of their own removing themselves from school at an early age.

One example was cited of illiteracy being a problem in job retention:

This young offender was working well, started not turning up. This employer, a wood worker rang me up and said, "We haven't seen N. for some days - a really good worker." So I went round and explained to the employer that N. was functionally illiterate - had trouble reading and writing. The foreman had asked N. to do the lunch orders and he was terrified. It was like asking him to land a jumbo jet in Bourke Street. He'd rather leave the job than face up to it.

(ii) Social, Communication And Employee Skills

At Langi Kal Kal, and also in field work, it was noted that YTC youth had

...this problem of firing up on an employer, slamming the door, telling him what he can do with his job and walking out, only find themselves unemployed, without wages... They lose jobs just by not thinking, by a lot of frustration, and not knowing how the system works.

This problem was endorsed by a field worker.

They get pissed off real easily. If they can't be bothered getting out of bed they don't think 'I might get the sack, I have no money'.

The value of social, communication and employee skills in job retention was recognized in the instruction and supportive advice given to youth released from YTC by one EAO.

In retention, I see my job as being support for the employer and also for the trainee coming out of institutions, to get him used to the social skills again that he may have lost or may not have been aware of. Like being on time for work, being punctual, being - if he's going to have a sick day - notifying the boss, things like that, to be that type of support for the trainee and also that has benefits for the boss.

(iii) Work Experience

Lack of work experience was one of the problems in retaining youth in apprenticeship. One employment officer, after placing seven youth in SAAS had only two left.

They don't really know what the work involves. I mean, every time I have a young person who says to me 'I want to be a motor mechanic', I say, 'Have you ever been to a workshop, have you ever actually been in and had a look..' Apprentice motor mechanic(s) they're ridden by all and sundry, I mean everybody's abusing them and they lie on concrete grounds and it's not really good working conditions. They only get carried away by the glamour of the car.

The employers also find the same thing.. they will hire young people who say they want to be apprentices and when they do the first month or so they don't like the work.

(iv) Stigma

Employment Access Officers were asked if they saw any differences between CSV clients and the general population of youth unemployed. Stigma was thought to be mainly a problem in obtaining a job, rather than in job retention.

Sometimes I don't tell the employer, and often kids from YTC do a lot better under those conditions than if it's known they've come out of the can; whereas probation - the vast majority of people in the community can accept that as just a hiccup, but if you've been inside that's more than a hiccup.

However in the work release program at Poplar Cottage, Turana it is a condition that the employer knows that the youth has been in YTC.

The initial barrier is there. Particularly in a job which is say a cash handling job which requires a high level of responsibility; but once one has overcome that threshold in the job, usually you get a pretty fair shake. Employers will say 'Right, you've made some mistakes, we've all made mistakes, I as an employer can relate to that, I'm human too. I'd like to be part of giving you a fair go', and if anything I think employers bend over backwards in the job to help young people.

This was also the experience of the Ballarat EAD:

Most employers, when I've taken kids to interviews in Melbourne and Ballarat, have said simply one sentence.. it's broken down to saying, 'Look you've been an offender... let's start afresh. I don't want you upsetting my factory or my workshop or my shop or the place where you work, but you do the right thing by me and I'll do the right thing by you and there's a job there as long as you want it. As long as you do the right thing.'

An EAO felt that there was a definite stigma in being a state ward since everybody assumed that wards are also offenders. She was asked if this created a problem not only in getting a job but also in keeping that job.

Well, it can be if other people in the job find out and then of course, they start taunting the kids or whatever. I've had one girl who was at Winlaton and she had a very good job, something she wanted to do and on her second morning she walked into the tea room to hear somebody discussing that she was from Winlaton. The kid just threw a birko and just walked out of the job.

In another instance a youth walked out of a job when a stapling gun was hurled at his head because he had been at Turana.

It is conceivable that stigma is as much a problem because of its consequences for self-concept as for the reaction of others. One professional who was interviewed commented, "They probably see that they are not accepted (in the job); they may have a feeling they are being stigmatized when in fact they are not."

(v) Life Circumstances

In the lives of these youth, the influence of family and friends, their personal life, support and accommodation all have a bearing on what happens in the hours between nine and five.

We are talking about kids who have had family problems and problems coping with life and the community for years, so obviously these conditions are going to come to be transported into employment as well...little things to these kids are traumas...

So much is going on in their own personal life for a lot of them, that until they get that sorted out they are not going to be able to sort out the reasons for going to work or why you should give the boss forty hours a week for getting forty hours pay. They're just so mucked up they take that with them to work, and it doesn't take much - just a comment you know - to upset someone and just say - 'Well stick your job, I don't want it anyway.'

The Superintendent at Langi Kal Kal described these other factors which are important for job retention:

By devising the token economy, we're trying to put an emphasis on work, and on holding a job; but I think a large number of us probably feel that for a guy to really survive in the outside world, he's got to have some support, and as you know the support is very, very fragile... The other thing is accommodation of some sort... So it's accommodation, support from family or friends and a good job...

