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1. INTRODUCTION

Four Flats Hawthorn provides hostel accommodation for young men newly released from Youth Training Centres or Prisons in Victoria. It commenced operation at the beginning of 1977. The establishment of this program was funded by the Victorian Department of Social Welfare together with some special purpose funds from other sources.

The initial planning for Four Flats Hawthorn saw the program as an action research operation rather than merely an on-going service agency. Accordingly it was decided to establish the continuing evaluation of the project from the very beginning. This aspect of the program has been funded by a grant from the Australian Criminology Research Council and we gratefully acknowledge their support in making possible the evaluation of the project.

Jean and Elery Hamilton-Smith

2. PLANNING

2.1 LOYOLA HOUSE

Peter Norden is a young Jesuit who has trained in social work. His practical experience in the social work field included work in group counselling and work with young offenders. As a result of this experience he developed a concern for the particular needs of young men aged between 17-21 and newly released from Youth Training Centres or from Prison.

The first written document which sets down the plan for the Four Flats project was written by him at Easter 1975 and is entitled *Loyola House - Youth Service Centre*. This document is very similar in both basic concept and detail to the second planning document prepared twelve months later which is described below. However, there are some important differences. The original proposal suggested that the residential care centre should be supplemented by the operation of a drop-in service centre for young offenders and this aspect was not pursued in later planning. The second major difference is that the Loyola House plan assumed only 1½ staff members and later planning developed the number of staff to a more realistic number.

2.2 THE JESUIT BOARDING HOUSE

At the commencement of 1976, Peter Norden commenced work at the Manresa Peoples Centre in Hawthorn. In March of that year he completed a further planning document entitled *Jesuit Boarding House, Hawthorn; A Residential Community Program for Young Ex-Offenders from Victorian Correctional Institutions*. This document became the basis upon which funding from the Victorian Social Welfare Department and The Australian Criminology Research Council was provided.

This report defined the general objective of the program as being:

To provide assistance for young offenders recently released from a correctional institution in their readjustment to living in an open community setting.

and more specifically:

- i. *To provide short-term accommodation for a section of those released from the young offender group at Malmsbury Youth Training Centre, Langi Kal Kal Youth Training Centre, and Pentridge Prison.*
- ii. *Through the establishment of a "self-help community", to assist the residents of the house in supporting one another and in discovering and developing personal and community resources to meet individual needs.*

It was demonstrated that the target population are a particularly vulnerable group and that few community services are available to them. The general concept of the boarding house was that it would house up to eight young men at any given time and that these would generally stay for a period of approximately three months. It was suggested that this period might be extended for a limit of up to six months. (As the project developed it was decided that the three months period should be the upper limit of any individual stay within the program.)

The general thinking about selection of residents was spelled-out in the following statement:

Close liaison with staff of the correctional institutions is essential if suitable selection of residents for the house is to be possible.

General characteristics required of persons to be admitted to the house should include the following:

- i. a feeling of uneasiness, unhappiness, or discontent with oneself or one's life, and some concern about doing something to change it.*
- ii. a recognition and acceptance that one does or can control what happens to one, even though the past may have indicated that one was unable to do much about it.*
- iii. a willingness to examine things about oneself with others, even though it may make one angry, unhappy or embarrassed.*
- iv. a belief that other residents, and the programme itself, will benefit from one's participation.*

The ex-offenders selected as suitable would be those who are not markedly disturbed in a psychiatric sense, but who face fairly severe hardship on release, in that they are cut off from their families, and have no stable peer or occupational group.

Strong emphasis was placed upon the concept that the boarding house would provide an inter-active residential community with residents sharing in decision-making for themselves rather than merely accepting the decisions of adults. It was envisaged that the treatment program would focus heavily upon this opportunity for the residents to accept responsibility for themselves and others. It was planned that regular group meetings would be held under the leadership of a staff member in order to help the residents discuss and resolve their own inter-relationships and their own use of the boarding house program.

The premises available for the project comprised a two-story house owned by the Catholic Church, and operating as four flats.

It was seen as an appropriate venue for the program in that it was readily accessible to public transport, had good access to employment opportunities, and was in a suburb with a large number of boarding houses and flats providing avenues for future accommodation after leaving the project.

It was envisaged that a small planning committee would be established to assist in detailing the planning of the project, and that once established a community support group or advisory committee would be established from among local residents.

The planned staff were seen as comprising Peter Norden as director, a second member of the Jesuit Order as house manager, a group worker, a part-time research worker and a part-time cook.

A major theme is that the boarding house would be seen as an action research project or demonstration project and that continuing evaluation would be carried out. One of the obvious evaluative problems in any program of this kind is the extent to which there is a strong community expectation that any project working with offenders should result in a lower rate of recidivism. The document made a first attempt to place this possible program objective in context by making the following statement of possible operational objectives:

i. Reduction in Probability of Recidivism:

It would seem that the major objective of the penal system, at least as explicitly stated, is to minimise the probability that the offender will recidivate.

An offender enters the penal system with a particular probability of recidivism. If what happens to him while within the proposed program results in a reduction of this probability, then the treatment process has had some success. Similarly, we can say that the treatment which has succeeded best is the one that makes the largest reduction in the probability of recidivism.

This is clearly one criterion of the project's success that can be used as a basis for evaluation, but it is not adequate of itself.

ii. Ability to Live Independently within Society:

Within the desirable outcomes that relate to reducing the probability of recidivism, there are further considerations than the above. Perhaps the ex-offender may avoid further crimes of theft and instead learn to live on unemployment assistance benefits or on other welfare services.

This is not to say that there may not be times when it is necessary to turn to such forms of assistance, sometimes due to factors wholly outside of one's control. But the establishment of a life pattern based on this form of assistance, whilst avoiding re-offending against the law, could not be considered a satisfactory product of the proposed program.

There are many ways in which an ex-offender may fail to become an independent member of society, and it may be that some small degree of recidivism, if linked with an otherwise stable life pattern, might be preferable to a dependent existence just within the confines of the law.

iii. Reduction of Human Indignity and Suffering:

One of the objectives which would perhaps be more difficult to assess than the two above would be the capacity of the project to reduce human indignity and suffering. Many young men and women leave Victorian correctional institutions daily having little money, no job, family, friends, or a roof over their heads for their first night of freedom.

