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By-Kelly, Francis J.; Baer, Daniel J.

Outward Bound Schools as an Alternative to Institutionalization for Adolescent Delinquent Boys.

Outward Bound, Inc., Andover, Mass.

Spons Agency-Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund, Boston, Mass.; Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development (DHEW), Washington, D.C.

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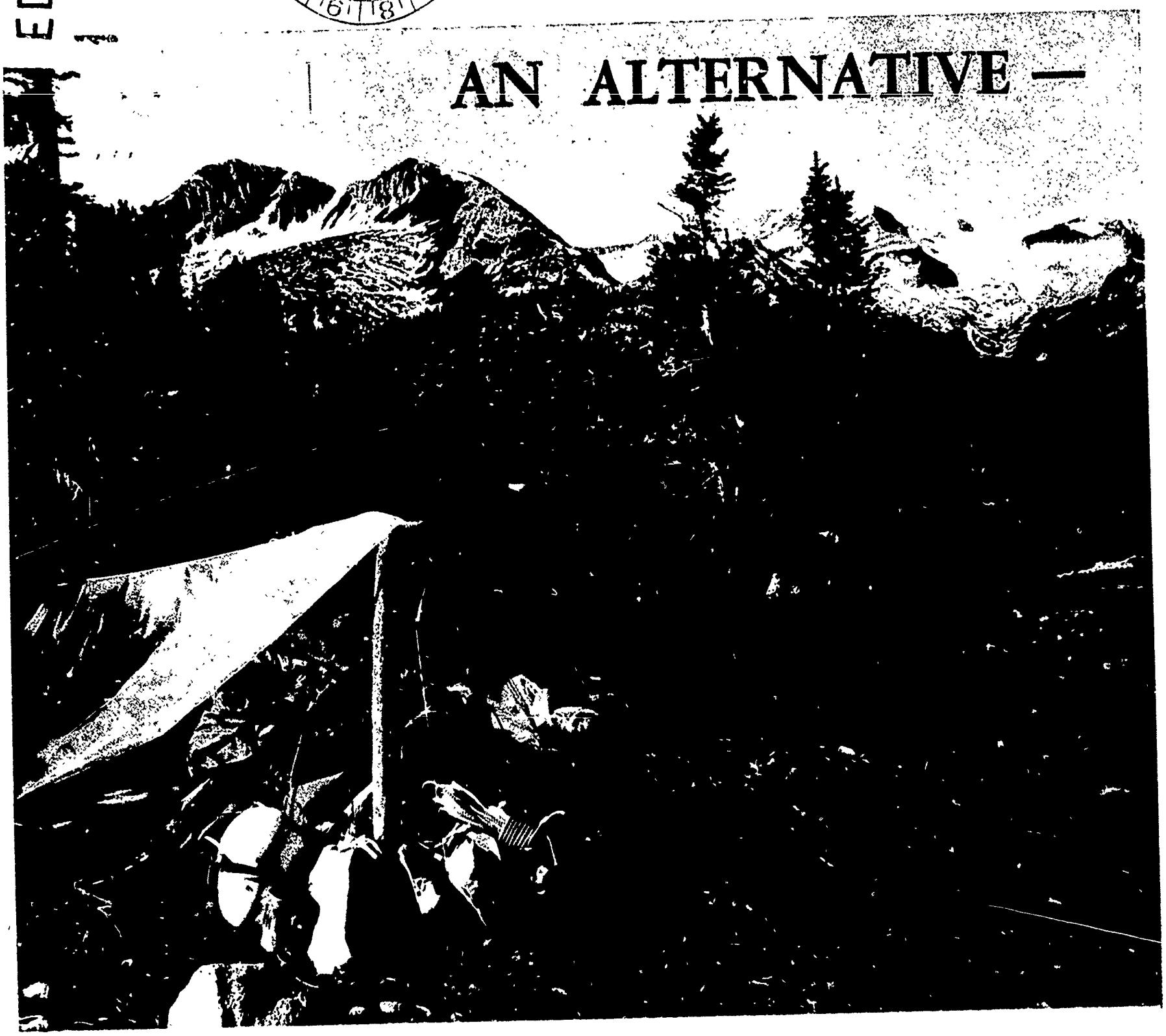
The primary purpose of this study was to determine if an Outward Bound experience was more effective in reducing further delinquent behavior in adjudicated delinquent adolescent boys than a traditional training school experience. One hundred and twenty adolescent delinquent boys were the subjects (60 boys selected from a reception center group and 60 from correctional institutions). Thirty from each group were combined to form an experimental group and a comparison group matched on the basis of age, race, religion, offense for which they were committed, area of residence, and number of prior commitments to the Massachusetts Division of Youth Service. Effectiveness was measured by a comparison of rates of "recidivism" (return to an institution for parole violation or new offense) between the two matched groups. Three Outward Bound schools located in Colorado, Minnesota, and Maine were utilized which provided the experimental group with physical conditioning; and technical, safety, and team training in a physical environment. The comparison group was treated in a routine manner by the Division of Youth Service. Twenty percent of the experimental group and 37% of the comparison group were subsequently identified as recidivists. Background variables and possibly the unique differences in the 3 Outward Bound schools are contributors to the differences found. The results suggest that for some delinquents an Outward Bound experience is a desirable short term alternative to traditional institutional care and is an effective means of promoting positive change. (SW)