A Turana youth worker confirmed the importance of support in the working lives of youth:

Support is the thing that's going to help a person through their problems when they come home with doubts, when they come home dirty and cold and hungry and irritable; if there is support that greets them and immediately, (and immediacy is terribly important) immediately, counteracts and rationalises these and gives them a sounding board to sound off at, perhaps receive their anger and their frustration but convert it and play it back to them and give it some basis, then that would work.

What is the picture like for a 'kid from an institution, with 'fragile support' or no support at all?

Say the job's O.K., what's happening to them in the community?

Let's be frank. It's very lonely out there; it's cold and lonely and it's grey... a lot of these kids, they never sit down in a room with an adult and have a chat. Nobody cares... (the job) It's nothing, it's only a bloody job, it's nine to five, and in the light of day everything is much warmer. It's when it becomes dark things become different. There are not enough services for these young people in the evening time. They've got nothing. They've got nowhere they can go and talk. They can only talk to their peers, their mates. It's very cold and lonely.

Because of the lack of home and family support many youth workers commented on the importance of finding accommodation for their clients. Lack of appropriate accommodation is seen as an issue in job retention.

All of them that don't have parental support say things like "I'd like to live in a flat", until they realise that that's totally beyond their budget. They begin to make compromises and come back down to maybe a share house, maybe a hostel placement, occasionally private board. Private board if it was more readily available and funded, would solve massive problems because there they would go to an ordinary home where they'd walk in a door where there would be people and kids and a meal on the stove and all the things that we regard as normal but they just don't experience.

(vi) Peers

With few other supports and alone in dealing with a new work situation, it is not surprising that friends become very important and their influence can be dramatic:

I see loneliness as a very, very big problem. If you are without any support you will seek friendship in whatever form that friendship comes. And that friendship will often come in an evil form. A form that will disjoint whatever good things are happening. And there is "come on down to the pub and let's have a few drinks" or "smoke this" or whatever form it takes when a kid is lonely and alone with no support, they will fail.

Friendships can take various forms,

...and sometimes that can be positive but most times that seems to be a negative type thing. And it all depends, you know, there are so many other little bits, whether peer mates are in the drug culture business and if a guy has got a drug problem, mates are going to win out in nearly every case, mates in most cases are going to win over us. Yes, mates understand you, they have similar problems and you can talk about similar experiences and they really do understand, your mates do, and they've either been through that, or they know someone who's been through that, and they can talk at the same level as you, and they can understand you, and they can suggest different remedies for it, and that can be alcohol or all sorts of involvement.

Mateship may be positive, but it can be pressure to offend, to become involved in drugs or activities which are likely to lead to crime and further detention. Unemployed peers can also be an influence in persuading a mate to leave employment.

This lad was placed in Ballarat and he was going back to Frankston at the weekends and because he found that most of his mates down at Frankston were free and easy and they were unemployed, he said that simply he wanted to be down with his mates; and so his peer group pressure was very strong, and they were pulling him away from his employment. And another case, a lad in Melbourne, said that his mates were all unemployed about the Dandenong area where there is a lot of unemployment. He found a job which lasted about a week but it took time away from his mates.

4.4.4 Summary

All of the professionals spoke of the value and importance of work for not only occupying the time of the young person and reducing boredom, but for also developing self-esteem and a sense of future. They noted that most important for job retention was that the young person find the job satisfying, that is, the quality of the job is important for job retention. This may be particularly important for these young people who have few other sources of self-esteem. The difficulty was that given their level of education and work experience the jobs that they were most likely to obtain were the boring and repetitive manual jobs that would test any persons endurance capacity. It was also pointed out that these young people often had little work experience and therefore were unsure about the world of work - what they might expect from a job and what might be expected from them. It was therefore argued by some of those interviewed that some job mobility (retention in the job market, if not in a particular job) might be of some benefit to these young people.

As well as the low levels of education and prior work experience which jeopardised their chances of obtaining a good job, once they had obtained work they had further difficulties which threatened their retention of the job. Most often referred to were aspects of the young person's life circumstances. Often these included accommodation problems, and the lack of supportive friends and family. It was thought that these difficult life circumstances contributed to the observation of some that these young people were upset very easily and were quick to "fly off the handle" thereby jeopardising their jobs. But their circumstances also meant that they were often very lonely and thus found it difficult to break away from friends who were in trouble or unemployed.

CONCLUSION

When the twenty-one young people in this study entered the labor force they were neither highly credentialed nor experienced in long-term employment. Only six youth had reached Year 10 and two had reached Year 11 of high school. The young men tended to have more extensive job histories than the young women; in general the young men had held more jobs and for longer periods of time. As a group the young men were slightly older than the young women (four young men were 18 years of age or older compared to only two of the young women). The backgrounds of most of the subjects also included contacts with the juvenile justice/welfare system. Eleven had been in a YTC on a previous occasion and thirteen either currently were, or had been in the past, wards of the state. All of the young women/^{except two}were wards of the state. Virtually all of the youth also had friends who they reported had been in trouble. The young women in particular, also reported problems and conflicts with their families. Family difficulties are also reflected in the fact that only three of the young women, compared to eight of the young men, returned to live with their families when they were released. Thus these young people did not enter the workforce in the most favourable of circumstances - poor to average education, sporadic employment records, histories of juvenile justice/welfare contact, friends who were in similar circumstances and often no family support to draw upon, characterise their backgrounds.