Such objectives, in contrast to correctional goals, may not be as easily evaluated, but are of at least equal importance in the effective functioning of the project, given the personal values and beliefs underlying the establishment of the project.

If we regard the project as achieving some success if it alleviates human misery, then the distressed ex-inmates who turn to it in moments of crisis are the testimony of its role and effectiveness within the community. There is also the possibility that, while not completely eliminating recidivism, such a project may postpone its appearance, and its residents may at least temporarily benefit from a refuge, and use it as a base for attempts at readjustment and growth.

No matter how far one might emphasise operational objectives other than reduction of recidivism, the fact remains that there is a widespread community acceptance of this as a paramount objective. Inevitably this acceptance is in turn internalised by government decision-makers and by staff operating within the welfare system.

We will deal later with the effects of this dilemma upon the project but we note at this point that the general experience of programs for ex-offenders throughout the world is that the reduction of recidivism is an extremely difficult task which cannot generally be achieved through treatment programs. A recent comment expresses this succinctly:

..... *Crime, with all its many causes, cannot be ended by penal policies, of whatever complexion. The National Health Service hasn't ended disease, it is simply the fairest and most decent system to deal with it. The advocates of imprisonment should perhaps look at what such sentences do to a prisoner's personality, identity and personal relationships, rather than at the crime rate. The latter is a perpetual snare and disappointment.*¹

2.3 THE PLANNING COMMITTEE

The Planning Committee envisaged in the Jesuit Boarding House document first met during April, 1976, and held a total of four meetings during that year. It was chaired by Peter Norden and involved representatives from the Hostels Division, Youth Training Centres, and the Probation and Parole Division of the Victorian Social Welfare Department; an experienced prison chaplain and was attended by the project evaluators and staff as these were progressively appointed.

The Committee primarily served to help operationalise the basic plan and to provide an opportunity for sorting out administrative relationships with the Social Welfare Department. Probably its major contribution to the overall concept of the project was the extent to which concepts of treatment became de-emphasised and a relatively strong emphasis was placed upon what might be called normalisation. The name Four Flats Hawthorn arose out of this direction in thinking as being less institutional in character. Administrative procedures regarding admission of residents were clarified; some aspects of evaluation procedure were detailed; and at one meeting the inter-relationship of the program with the Commonwealth Employment Service was explored.

Meanwhile practical arrangements were proceeding. Paul Callil of the Jesuit Order was appointed as house manager to the project; Alex Firmager was appointed as group worker; Jean and Elery Hamilton-Smith undertook to carry out the planned evaluation; and arrangements were made to assume tenancy of the Four Flats building at the end of 1976.

In approving the financing of the project, a further staff position was approved, namely that of a field worker who would take particular responsibility in follow-up work outside of the hostel situation. However, the position of part-time cook was not approved and it was decided that this responsibility would be carried by volunteers together with help from other staff and residents. An appointment was made of a field worker at the end of 1976, but the appointee later decided not to accept the post and it was accordingly left vacant until April, 1977.

1. Editorial comment, *New Society*, 41 (770) : 4, 7th July, 1977.

3. EVALUATION

3.1 OVERVIEW

The planning documents prepared by Peter Norden both placed a strong emphasis upon evaluation. He saw it as important that the experience of the project should be adequately recorded so that the learning which might arise out of the project is not lost. At the same time the planning documents reflect a concern with accountability and with establishment of the effectiveness or otherwise of the proposed plan.

The following extract from the planning papers summarizes the concept of the evaluation task at the early stage of planning. It also clearly sets out the key questions to which attention must be paid in the final reports of the project.

The primary intention of the proposed project remains as the provision of a service to meet the needs of some of the young offender population. The task of the evaluator will be to measure the effectiveness of the means taken to provide that service, and he will do this in the light of the operational objectives, which have been clearly stated.

The task then will be to determine how well this particular intervention strategy worked. Did it bring about the intended changes and to what extent? This perhaps may only be accurately answered by defining separate experimental and control groups.

To assist the evaluator answer these questions it has been intended to incorporate the following ingredients into the design of the project:

- i. the specification of the objectives in terms of what changes are intended.*
- ii. a detailed outline of the characteristics of the target population, so that the effect of the intervention strategy can be clearly seen.*
- iii. a description of the nature of the proposed intervention.*
- iv. specification of the criteria by which change will be measured.*

To the extent that these have not been clearly outlined, it will be the task of the evaluator to clarify them with the project staff during the early stages of programme determination.

In fact, the work of the evaluator depends on, and is intimately concerned with, each of the following aspects:

- i. identification of problems*
- ii. specification of objectives.*

- iii. analysis of the causes of problems and the shortcomings of existing programmes.
- iv. examination of possible action alternatives.

It is intended to involve the evaluator right from the period when the programme is being formulated and the evaluation is being planned. This intention is based on the understanding of the evaluator's task as helping the programme planners to appropriately define objectives and to formulate criteria for the assessment of these objectives.

The evaluator's task could be more clearly described by outlining what I see as the seven major elements in the process of evaluation:

- a. Objectives: conceptualisation and measurement of the programme's objectives. What is the activity being evaluated expected to accomplish?
- b. Process Phase: the documenting and measuring of what goes on during the programme in its various phases.
- c. Components of Evaluation: the determination of items such as the measuring instruments chosen or designed, the target population, samples of groups and individuals selected, and the forms of intervention.
- d. The End Product: outcome evaluation which provides judgements about the degree to which programme objectives have been accomplished.
- e. Environment of Study: the total environment in which the evaluation is conceived and carried out, especially the attitudes of the administrative staff to the research and their personal interests in the project outcome.
- f. Unanticipated Consequences: to cope with any unanticipated consequences in such a way that the study design is not destroyed, and to be prepared to act constructively to modify the programme if this should prove necessary.
- g. Determination of Costs: the function of establishing the costs of an activity or programme as related to its accomplishments.

Jean and Elery Hamilton-Smith undertook in early 1976 to implement the evaluation plan. This meant that we were able to participate in meetings of the planning committee and in discussions with Peter Norden and his staff. The general proposition which we put forward in a document on 5th May, 1976, was that our involvement as evaluators would be inter-related with the on-going planning and decision-making of the project.

We emphasized that the simple traditional model of evaluation in which one merely measures the extent to which previously defined performance objectives have been achieved would just not be applicable to an experimental project of this kind. Rather we saw ourselves as entering into continuing inter-action with the project.