Three categories emerged from the analysis of the employment experiences of these young people after their release from YTC's: 1. Job Retained - five young people remained in the same job for the three month follow-up period; 2. Employment Retained - seven young people were still employed at the three month point but they had been employed in more than one job during the follow-up period; and 3. Unemployed - nine young people had only one job which they stayed in for a relatively short period of time, and they were unemployed at the time of the follow-up interview.

Thus the overall results show that few young people remained in the same job in which they were placed when they were released from YTC. More young men (4) than young women (1) remained in the same job. The young men were also placed in a greater variety of jobs than the young women and these jobs were

more often trade related - building, painting, upholstery and welding. The jobs available to young women were in factories or in retail stores (as checkouts or sales assistants) and in fast food outlets.

If we also consider those young people who changed jobs, then just over half (12) of the subjects remained in employment. A total of seven young men and five young women remained in employment (either in the same or a different job). It has been argued by some that employment retention, and not just job retention, is important for keeping the options open for young people. The progression from job to job was achieved with varying degrees of ease, from the young man who moved from a CEP position with good references to a more promising position, to the personal trauma of theft accusations and police harassment.

In general the young men did better than the young women in retaining employment. The employment of young women was more sporadic with intervals of unemployment.

The darker side of the employment retention figures is the finding that just under half (9) of the subjects had held jobs for only a short period of time and had not obtained further employment. Five young women and four young men were unemployed at the end of the three month period. The young men had stayed marginally longer in their jobs than the young women.

In searching for a pattern to explain why some young people released from YTC's retained their jobs and why others did not it was clear that in general there was such a similarity in terms of background characteristics (such as level of education and employment history) that these could not be helpful. More informative were the interviews conducted with four groups of people: i) the youth themselves, ii) the youth workers, iii) employers and, iv) professionals working in related areas. These interviews focused on the difficulties in employment confronting the young people after their release.

i) Youth - The five young people who remained in the same job for the three month follow-up period spoke of enjoying their work and conditions (especially the pay). They were also interested in the future prospects offered by the position. The young men in particular also tended to have some personal supports: one had a mother who drove him to work, another had a "boss" who did the same, and a third worked in a family business.

Sixteen young people left the job they had when they first left YTC; nine of these young people did not obtain another job. The most frequent reasons given by these young people for leaving their jobs concerned features of the job itself which made it difficult or unpleasant for them to continue in the job. Their concerns included the level of pay, the working conditions (including in one case the non-payment of sick leave entitlements), and the temporary nature of the employment. Two youth had to leave their jobs because of circumstances beyond their control: one had been in a CEP position of limited duration and the other had unresolvable transportation and accommodation difficulties. While other young people did not often explicitly give difficulties in their life circumstances as reasons for leaving their job, the relevance of such difficulties became clear throughout the interviews. They spoke of accommodation and transportation problems, and of peer pressures and drug related problems.

Of the nine young people who were unemployed at the three-month follow-up point, four had been returned to YTC and two of the young women were pregnant. Most of these young people had held their jobs for only a short period of time and were unemployed at the time they were returned to YTC.

ii) Youth Workers

Thirteen youth workers were interviewed about the individual youth in this study. Youth workers sometimes disagreed with the explanations given by the youth for their job loss and in general youth workers were more likely to refer to individual personal characteristics. Particularly in the case of young women, youth workers spoke of emotional and behavioural problems. It was felt that such problems were the underlying reasons for a lack of motivation and interest, and an inability to adjust or to cope with the work situation. Emotional and behavioural problems were often related to difficult life circumstances including a lack of personal supports and problems at home. When explaining why the male youth left their jobs, the youth workers were more likely to refer to peer pressures, an "institutionalized background", and drug-related problems. Again these factors were thought to affect the young person's motivation to work.

iii) Employers

Two thirds of the employers who were interviewed thought that the young person they had employed had been a good worker. However all but three of the young people who had been employed by these employers were put off the job. One

youth who had the support of his employer had simply not turned up to work and the employer was uncertain of the reason. Employers frequently commented that they thought the influence of peers had been detrimental to the young person's job performance. Whether the youth started off as a good employee or not, and whether the cause of the problem was perceived as peers or life circumstances, the final reason for dismissal most often had to do with absenteeism, avoidance of work, arriving late or disruptive behaviour at the work place.

iv) Professionals

All of the professionals spoke of the value and importance of work for not only occupying the time of the young person and reducing boredom, but for also developing self-esteem and a sense of future. They felt that the quality of the job (including job satisfaction) was the most important factor for job retention. However, they observed that because of the level of education and work experience of these young people, the jobs that they were most likely to obtain were the boring and repetitive manual jobs that would test any persons endurance capacity. It was also pointed out that these young people often had little work experience and were therefore uncertain as to what they might expect from a job and what might be expected from them.

It was also argued that once the young people had obtained work they had further difficulties which threatened their job retention. Most often referred to were aspects of the young person's life circumstances, including accommodation problems and the lack of supportive friends and family which contributed to them being upset very easily and being quick to "fly off the handle" thereby jeopardising their jobs. Their circumstances also meant that they were often very lonely and thus found it difficult to break away from friends who were in trouble or unemployed.

In summary the four different groups who were interviewed emphasized different factors in explaining the job retention difficulties of youth released from YTC's. The youth focused on problems with the job itself; their youth workers spoke in terms of personal characteristics which they often related to difficult life circumstances; the employers gave work related matters as the reason for final dismissal but often explained these in terms of peer influence or difficult life circumstances; and professionals in related areas spoke of the importance of the quality of the job, and the lack of supportive services.

While different factors were emphasized by different groups, from across the

interviews seven factors emerged as most important for understanding the problems of job retention for these youth.

i) The Type of Job.

By reason of their education and background, Y.T.C youth had little access to high status jobs or jobs which provided personal satisfaction or future career possibilities. Youth found some jobs boring, poorly paid and with poor working conditions. Employment officers felt that repetitious jobs had the least to offer, and saw the need for job satisfaction for youth if jobs were to be retained. The professionals emphasized the need to obtain job quality for youth by avoiding the "shit work" and placing youth in jobs where there was social interaction, an opportunity to learn, and promotion possibilities.

ii) Level of Training.

The education level and limited work experience of these youth restricted their access to better quality jobs. They were most often restricted to jobs which were boring, repetitive and with few future possibilities to encourage job retention. Many youth were not satisfied with the type of job open to them and aspired to further education or training. To obtain an apprenticeship was thought to have high status amongst peers.

iii) Support

It was recognised that even if a good job was obtained, what was happening to the young people in the community was vital for job retention. To survive, support from family or friends was necessary, but in most cases support was very, very fragile. Support was seen to be material in the form of friends, a suitable place to live, and help with transportation. What these young people often lacked was a place to come home to at the end of the day where advice was obtainable, loneliness was combated and comfort was offered. Instances of failure in the job occurred in this research where lone board provided little alleviation of the pressures towards drugs and unemployment.

iv) Emotional and Personality Problems

Weak or disrupted attachment to the family was recognized by youth workers of both young men and women to affect the emotional adjustment of young people. This was manifested in low self esteem, aggressive attitudes, lack of motivation, drug and alcohol abuse and generally failure to cope with life. Youth workers felt that emotional and behavioural problems were particularly a problem in job retention for young women, whose emotional instability was often related to family friction and/or lack of support.

v) Institutionalization

Due to frequent contact with the correctional system and in some cases detainment in institutions, these young people were often unable to adapt or cope with the world of work. Institutionalization resulted in a lack of experience and knowledge of the world of work, "How the hell do you know where you want to go or what you want to do when you've been where these kids have been?". Removal from the outside world also reflected on their work skills and their awareness of what was expected by the boss and what were their rights in return. Remarks were made by youth that "they didn't know what working was like" or by a youth worker that an institutionalized youth could not organize himself around a working day, to get up, to get to work, to put in an eight hour day.

Youth workers also felt that some basic skills needed developing such as the social skills of getting on with other people and acceptable reactions to social situations. These difficulties contributed to the "short fuse" problem noted by youth workers; that is, the young person reacting or not being able to cope with some work situations and walking out on the job.

vi) Stigma

In this study, stigma was generally seen by youth and employment officers as a barrier to obtaining a job rather than in the retention of work. Youth applying for a job were not in the habit of disclosing their background because of anticipated bias against them. It was recognised that the effect of stigma was felt in the job but it was not thought to be a major problem. However, in this small study two instances related to the youth's status did occur and the effects on the self esteem and sense of justice of the young people was traumatic. In other cases it appeared an anticipation of stigma affected the young person's self-concept, for example one young woman felt herself "different" from the other people at work, and one young man felt that his employers went behind him to his father to complain about him. An accurate indication of the effect of stigma may not have been presented in this study since most of the employers who were interviewed were co-operative and prepared to accept the young people on their merits. The more critical employers who reacted to the label of "Winlaton" or "Turana" may have been excluded from the study by the young people's reluctance to give an interview referral.

vii) Peers

Most youth in this study had friends who they reported had been in trouble. Both employers and youth workers recognised the strong influence of friends towards re-offending and towards unemployment. Youth often turned towards negative peer influences where there was insufficient support to counter loneliness or to offer alternatives. This pressure was thought to be particularly strong where youth were involved in the drug scene. It was commented that "where peer mates are in the drug culture business and if a guy has got a drug problem, mates in most cases, are going to win over us."

In summary, these seven factors point to the importance for job retention of the young person's life circumstances once they have left the YTC. They are as good workers as other young people of their age, education and experience, but their particular backgrounds mean they face particular difficulties. In helping these young people maintain their jobs it appears that it is not only important to place them in "quality" jobs, but they also need assistance with other aspects of their life such as accommodation, transportation and sometimes personal supports.