This approach to evaluation has more recently been briefly but graphically described by the Stanford Evaluation Consortium in the following terms:

We would emphasize the general features of such a model:

- (1) Evaluation can constructively enter the picture earlier and can be seen as a continuing part of management rather than as a short-term consulting contract.*
- (2) The evaluator, instead of running alongside the train making notes through the windows, can board the train and influence the engineer, the conductor, and the passengers.*
- (3) The evaluator need not limit his concerns to objectives stated in advance; instead, he can also function as a naturalistic observer whose inquiries grow out of his observations.*
- (4) The evaluator should not concentrate on outcomes; ultimately, it may prove more profitable to study just what was delivered and how people interacted during the treatment process.*
- (5) The evaluator should recognize (and act upon the recognition) that systems are rarely influenced by reports received in the mail.*

Evaluation thus becomes a component of the evolving program itself, rather than disinterested monitoring undertaken to provide ammunition to the warring factions in a political struggle. Formal reports to outsiders are reduced in significance, and research findings become not conclusions but updatings of the system's picture of itself.¹

We proposed three elements might constitute the evaluation:

- (a) Recording the administrative and organizational processes of Four Flats.
- (b) Recording some measurable data about the individual residents and comparing their experience and performance with that of similar young men not passing through the Four Flats project.
- (c) Recording the life experience of residents.

1. Stanford Evaluation Consortium, 'Evaluating the Handbook of Evaluation Research', *Evaluation Studies Review Annual*, Vol. 1, 1976, page 212, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.

The complexity of the task and day-to-day pressures of the Four Flats operation has meant that little attention has yet been paid to the third of these elements but every effort has been made to pursue the first two relatively thoroughly.

This first progress report is intended primarily as a base line description of the project and contains in itself little evaluative data. At least two further reports will be produced and these will have a much stronger emphasis upon real evaluation.

3.2 THE ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS

The evaluators were involved in meetings of the planning committee and the advisory committee which was established in Hawthorn. One of us (Jean) has regularly spent an evening at Four Flats talking with staff and residents while both of us have often joined in staff meetings or in discussion with individual staff members. The picture which we have obtained of the general organizational process emerges from these contacts with the program and from analysis of the day book kept by the staff.

3.3 RECORDING INDIVIDUAL PROGRESS

The basic concept involved in this aspect of the evaluation is that information would be collected on at least four different occasions in respect to each resident. Two of these sets of information would also be collected in respect to the control group of other ex-youth training centre residents who had not entered Four Flats. Each of these four stages of data collection are described below:

- (a) Pre entry. It was decided we should collect as much readily available descriptive data as possible concerning each boy released from youth training centres during the period of the study. This would enable us to characterize those entering Four Flats and to compare their performance with that of either the total population released or a selected matched control population.

Discussion revealed that there was no readily available record already kept within the Social Welfare Department which would bring together the necessary information about each boy. An appropriate form was therefore designed and the youth training centres agreed to complete this form in respect to each boy released (Schedule A).

In practice, two difficulties have emerged in utilization of this schedule. The first is that the relatively heavy work load of youth training centre staff makes it difficult for them to complete these records as promptly as they would wish. Our own feeling is that the process of evaluation

should not obtrude unduly into the important day-to-day work of the staff either in the training centres or at Four Flats and every effort was made to keep the forms to a minimum of data which would enable adequate matching for control group purposes. In spite of this there are still practical difficulties.

The second problem which has come to notice only by accident, is that in several instances the form has been completed twice in respect to the same boy. Whenever this has occurred the match between each specific pair of forms has been relatively poor. This accordingly casts considerable doubt upon the accuracy of all other forms supplied. We stress that we are not in this criticising the youth training centres. Their primary task does not lie in maintaining records for research purposes. Rather this raises an issue for departmental policy as to how far appropriate data for research purposes should be collected and the way in which this should be done.

The residents coming to the project from prisons present an even greater problem in that adequate background information is far less available and the opportunity for developing a truly matched control group is extremely limited. Again this raises a question of departmental policy on research.

- (b) Entry to Four Flats. Two schedules were prepared to record information at the point of entry to the project. One (Schedule B) is to be completed by the boy concerned and the other (Schedule B1) by the Four Flats staff.
- (c) The Four Flats Experience. Again two schedules were developed to enable recording of each boy's experience while resident at Four Flats. The first of these (Schedule C) is completed by each boy towards the end of his stay at Four Flats (or sometimes immediately after leaving) generally in an interview situation with Jean.

The second (Schedule C1) is progressively completed by the staff and handed in to the evaluators at the time when the boy concerned leaves Four Flats. This record includes a simple attitude scale which is based upon the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.²

2. This scale was first published in Rosenberg, M., *Society and the Adolescent Self Image*, Princeton University Press, 1965. It has been extensively tested and further refined by H.B. Kaplan who reported his results in a wide variety of papers including the following: *Self Attitudes and Deviant Response*, *Social Force*, 54(4): 788-801, 1976. *Self Attitude Change and Deviant Behaviour*, *Social Psychiatry*, 11 :59-67, 1976. It has also been used recently by various Australian researchers in application to range of populations. One published example of an Australian use of the scale is Nettleton, Brian, *Factors Effecting Recreational Choice Among a Group of Scale Users*, Melbourne, Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation, 1974.

- (d) Follow-up. Again two schedules have been prepared, one to be completed by the boy himself (Schedule D) and the other by a parole officer or other professional worker in contact with the boy (Schedule D1). These two instruments will be applied to both ex-residents of Four Flats and to the control group.

Copies of these schedules are attached as appendices to this report. It will be seen that they have been designed to facilitate computer processing. At this stage the problems outlined in (a) above raised some questions as to whether the level of statistical analysis which would be made possible by computer processing is warranted. However, a final decision on this matter is yet to be made after further examination of the data quality issues.

4. FOUR FLATS ENVIRONMENT

4.1 PHYSICAL SETTING

The Four Flats are located within a large, gracious and well-preserved Victorian house in Hawthorn. The flats used by the residents are upstairs and are attractively furnished and maintained. There are two beds per flat allowing for a total number of eight residents. Downstairs are the communal living areas - the lounge room with television, the community dining room and the main kitchen. Also located on this level is Peter Norden's personal flat and a meeting room cum office. At the rear of the house there is quite an extensive yard with a number of outbuildings. Paul Callil, the other resident staff member, has taken over the large bungalow as his sleeping quarters. Other outbuildings house laundry facilities, a storage shed and the pool table. Peter Norden's large friendly labrador dog is usually to be found sleeping in the back porch. Very often he is being talked to by at least one of the residents or if someone is in an energetic mood he is taken for a run.

4.2 PATTERN OF DAILY LIVING

Meals: Since January when the first residents moved in, the established pattern has been that evening meals are provided on the five week nights. The boys are asked to help share the work of setting the table, washing up, etc., at this time. This has led to some heated and sometimes hilarious arguments. The residents are responsible for providing their own breakfast and lunch during the week and meals at weekends. After a few months difficulties arose over the question of residents providing their own meals. In some cases they did not have the money to buy extra food and this led to raids being made on the downstairs larder. It was then decided that these difficulties could be overcome if some basic foodstuffs, e.g., butter and bread, were provided in the upstairs kitchen. This has been the policy in recent months and it does appear to have solved the larder problem.

Cleaning: The residents are responsible for cleaning their own bedrooms and sharing the responsibility of maintaining their kitchen and bathroom. This has been fairly successful although the cleaning has tended to be spasmodic. From time to time the fact that one or other resident was not seen to be doing his share of the work, was a subject of debate at the group meetings.

Washing: Each resident is responsible for doing his own personal washing and as there is an automatic washing machine and tumble dryer in the laundry, this does not seem to be an undue hardship.

Alcohol: There has been no prohibition about having alcohol on the premises and this policy has not created undue difficulties. There have been some rather noisy evenings and once or twice fights have flared up but these sorts of incidents may well have occurred regardless of whether alcohol was consumed on or off the premises. On occasions guests at the evening meal were offered wine and the residents shared in this (many later stating they would much prefer a beer!)

Residence: There have been no formal limits or curfews made about how often residents can spend nights away from Four Flats or times at which they should return at night. However, when a resident has spent several nights and days away without discussing this arrangement he has been followed up by a staff member usually on the basis of questioning his commitment to the Four Flats program. In many instances this intervention by staff has provided a basis for helping the person concerned to make a decision one way or the other about staying on at Four Flats.

A concern that came up very early in the life of Four Flats was the question of girlfriends staying overnight. In mid-March there was a long discussion about that at a group meeting and the consensus finally reached was that this was not a good policy. There were some individual disagreements with this policy at this time and on later occasions.

Financial Arrangements: Residents are required to pay \$20 a week board. However they are not required to pay this rent until they are in receipt of wages or social service benefits. Most of the residents have at some stage or another, had financial loans from Four Flats. There are administered by the House Manager who keeps a record of when they are made and repaid. The loans have ranged from quite small amounts to buy cigarettes, etc., to larger amounts to pay residents' outstanding fines.

Recreational Activities: The major passive activities within Four Flats have been watching television or playing pool. Then as the staff have many and varied interests, a number of regular outside activities take place usually at their invitation. For example, Peter Norden enjoys a run in the park or kicking a football around and often one or more of the boys accompany him. Alex is a keen golfer and has taken many of the boys to play a round with him. Paul has taken boys with him to watch the trotting and to some of the outdoor concerts. As many of the residents have never been out to a restaurant or to see a film, Sue has played a very useful role in accompanying them on these sort of excursions. She is also a keen ice-skater so a number of boys have done this. Other activities that residents have shared with various staff members have been to go to football matches, to the races, to the boxing, going bowling, to a local gymnasium and canoeing on the Yarra. There has been no fixed role as to which staff member does a particular activity. It tends to have been a spontaneous thing with the staff members who have particular interests and abilities going off to do whatever interests them and inviting residents that are around at the time to join them.

Recreational Activities (cont'd): From the time when the first residents came in January until the end of September, there were six camps held in various parts of Victoria. Again the organization has generally been that the staff have said they were going and those residents that wanted to come were very welcome. Probably one of the most successful of these camps was held at Easter time when four of the boys accompanied by three other girls and two staff members went off to Kevington. There was opportunity for the residents to meet on a very informal basis a policeman and this proved to be a rewarding experience in terms of the discussion it raised amongst the boys. During the Easter weekend there was also a car accident which although most unfortunate for those concerned, did provide an opportunity for the boys to prove themselves to the Kevington townsfolk as being responsible and caring people.

It is worth noting here, that very few of the boys can list more than one or two hobbies or interests. In general they indicate that spending time at the pub or at discos is their major way of filling in their spare time.

4.3 PATTERN AND PROCESS OF INTER-RELATIONSHIPS

Group Process: One of the major thrusts of the treatment program offered by Four Flats was described as guided group interaction. So that initially, and this is reflected in the job description of the group worker, the group program was seen as an integral part of the treatment program. The regular attendance of all residents at the Tuesday night meetings was seen as essential if this group process was to be established. In the first four months all the staff shared in the Tuesday night meetings. Then later, Alex took the meeting every second week, with all staff attending on the alternate weeks. Topics discussed during this period included the idea of self help, flat living arrangements, discussion about having girlfriends stay overnight and some inter-personal difficulties were brought out and discussed in the group setting. Although there were simultaneously many individual sessions between residents and members of staff over particular issues, the weekly group meeting was seen to play an important role in these early months. This was reflected not only in the attendance by the residents, which generally was consistently high, but in the range of topics covered - the residents clearly had some investment in the discussions.

From the beginning of May onwards a gradual decline in the importance of the group meetings as far as the residents were concerned, became evident. This is reflected in the lower attendance of the group sessions and in what was discussed. During the month of May through to September the staff input as far as topics discussed was much greater. There was a concern on the part of staff about the lack of group cohesion and lack of involvement. It was at this time that it was becoming clearer that having a mix of the more socially immature and socially retarded young offenders and the more assertive socially capable offenders was creating difficulties.

At the end of September it was decided that a fifth flat would be established at a different address to enable some separation of these two groups. The residents in the main house tended to be the less socially competent, and the program moved towards one-to-one contact with staff rather than group interaction. The boys resident in the fifth flat attended house meetings on each alternate week, but held their own separate meeting on intervening weeks.

However, at the time of writing, some changes have been made in the intake arrangements, and future residents are likely to be drawn from the more socially competent and outgoing. Basically, this decision rests upon the feeling of the staff that the resources and program of Four Flats is better able to meet the needs of this group.