The following policy recommendations follow from the findings of this research:

i) Improved access to "quality" jobs. It appears the job retention of these young people would be improved if they could be placed in entry level positions which provided good pay, humane working conditions, and the possibility for career development. Programs that entail job creation and/or employment advocacy are therefore called for. One particular feature of such programs needs to be the development of the range of job options available to young women.

ii) Credentialling. The employment possibilities of these young people is presently restricted by their low levels of education and prior work experience. It is therefore imperative, if their future prospects are to be improved, that they have the possibility of improving their skills and education level at the same time that they are employed. Therefore efforts need to be made to further develop work-training programs, or programs that combine education with work, or allow for formal recognition of the skills that they acquire on the job.

iii) Accommodation and transportation assistance. The parental and other

family supports that are often available to other young people are often attenuated for young people released from YTC. They therefore require some additional supports in these arenas. Policies in this direction might include accommodation and transportation allowances or subsidies for these young people for the short period in which they establish themselves in their employment after release. The development of alternative forms of accommodation to those which otherwise are provided by the family are also needed.

iv) Support services. Again, since these young people often are without family supports the availability of advocates to help them negotiate and deal with many of the problems that face them on release is a policy worthy of further consideration.

v) Continuous Training of Youth Workers. Given the broad range of structural factors - economic and educational in particular - which affect the lives of these young people, it is important that the people who are working with them are kept informed so as to avoid a preoccupation with individual level considerations.

vi) Minimize institutionalization. This study reinforces the idea that as much as possible these young people should remain in the community. The integration of these young people into the community requires that their removal to institutions be the minimum to meet the demands of the community. The longer these young people are isolated from the community, the longer and more difficult it is to re-integrate them.

vii) Avoidance of Stigma. This study suggests that even where the effects of stigma are not related to external reactions to the young person's behaviour, they are important to the young person's self-concept and can interfere with their relations with others. It is therefore imperative that these young people are stigmatized as little as possible upon their release. This requires that where possible the programs and services that have been advocated in the preceding be integrated with general services to young people.

The value of employment for the re-integration into the community of youth released from YTC's was stressed by youth workers and professionals working in related fields. Successful employment not only develops self-esteem and a sense of the future, it also facilitates involvement in the community thereby

contributing to the commitment of the youth to society. However, it was also clear from this study that not just any job will achieve these objectives. The quality of the employment appears to be crucial to job retention and therefore the possible effectiveness of employment. However these young people enter the workforce with limited skills and credentials which limit the range of job possibilities. In this respect they are not much different from other young people. But youth released from YTC also have some additional burdens to other youth. They have most often had extensive contact with the juvenile justice/youth welfare system and they have been removed from the community for some period of time. Many of these youth, particularly the young women, do not have the family supports to draw upon that are available to many young people. Their lives have also meant that their peer networks often include other young people who have been in trouble and/or are out of work. These young people therefore need some additional assistance to that available to other youth in general. While in the short term this may mean more expenditure of funds, in the long term, the development of job retention for this group of young Australians may form a barrier to the "drift" back to delinquency and crime and may therefore be a worthwhile investment in our future.

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APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 1
YOUNG WOMEN: BACKGROUND

YOUNG WOMAN	AGE	YEAR LEFT SCHOOL	FURTHER TRAINING AFTER SCHOOL	ALIEATED ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL	ASPIRE TO FURTHER ED./TR. Y.T.C.	NO. OF JOBS BEFORE Y.T.C.	JOB DURATION IN WEEKS	WARD STATUS OFF.	NO. OF YEARS CONTACT WITH COURT	FREQUENCY	YIC BEFORE?	FRIENDS IN TROUBLE	PEERS FRIENDS UNEMPLOYED	ACCOMMODATION BEFORE WIN. FAM. OTHER
CATEGORY 1. JOB RETAINED (3 MONTHS)														
W6	17	10	NO	1	YES	2	3 p/t 4	1	3 yrs	9	Yes 1 rem.	Yes	No	1
CATEGORY 2. EMPLOYMENT RETAINED														
W3	15	9	YES (AT W.H.R.)		YES	1	24 p/t	1	4 yrs ward 2 yrs	1		Yes	No	1
W4	17	10	NO		YES	1	32 p/t	1	3 yrs	4		Yes	No	1
W5	17	10	NO			3	6 7 8	1	3 yrs	3		Yes	No	1
W10	18	9	NO	1	NO	2	10 26	1	5 yrs	9	Yes 1 rem.	Yes	No	1
CATEGORY 3. UNEMPLOYED														
W1	20	10	NO		YES	3	4 16 36	1	2 yrs	4		Some	Some	1
W2	16	9	YES (AT W.H.R.)	1		1	6p/t	1	3 yrs	5-6		No	Yes	1
W7	17	9	NO	1		10	2 8 36 p/t	1	2 yrs	20	Yes	No	Yes	1
W8	16	9	NO		YES	4	156 p/t 3 4 6	1	1 yr	4	Yes x 4	Yes	Yes	1
W9	16	8	NO		YES	5-10	2 (max)	1	4 yrs	4	Yes x4-5	Yes	No	1

YOUNG WOMEN: POST RELEASE

There was some uncertainty as to the exact duration of these jobs and over what period they were held.

YOUNG WOMEN	EMP. STATUS AT 3 MTHS	NO. OF JOBS AFTER RELEASE	DURATION IN WEEKS	TYPE OF JOB	REASON GIVEN FOR LEAVING JOB	OTHER COMMENTS
CATEGORY 1. JOB RETENTION (3 MONTHS)						
W6	E	1	24	Cashier		1st job still held, liked job, possibility of promotion, good employer report.
CATEGORY 2. EMPLOYMENT RETENTION. *						
W3	-	1	5	Cashier/ Sales Fast food	Job unsuitable, upset by customers	Interviewed pre 3 mth period. 3-4 short term jobs in this time (interview youth officer) behavioural problems on job home problems.
W4	UE	2	10- 12 E	Sales Clerical	Stigma	1st job terminated shortly prior 3 mths approx. 2nd job commenced prior interview 5 mths later. Youth officer believed unmotivated: home hassles
W5	-	2	8	Tech. Assist. Conservation	Health Job temporary	1st job terminated prior 3 mths prior to interview, getting married home problems, good worker; disruptive with others on job.
W10	E	2	10- 12 E	Sales Sales	Job unsuitable - disagreeable work practices. Lacking motivation.	1st job terminated shortly prior 3 mths. 2nd job commenced; flexible hrs Yth. worker in agreement; employer found work deteriorated.
CATEGORY 3. UNEMPLOYED						
W1	UE	1	5	Factory	Job unsuitable. Affected health	Remained unemployed at 3 mths, established by ph. call; youth worker believed behavioural problem. home problems.
W2	UE	1	4	Cashier	Job unsuitable, did not like it at time. Job skills lacking.	Pregnant; established by phone call. Did not get on at home.
W7	UE	1	3	Factory	Job unsuitable, excuse to get out of YTC, unmotivated.	Youth worker believed unmotivated. Not looking for job; mentioned drug use. Caused problems at home.
W8	UE	1	1	Sales	Drugs, unmotivated - not interested in working.	Emotional problems and insufficient support in coping with transition to job.
W9	UE	1	1 day	Sales	Unmotivated, job to get out of YTC Not interested in job.	No further jobs held; unhappy home background; emotional problems; pregnant.

APPENDIX 3
YOUNG MEN - BACKGROUND

YOUNG MEN ALL OFFENDERS	AGE	YEAR LEFT SCHOOL	FURTHER TRAINING AFTER SCHOOL	ASPIRE TO FURTHER TRAINING/ EDUCATION	NO. OF JOBS BEFORE YTC	JOB DURATION IN WEEKS	NO. OF YEARS CONTACT WITH COURTS	NO. OF SENTENCES	ASSAULT	TYPE OF OFFENCE BURGLARY THEFT MOTOR THEFT	OTHER	EVER AWARDED	YTC BEFORE	IN TROUBLE YES NO	FRIENDS EMPLOYED UNEMP.	ACCOMMODATION BEFORE YTC FAIL. OTHERS	AFTER YTC FAM. OTHERS
CATEGORY 1. JOB RETAINED (3 Months)																	
T1.	19	10	No	Yes	3	12 104 24	4	10	X	X	X	No	No	X	X	X	X
T2	18	10	No	Yes	Apprenticeship 4	32 36 32	5	3	X	X	X	No	No	X	X	X	X
T6.	17	9	No	Yes	Welding 4	2yrs p/t 4 24 f/t	5	7	X	X	X	Yes	Yes 7-8	X	X	X	X
T8.	16	8	No	No, does not like school	3	1 3 1 day	1	2	X	X	X	Yes	Yes 2	X	X	X	X
CATEGORY 2. EMPLOYMENT RETAINED																	
T3.	19	11	Yes	Yes	Correspondence 6	32 32 8	3	6	X	X	X	No	No	X	X	X	X
T4.	16	9	No	Yes, training as fitter & turner	2	2 f/t 4 p/t	2	1	X	X	X	No	No	X	X	X	X
T9.	19	11	No	No, does not need any more	3-4	24 6 52	2	1	X	X	X	No	No	X	X	X	X
CATEGORY 3. UNEMPLOYED																	
T5.	16	9	No	No, does not like school	5	8 4 2	3	1	X	X	X	No	No	X	X	X	X
T7.	17	7	No	Yes, night school	7	3 7 6	4	12	X	X	X	Yes	Yes 15-20	X	X	X	X
T10.	17	8	No	No, hates school	2	12 2	5	1	X	X	X	Yes	Yes 2	X	X	X	X
T11.	17	9	Yes	Yes, computers	5	12 12 24	5	11	X	X	X	Yes	Yes 2	X	X	X	X

APPENDIX 4

APPENDIX 4

YOUNG MEN - POST RELEASE

YOUNG MEN	EMP. STATUS AT 3 MTHS	NO. OF JOBS AFTER RELEASE	DURATION IN WEEKS	TYPE OF JOB	REASON GIVEN FOR LEAVING JOB	OTHER COMMENTS
<u>CATEGORY 1. JOB RETENTION (3 MONTHS)</u>						
T1	E	1	12	Building Renovator		Liked job, good money, family firm moved into other accommodation, had been in Attendance Centre & Langi Kal Kal
T2	E	1	12	Upholsterer		Moved into other accommodation. Had been at Langi Kal Kal
T6	E	1	12	Window Maker		Liked job, mother took him to work.
T8	E	1	12	Brickie's Labourer		Got on well with boss and workers.
<u>CATEGORY 2. EMPLOYMENT RETENTION</u>						
T3	E	3	7	Stock handler	Personal problems	
			4	Handyman	Unsuccessful partnership	
			E	Motor Mech.	Still employed	
T4	E	3	7	Welding	Not paid enough, personal hassles.	Moved into other supportive accommodation. May go back to night school.
			3	Spraypainting	Police harassment-stigma	
			E	Cleaning		
T9	E	2	2	Clerical	CEP job finishing, got better job	Supportive brother Married. Happy with new job Possibility of further training in job.
<u>CATEGORY 3. UNEMPLOYED</u>						
T5	UE	2	10 3 days	Painter Labourer	Given boring jobs. Had to work outside	Youth worker & employer remarked on peer pressure towards unemployment Back in YIC
T7	UE	1	3	Gardener	Was not paid sick leave	Unsupportive accommodation, peer pressures, no home support, drugs also a problem. Back in YIC.
T10	UE	1	5	Welder	Too far to travel	Looking for job, home and accommodation problems
T11	UE	1	1	Truck Jockey	Trouble with drugs & offending. Not turning up.	Lack of motivation - Institutionalised. Back in YIC.