Emphasis on Employment: In the early months of the program there was an emphasis placed on the importance of residents finding employment. However this was not seen as being mandatory. In fact, all the residents during the first three months did find employment although often they did not hold the job for more than a few days. Two of this early group were later granted invalid pensions as their disabilities were such that they were not able to maintain employment.

During the next three months until the end of June, there was a stable core of residents who were working regularly. Again there was no fixed policy about employment but there was a general expectation shared by staff and residents that residents would be working during their stay at Four Flats. An entry in the day book in early June commented "All eight boys are working". This was followed by a comment about a week later - "In less than a week five have lost jobs in rapid succession". This heralded a period of change and a lot of movement in and out of the Four Flats.

With the influx of some new residents and the departure of some of the long staying boys the whole social climate within Four Flats changed. There was no expectation about working whilst in residence which had come from the group of residents in the early months. In fact there was evidence of an attitude "Why should I work?" It was during these three months that a number of former residents re-offended and this affected morale of the staff and of present residents.

During October and November several more residents re-offended. These months were seen as being difficult and frustrating months for the staff and a lot of re-thinking about the treatment program took place. One of the results of this re-thinking was the decision to formalize a policy about the importance of employment for residents of Four Flats. Thus it was decided at a staff meeting in November that "Because of the overall goal of the residential stay is of increasing independence and avoiding re-offending behaviour, the finding and maintaining of employment is to be seen as an integral and essential aspect of the program being offered at Four Flats." This policy was then part of a formal individual contract which each boy had to consider and sign before taking part in the program.

Staff Relationships: The four members of the staff team although having some specific duties and responsibilities also shared some roles in regard to their relationships with the residents. As we noted in an earlier section there was a great deal of sharing with regard to the involvement of staff in recreational activities.

The staff also shared the responsibility of visiting the various institutions in order to make prior contact with prospective residents. Contact with families of the residents was largely carried out by Peter Norden and Alex Firmager. This contact varied from a number of once only visits to several instances where there was quite intense contact.

As the program built up and the full complement of eight residents was reached so the demands on staff increased. It became increasingly clear that it was impossible to precisely define roles and allocate areas of decision making to particular staff members. It was also evident that each staff member had a particular style of working and these individual styles had to mesh in order that a pattern of co-operation between staff gradually evolved. There were occasional periods of stress which created anxiety and frustration amongst staff. However they were able to resolve these problems because of their openness with each other and their deep commitment to the project.

In the latter part of the year when a number of residents re-offended, some committing quite serious offences, the morale of the staff reached a low level. It was during this period also that the group of residents tended to be those without a firm commitment to the project. This situation had a major impact on the group process and as already indicated led to some re-thinking about the nature of the treatment program.

The staff meeting in November at which there was discussion of modification to the treatment program not only set a firm policy with regard to the importance of employment but covered a number of other issues, these included detailing a number of points concerning the intake procedures (e.g., prior contact with potential residents be extensive as possible, treatment program to be spelt out as clearly as possible to potential residents, etc.); setting out a contractual basis of entry (the value underlying the formulation of an individual contract with each resident is "... that in order to establish the three month stay as a treatment period each resident must have specific goals with which he seeks the assistance of the program staff."); setting out an after-care program (this detailed that "A regular period of three months following on departure from the residential program would seem to be the normal length of after-care contact which program staff could reasonably take on. This would normally involve weekly contact (at least) following on departure from the program."); describing the philosophy underlying the fifth flat (this was seen as being for residents capable of operating at a higher maturity level and also seen as being used in certain circumstances to avoid personality conflicts a greater degree of responsibility and independence is required for those living there); a comment on the group

program which set out the policy of house meetings being held every second Tuesday evening, with all members of staff and all individuals involved in program in attendance. On the alternate week, residents in fifth flat would meet with Peter and those in Four Flats with Alex.

At the time of writing these new policies are being introduced and it is too soon to assess their impact. One comment that can be made is a concern that although the more formalized contractual basis of entry for residents may give security because it clearly defines time limits and other expectations, there is need for care that it does not also become an added pressure to the incoming resident. Put another way, the re-thinking of philosophy and policies underlying the treatment program is very positive for the staff in helping establish directions, but these policies must not become too structured and rigid as this will destroy the flexibility and hence much of the strength of the project.

4.4 RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE FOUR FLATS

So far in this section we have commented on the general pattern of internal relationships. In a later report we will deal in detail with individual relationships between residents and residents and staff. As many of the residents made significant relationships with groups and individuals outside Four Flats it is worth noting these.

In terms of relationships with formal institutions the major bodies residents had contact with were the Commonwealth Employment Service (C.E.S.) and the Parole Service. Overall the contact of residents with the C.E.S. was positive, this in large part being due to the personal qualities of the officer-in-charge of special needs. The contact with the Parole Service was largely with the one Parole Officer assigned to work with the residents. Again this was a positive contact as the officer concerned was able to visit the Four Flats fairly frequently and establish informal relationships with the residents. The officer concerned was aware of the advantages and disadvantages in being the only Parole Officer in contact with Four Flats. On the one hand he was able to stand off and not get involved in any of "playing off" between residents (which may have occurred more frequently had there been a number of Parole Officers involved) and he found that a number of residents were happy to visit him spontaneously as there was no pressure to regularly see him. Yet on the other hand because of the group nature of the program he was not able to establish very deep individual relationships which sometimes was a concern in the follow-up once a resident left Four Flats.

With regard to more informal contacts, a number of residents particularly in the early part of the year had a significant contact with "Youth Organization for the Unemployed (YOU). In two instances this contact opened a whole new world of social relationships which proved to be very positive to the residents concerned.

Some other isolated individual contacts were made with particular groups where the residents felt comfortable and at ease. One had a lot of contact with a group of workers at a nearby railway station. Another got heavily involved with the anti-freeway movement in Collingwood. Some individual residents had contact with a local Hawthorn family.

Less positive social environments explored by some residents were contact with a "camp scene" in the middle of the year and then later in the year with a young woman with a flat and great enthusiasm for entertaining young men.

These social contacts described tend to demonstrate how much young ex-offenders are marginal to the mainstream of society and how few are the social milieux in which marginal individuals can feel at home. The milieux which Four Flats residents have chosen certainly all have in common either marginality in themselves (e.g., camp scene) or a high tolerance and acceptance of marginal people (e.g., YOU and anti-freeway movement). This emphasizes the problems of readjustment facing these young men and the limited opportunities provided by our society in which they can feel comfortable and at home.

5. SOME ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

5.1 STAFFING

As already outlined, staff were progressively appointed, and although written job descriptions were established, the emphasis has been on developing genuine teamwork, with its inevitable overlapping of task areas and blurring of boundaries. However, a more detailed description of staffing arrangements is now needed to give an overall view of the project.

Peter Norden was the original architect of the project and, as such, has carried overall responsibility. There is no question that he is perceived by other staff (and everyone else) as the director and leader of the project. At the same time, we find it difficult to single out any task which he does not share or carry out jointly with other staff. Perhaps the only significant area which remains as distinctively Peter's is the actual writing of formal documents or correspondence, yet these are very much based upon the collective thinking of the staff.

Thus, Peter's personal style contributes a great deal to team development. Yet, at times the other staff may wish that he would actually make a decision for them, or, when time pressures have forced him to make a unilateral decision, have been disappointed that he has not adhered fully to team decision-making. In other words, the team-building process is never a completely smooth one, and any resentments are easily focussed upon the formal leader. However, the fact is that very few difficulties have arisen, and on the rare occasions that they do, it is possible for the staff as a group to resolve them.

Paul Callil, a Jesuit brother with a long experience in the secondary schools aspect of the Order's work, was the second member of the team. He joined as house manager, and as such, has the most specific role within the staff. He oversees the physical and administrative arrangements of the house, working with both volunteer helpers and the residents themselves.

As the oldest member of the staff team, he has played a very important role for some of the boys, who have developed a close relationship with him. At the same time, he has felt unsure of himself in relating to boys who are so different to those with whom he has worked previously and has found a greater degree of frustration in the work than other team members.

Alex Firmager came to Four Flats after long experience as a Youth Officer in Social Welfare Department institutions. His role as group worker entails a central responsibility for the treatment program, yet, like Peter, it is hard to define any area which Alex does not share with the rest of the team. Because of his long experience and wide general knowledge of the youth treatment field, he contributes a great deal to the practical leadership of the program - sometimes he feels uneasy that he may be usurping Peter's role, but again, this is an inevitable part of developing a team approach.

Sue Ellis was the last member of the team to be appointed, and came to the role of field worker. She did not have any specific experience or qualifications, but was selected on the basis of her personal qualities and capacity to relate easily to other team members and the residents.

It is of particular interest that Sue and some other applicants for the post were each invited separately to dinner with the residents as a key element in the selection process. This meant that the decision on appointment was at least guided by the quality of interaction with the residents and their attitudes to each applicant. Although not a conventional staff selection procedure in the welfare field, this appears to have considerable merit.

Her role nominally carries specific responsibility for assisting the boys in community relationships, in gaining employment and in after-care follow-up. Again, these responsibilities tend to be shared, and her actual work involves a great deal of in-house contact and relationship.

A general principal which has emerged in the team process is that the staff tend to each work as the relationship needs of the residents dictate. Although some residents have related readily to all staff, many find they relate more readily to one specific person, and so that team member will tend to carry a broad range of functions in relation to the boy concerned. The very flexibility and sharing among the staff team then helps the boy to gradually develop and widen his own relationship to other team members. However, the practical outcome is that each resident has considerable opportunity to make his own decision about which worker he will relate to or use to meet his own needs.

5.2 RESIDENT MOVEMENTS

During the first year, it was decided that each boy should stay for a minimum of one month, and could stay as long as approximately three months. However, no firm rules were laid down. The resulting pattern of entry and exit is shown graphically in figure 1, and summarized in the following table:

Discontinuous residence more than 3 months	2
More-or-less continuous residence	
- greater than three months	4
- approximately three months	5
- One-Three months	9
- Less than one month	6

The inter-relationships between the nature of the intake process, the length of stay and success in later adjustment will be examined in the next report.

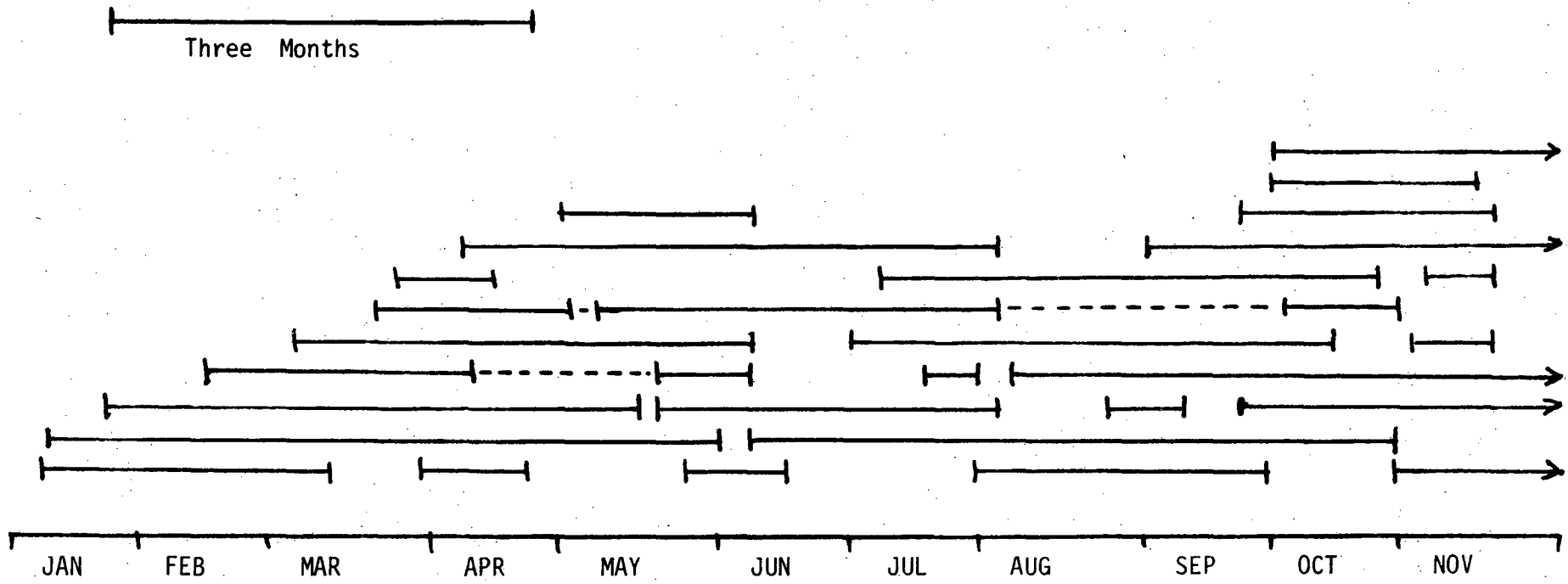


Fig. 1 : Movements of Residents, Jan.-Nov. 1977.