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

1. Before going into Winlaton were you still at school?

No Yes

If yes, what year were you in? _____

If no:

What year were you in when you left school? _____

Did you get a job straight after you left school?

Yes No

Have you done any other courses or training since you left school?

Yes No

If yes, what was the course or training?

2. What programmes have you been in at Winlaton?

- Triads
- Classroom Subjects (e.g. English, maths, social science,
- Art & Craft, Homecraft (e.g. ceramics, leatherwork, sewing, cooking, catering, Bayswater program)
- Business Studies (e.g. typing, computer, legal studies)
- Trade Training (e.g. carpentry, bricklaying, automobile studies)
- Human Relations (sex education, grooming, A.A. ALANON)
- Work Experience
- Cross Age Tutoring (e.g. Forest Hills, Harissfield, Nadrasca Mitcham Special, various secondary schools - legal studies)
- drama, radio room, aerobics, child care, first aid
- other

3. Did you ever have a job before going to Winlaton?

Yes No

If yes:

How many jobs have you had? _____

What is the longest time in weeks you have been in any one job? _____

Describe the last one or more jobs, up to three you have had, before going to Winlaton, as below;

JOB	WHAT WAS IT?	PART-TIME (P/T) OR FULL-TIME (F/T)?	HAD YOU LEFT SCHOOL AT THAT TIME?	HOW LONG DID YOU HAVE THE JOB?	WHY DID YOU LEAVE?
1					
2					
3					

4. Did you want to work on leaving Winlaton?

Yes No

Did you have a job lined up when you left Winlaton?

Yes No

If yes, what was it?

What sort of job would you prefer to have?

What sort of job would you prefer to have in 6 years time?

Would you like to do more schooling or training?

No Yes
If yes what sort? _____
If no, why not?

5. Are your closest friends likely to finish HSC?

Yes No

Are your closest friends likely to finish Year 11?

Yes No

Have your closest friends ever been in trouble with the police?

Yes No

Do your closest friends do the sorts of things that might get them into trouble with the police?

Yes No

Do your closest friends who are not at school have a job?

Yes No

6. Before going into Winlaton were you living: with your parent/s?

with relatives?

in other accommodation?

Are you now living:

with your parent/s?

with relatives?

in other accommodation?

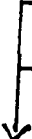
7. The following questions are asked about you court and offending history. You are reminded that the information is confidential. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to.

How old were you when you first appeared in court? years

How many times have you been in court?

Have you been sentenced in court?

Yes No

 If yes, how many times have you been sentenced?

What did you get sentenced for?

When last in Winlaton, were you there: as a ward?

on sentence?

Have you ever been: a ward?

on probation?

on supervision order?

on a bond?

in a Youth Training Centre before?

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Please fill in your name, age, address and phone number if possible on the paper provided.

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

1. Are you working at present?

Yes

No

If No, how long did you stay in your job when you left Turana? weeks

What was your reason for leaving the job?

If Yes, what is your job? -----

Is it part-time or full-time? P/T F/T

Is it the job you had when you left Turana? Yes No

2. If you have had more than one job since leaving Turana, please list below:

	What was the job?	Why did you leave?	How long did you have the job?
1			
2			
3			
4			

.....

NAME:

ADDRESS:

.....

PHONE NO:

APPENDIX 7

INTERVIEW WITH YOUTH

- Focus on
- 1) present job,
 - 2) job when left YTC if not present job, or if not in work,
 - 3) other jobs - in turn.

SKILLS AND EDUCATION

Attitude to school

What did you have to do in your job?

Was it difficult?

Did you need any skills or training or did you need more?

What would have helped?

Did you get any on the job training?

What was it?

Did you learn anything from the job?

FEATURES OF THE JOB ITSELF

Do you like your job?

What do you like most about it?

What do you like least about it?

Are you satisfied with it?

with the pay?

with the conditions?

Do you think you will stay in it for long?

Why?

If not, why not?

Are you looking for something else?

What would you prefer to do?

Have you any future plans?

SOCIAL AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS.

Do you enjoy being at work?

How many others work with you?

What are they like?

Are they your age?

Easy to get along with?

How about the boss?

Do you get along with him/her?

Are your brothers/sisters at school or working?

If with relatives, what relation?

How do you get along at home/relatives/foster home etc?