However, experience showed that the lack of certainty about the maximum length of stay was operating in a negative way, leading to social and emotional difficulties at the time of leaving. It has now been decided that the boys should enter with a clear understanding that three months should be the maximum period of residence.

5.3 ADVISORY COMMITTEE

An advisory committee has met on a quarterly basis, and individual members of the committee have been regular visitors to the house.

Membership of the committee includes a number of local residents, among whom are a councillor, a medical practitioner, lawyer, sergeant of police, near neighbours of the house and the Superior of the Hawthorn Jesuit Community. In addition, there are representatives of the Social Welfare Department, Victorian Council for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, and a Chaplain to the Social Welfare Department.

The committee has played an important role in establishing an understanding of the project within its local community and in assisting and supporting the staff team in their work.

6. CONCLUSION

This report is only a base-line description of the Four Flats program. In so far as it advances some assessments of the program and its evolution, these must be seen as tentative and subject to review.

Work has already commenced on development of the second report, which will attempt to analyse more critically the first years' work, to assess the individual progress of residents and compare this with other young men released from Youth Training Centres or Prisons, and to describe the further development of the program.

Certainly at this point, we can confidently say that the extent of commitment to the project shown by the staff and their ability to develop a team approach are both exceptionally high. During our relatively extensive experience in the social welfare field, we have rarely encountered a project where both these qualities are present to the same degree. This judgement, of course, raises further evaluative questions to be tackled in future reports.

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULES USED IN DATA COLLECTION RECORDING INDIVIDUAL PROGRESS

This sheet is to be completed by superintendents of Youth Training Centres in respect of each trainee discharged during the period 1st. January 1977 to 31st. December 1978. Except that a copy will be made available to the director of the Four Flats project in respect to all trainees admitted there, the information here will not be used in any way which will be identifiable to an individual trainee. The purpose of this information is purely for statistical purposes, and is required of those not entering the four flats project for comparative purposes only.

Completed forms should be mailed to C.P.S. Services, P.O. Box 93, Carlton South, Vict. 3053.

Name		Computer codes only				
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox" value="1"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Date of Birth	/Age at release y. m.	1	2	3	4	5
FAMILY						
Structure (6)		Relat./Interest in trainee (7)				
intact	1	excellent	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sep./divorced .	2	good	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
widowed	3	median	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other single ..	4	poor	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
		nil	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Number of siblings (8)						
Place in sequence (9)						
Origin (10)						
Australian	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Aboriginal	2					
United Kingdom ..	3	10	11			
S. Europe	4					
Cent. & N. Eur. .	5					
E. Europe	6					
Other	7					
Suburb/town of residence		(11)				
Father's occupational status (12)		Father's Job (13)				
Employer/self-empl. ...	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Full-time employee	2	12	13			
Part-time employee	3					
Not working	4					
Mother's occupational status (14)		Mother's Job (15)				
Employer/selfempl.	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Full-time employee	2	14	15			
Part-time employee	3					
Full-time home duties	4					
Other	5					
Trainee's own marital status (16)						
single	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
engaged	2	16	17			
married	3					
de facto	4					
Trainee's own children (17) How many ?						
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		18	19	20	21	

EDUCATION

Highest level completed (22) attempted (23)

Primary only 0

Secondary (write form 1 to 6)

Apprenticeship 7

Other post-secondary 8

Tertiary9

Reading Age (24) y. m.

Other information

Computer codes only

22 23 24

25 26 27

EMPLOYMENT

Number of jobs held (28)

Kinds of Job :

Longest held (29)

Its duration (30) y. m.

Most liked (31)

Other Information

28 29 30 31

32 33 34

DRUG USE

Alcohol (35) Marijuana (36) Intravenous (37)

Other (38)

Score each as heavy 1

regular 2

rarely 3

Never 0

35 36 37 38

HEALTH

Any information of likely relevance

39 40

OFFENCES, etc.

Current offences (41)

Computer codes only

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41	42	43	44

Length this YTC residence (42) y. m.

Age first offence (43) y. m.

Prior Offences (44)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45	46	47	48

Prior Institutional Residence (45)

Institution

Dates

I- level (50)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
49	50	51

Jesness A-social Index (51)

YOUR RATING OF TRAINEE'S MOTIVATION TO CHANGE (52)

Low 1
 Median 2
 High 3

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
52	53	54	55

Release to (55)

Four Flats Hawthorn 1
 Other 'hostel' 2
 Own Family 3
 Other 4

Name

What did you most like about the YTC ?

What did you most dislike about the YTC ?

Why did you decide to come to the Four Flats ?

Do you think you'll be able to keep out of trouble in the future ?

Why do you think this ?

What do you expect you will be doing twelve months from now ?

FOUR FLATS HAWTHORN
EVALUATION PROJECT

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

RECORD B1

Name

Extent of prior contact with trainee before decision to enter hours (10)

Computer Codes only

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	11	12

Had trainee visited four flats prior to decision to enter ? yes = 1, no = 0 (11)

Entry situation (12)

- trainee had no realistic alternative 1
- trainee had no very good alternative and appeared motivated towards programme 2
- trainee had available alternatives but preferred four flats 3

Extent of agreement on trainee entry to four flats project
score each item as strong = 1, medium = 2, low = 3.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13	14	15

- Youth Training Centre (13)
- Hostels Division (14)
- Parole officer (15)
- Four flats staff (16)
- Other residents (17)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16	17	18

Anticipated length of stay at time of entry months (18)

Date of entry

Other notes

FOUR FLATS HAWTHORN
EVALUATION PROJECT

RECORD C

To be completed between 8-12 weeks after entry; or on leaving if this is earlier.

NAME

In what way do you think you have changed (if at all) since coming to Four Flats?

What do you most like about Four Flats?

What do you most dislike about Four Flats?

Write down as many words as you can which say how you feel when things are going well -

Write down as many words as you can which say how you feel when things are bad -

How do you get along with -

the staff

other boys in flats

other boys outside

girls

workmates

Very well

Alright

Not so good

If you are working -

what is your job?

what do you most like about your job?

what do you most dislike about your job?

how do you get along with your boss?

If you are not working -
how do you feel about this?

what do you most like about not working?

what do you most dislike about not working?

Does your money last out each week? YES ALWAYS SOMETIMES NO

If not, how do you manage?

do without something?

borrow from 4 Flats

borrow from mates?

How often?

How do you spend your spare time? (List up to 10.)

What do you most enjoy doing in your spare time? (List up to 3.)

Would you like to do any of these things more often? YES NO

If so, what is stopping you?

Here are some sentences which say something about the way anybody feels at some time. Read each one, work out how often you feel that way, and put a tick in the right box.

	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever
I wish I could have more respect for myself			
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself			
I feel I do not have much to be proud of			
I'm inclined to feel I am a failure			
I take a positive attitude towards myself			
At times I think I'm no good at all			
I certainly feel useless at times			
I think most people are O.K. once you get to know them			
I find life a bit lonely			
I feel lots of people are against me			
I like to fit in with the rules and with what is right			
I think the police pick on kids too much			

FOUR FLATS HAWTHORN
EVALUATION PROJECT

INDIVIDUAL DATA RECORD C1

This sheet is to be progressively completed by the staff in respect to each individual resident during his period of residence. It should be available to the resident concerned, and he should have the opportunity to negotiate on its scoring. On his leaving the Four Flats, the sheet should be forwarded to CPS Services.

NAME

COMPUTER CODES ONLY

Date of entry to Four Flats

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5

Employment

Number of jobs applied for but not gained

Jobs gained:

6

1.

Job	DURATION (MONTHS)
Reason left	
.....	

7	8
---	---

2.

Job	DURATION (MONTHS)
Reason left	
.....	

9	10
---	----

3.

Job	DURATION (MONTHS)
Reason left	
.....	

11	12
----	----

4.

Job	DURATION (MONTHS)
Reason left	
.....	

5.

Job	DURATION (MONTHS)
Reason left	
.....	

6.

Job	DURATION (MONTHS)
Reason left	
.....	

(Score highest stat., lowest stat., longest stay, shortest stay, av. stay, reasons.)

Sicknesses Days

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.

13

14

Date of leaving Four Flats

Left to family

boarding

15

16

flat/apt.

other

With relatives

non-relative family

peers (YTC, 4 Flats)

peers (other)

girl friend, wife

other

Arrangement own initiative

help from 4 Flats

other help

19

20

Other significant comments:

NAME

How do you get along with -

other boys

girls

work mates

Very well

Alright

No so good

If you are working -

what is your job?

what do you like about your job?

what do you most dislike about your job?

how do you get along with your boss?

If you are not working -

how do you feel about this?

what do you most like about not working?

what do you most dislike about not working?

Does your money last out each week? YES NO

If not, how do you manage?

do without something?

borrow from mates? How often?

How do you spend your spare time? (List up to 10.)

What do you most enjoy doing in your spare time? (List up to 3.)

Would you like to do any of these things more often YES NO

If so, what is stopping you?

What do you think are the main ways you have changed in the last six months?

Do you think these changes are good
bad

	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever
I wish I could have more respect for myself			
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself			
I feel I do not have much to be proud of			
I'm inclined to feel I am a failure			
I take a positive attitude towards myself			
At times I think I'm no good at all			
I certainly feel useless at times			
I think most people are O.K. once you get to know them			
I find life a bit lonely			
I feel lots of people are against me			
I like to fit in with the rules and with what is right			
I think the police pick on kinds too much			

**FOUR FLATS HAWTHORN
EVALUATION PROJECT**

RECORD D1

This questionnaire is part of a study evaluating Four Flats Hawthorn, an experiment in providing accommodation for young men after release from youth training centres. The questionnaire is being administered not only to former residents of Four Flats but also to other parolees released from youth training centres during the same period so that we can make comparison. This form (D1) is to be completed by the Parole Officer; the accompanying form (D) should be completed by the parolee himself. Please encourage him to complete it as thoughtfully and fully as possible.

Completed forms should be mailed to the evaluation consultants, CPS Services, P.O. Box 93, Carlton South, 3053. If you have any queries, feel free to contact the consultants, Jean or Elery Hamilton-Smith on (03) 380 6362.

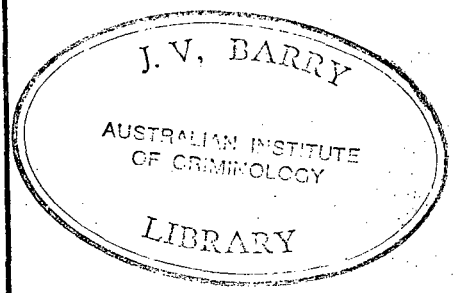
NAME	COMPUTER CODES ONLY
	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> 1 2 3 4 5
Current living arrangement family house <input type="checkbox"/> boarding house <input type="checkbox"/> flat/apartment <input type="checkbox"/> other <input type="checkbox"/>	 <input type="checkbox"/> 6
With relatives <input type="checkbox"/> non-relative family <input type="checkbox"/> peers (YTC, 4 Flats) <input type="checkbox"/> peers (other) <input type="checkbox"/> girlfriend, wife <input type="checkbox"/> other <input type="checkbox"/>	 <input type="checkbox"/> 7
Duration <input type="checkbox"/> months	<input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9
No. of changes of residence last six months <input type="checkbox"/>	
No. of contacts with probation officer in last six months <input type="checkbox"/>	

In the two following questions, please state clearly under Outcome which of the following actions were taken by the Parole Board:

- None
- Formal Appearance Before Board
- Termination of Parole followed by Re-Parole
- Termination of Parole and Return to Institution

Infringement of parole conditions YES/NO

<u>DETAILS</u>	<u>OUTCOMES</u>
.....
.....
.....
.....



Further offences YES/NO

<u>DETAILS</u>	<u>OUTCOMES</u> (Include sentence if any)
.....
.....
.....
.....

If at work, what is present job?

.....

10 11 12

How long held it?

How many other jobs in last six months?

13 14 15

Any major sicknesses?

16 17 18