Do your parents/relatives/friends ask about your job?

If left a job, what did they say when you left?

Has anyone helped you to find a job? Who?

Can you talk to anyone about problems you have in your job?

About your other problems?

PEER GROUP ASSOCIATION

Leisure - How do you fill in the weekends?

What do you do in the evenings?

Any hobbies? Sporting interests?

Do you meet your friends?

Do you have best friends you spend most of your time with (See 1st Questionnaire)

Are your best friends in a job? At school?

What do they do?

What do they plan to do?

Have you a boy/girl friend?

How long have you known them?

How do you get along? Any problems?

STIGMA

Did your boss know you had been in Turana/Winlaton?

Did other people at work know you had been in Turana/Winlaton?

Was it ever mentioned by anyone?

Do you tell people when applying for job?

How did you get the job?

Did it make any difference?

Have you lost a job because you have been in Turana/Winlaton?

Have you been unhappy in a job because people knew you had been in Turana/Winlaton?

Have you been refused a job because you have been in Turana/Winlaton?

Some people have said that police harassment made keeping a job difficult.

Have you had any experience of that?

EMPLOYER/YOUTH OFFICER INTERVIEWS

Would you mind if I interviewed your boss(es) in the job(s) you have been in since leaving Turana/Winlaton?

If not, could I have - name, address, telephone number?

Would you mind if I interviewed your Youth Officer/Parole Officer?

If not, could you give me their name, address and telephone number where I could contact them?



The University of Melbourne

Criminology Department

APPENDIX 8

JOB RETENTION OF YOUTH RELEASED FROM YOUTH TRAINING CENTRES IN VICTORIA

ABSTRACT

The objective of this exploratory research is to analyse the factors related to the observed low job retention rate of adolescents released from Youth Training Centres (YTCs) and to provide systematic data with which to examine the various postulated explanations for this job retention rate. Data will be collected from three sources: (1) Youth released from YTCs (10 male, 10 female); (2) professional staff working with youth released from YTC to employment (e.g. work-release programme staff, youth officers and social workers); and (3) employers of YTC releasees. Youth will be interviewed and administered structured questionnaires before leaving the YTC (where possible) and in the first three months after release. Employers and professional staff, working with specific youth will be interviewed only if the youth involved agrees.

It is recognised in both academic and policy arenas that employment plays an important role in the integration of young persons released from YTCs back into society. The purpose of this exploratory study, in conducting interviews with youth, employers and professional staff, is to throw some light on the issue of the low job retention of YTC releasees. The information should assist not only in the development of employment programmes for YTC youth, but also in the framing of more extensive research.

APPENDIX 9:

INTERVIEW. YOUTH WORKERS AND PROFESSIONALS

1. What is your job in relation to Youth from Y.T.C.?

2. GENERAL PHILOSOPHY

Do you see work as valuable in the re-integration and rehabilitation of these youth?

In what way?

Is any job sufficient, or one which gives satisfaction and a career, necessary or desirable?

What are your views on unemployment and its relationship to delinquency?

3. BARRIERS TO JOB RETENTION

In your experience, taking each of these explanations in turn, what do you see as the main barriers to holding a job for these youth?

Low educational standards and skill training.

Features of the job itself.

Social, communication and employee skills.

Lack of support.

Emotional and personality problems

Peer influence

Stigma

4. In your opinion, what is needed to help these youth in the way of -
- employment programmes?
 - skill and education programmes?
 - personal development programmes?

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH?

The research we would like to do is on the topic, "Job Retention of Youth Released from Youth Training Centres in Victoria." That is, we are trying to find out about the problems trainees have in getting and holding jobs when they leave the Youth Training Centre (YTC). This information will help in the planning of employment programmes so that trainees get better and more lasting jobs.

To collect this information we are asking trainees at both Turana and Winlton to fill in three brief sets of questions - one before they leave the YTC, one shortly after they leave, and one three months after they leave. We would also like to interview some trainees three months after they leave.

For participating in this study you will be paid \$8 for each set of questions and \$10 for an interview.

Whatever information we collect about you personally will not be passed on to anyone else - not even to the YTC. All information will be completely confidential. Your information and that of the others participating will be put together to see whether there are common problems faced by youth leaving YTCs. When the study is finished all personal information will be destroyed and you will be given a copy of the report.

You do not have to take part in the study. If you participate you do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to but you are encouraged to take part because the information gained may help future trainees.

If you agree to help in this project we will both sign the consent form which assures you that your participation is confidential. You will have a copy of this statement and if you or your parents or guardian want to ask questions about the research you can contact either Hilary Read or Christine Alder at 344-6803.

CONSENT FORM

1. I agree to participate in the research on "Job Retention of Youth from YTCs" as described in the attached explanation.
2. If requested I will complete the three questionnaires, and give an interview to the researcher three months after I have left the YTC. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time.
3. For participating in this study I will be paid \$8 for each questionnaire and \$10 for the interview.
4. In consenting to take part in this study I understand that all information will be confidential and that neither my name nor any personally identifying information will be used in any written report or public statement made about this study.
5. I further understand that the researchers will securely store all notes and destroy them immediately upon completion of the research.

Signed

_____ (Trainee)

_____ (Researcher)