AN ALTERNATIVE —



TO INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DELINQUENTS

— OUTWARD BOUND —

OUTWARD BOUND SCHOOLS AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO INSTITUTIONALIZATION FOR ADOLESCENT DELINQUENT BOYS

FRANCIS J. KELLY AND DANIEL J. BAER

Boston College

With a Participant Observers' Report by

Richard Katz and David Kolb

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To the project staff and the many others too numerous to mention without whose continuing help and support the project could not have been completed, we are indebted.

Finally to the Committee on the Permanent Charity whose generous assistance permitted the analysis of the data and the preparation of this report, the authors are most appreciative.

Project Staff

Joshua Miner, III, President
Outward Bound, Inc.
16 School Street
Andover, Massachusetts

Francis J. Kelly, Ed.D., Research Director
Associate Professor
Boston College
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts

Daniel Baer, Ph.D., Research Analyst
Associate Professor
Boston College
Boston, Massachusetts

M. Charles Hatch Jr., Project Coordinator
Outward Bound, Inc.
16 School Street
Andover, Massachusetts

Herbert Willman, Project Administrator
Massachusetts Division of Youth Service
14 Somerset Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Joseph I. Cullen, M.Ed., Assistant Project Administrator
Massachusetts Division of Youth Service
14 Somerset Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Richard Katz, Ph.D., Participant Observer
Harvard University

David Kolb, Ph.D., Participant Observer
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Thomas D'Andrea, Ph.D., Participant Observer
Assistant Professor
Haverford College

Kevin Avery, A.B., Psychological Testing
Medical School of Tufts University

Project Staff (cont'd)

Miss Mary DiPietro, A.B., Research Assistant
Outward Bound - Juvenile Delinquency Project
14 Somerset Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Mrs. Vera Westover, Bookkeeper
Outward Bound, Inc.
16 School Street
Andover, Massachusetts

Miss Anne Rourke, Secretary
Outward Bound - Juvenile Delinquency Project
14 Somerset Street
Boston, Massachusetts

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Introduction

This report presents the results of a two year demonstration project which involved one hundred twenty adolescent delinquent boys, sixty of whom attended Outward Bound Schools and sixty were treated in a routine manner by a juvenile correctional authority.

Since 1964 the Massachusetts Division of Youth Service and Outward Bound Schools, Inc. have collaborated in an effort to reduce recidivism in adjudicated delinquent adolescents. In the summer of 1964 a group of five delinquent boys from the Division of Youth Service attended the Outward Bound School in Colorado. In 1965, the Division of Youth Service sent forty boys to Outward Bound Schools in Colorado, Minnesota and Maine. Of the forty-five boys who attended Outward Bound Schools in 1964 and 1965 forty-two completed the course. Of the forty-two, five or 12% have been returned to juvenile or adult correctional institutions for parole violation or new offenses. This figure is significantly lower than the Division of Youth Service's recidivism expectancy rate of 40% for this age group. These encouraging results impelled the Outward Bound Schools and the Massachusetts Division of Youth Service to submit a proposal for a demonstration study to the Office of Juvenile Delinquency. The demonstration project was approved by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, Grant #66013, and funded for twelve months commencing May 1, 1966. In addition to the funds

from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, the Division of Youth Service contributed approximately $20,000.00 for tuition costs to Outward Bound Schools and other extraordinary expenses for the subjects.

From the outset the study was conceived as requiring two years to complete. The first year involved the selection of one hundred twenty subjects, the attendance at Outward Bound of sixty of them and an initial follow-up of their subsequent parole adjustment. The second year was to allow a comparable follow-up of the sixty boys who served as the comparison group. Since the comparison group was treated in a routine manner by the Youth Service Board, most were placed in training schools and were being released to the community at the end of the project's first year. The second year also was necessary to permit the analysis of data.

Unfortunately, the Office of Juvenile Delinquency was unable to fund the project for the second year and some modification had to be made. In December 1967, the Committee on the Permanent Charity Fund awarded sufficient funds to Outward Bound, Inc. to permit the analysis of the data, the follow-up of the comparison group and the preparation of this report.

Background of Study

Delinquent behavior in our adolescent population is reaching epidemic proportions. Few social problems rival juvenile delinquency as a source of concern and urgency. The general public as well as the President's Crime Commission have called stridently for the development of procedures for the control of crime and delinquency and for the prevention of recidivism in identified delinquents. Nevertheless, a great deal of wasted effort persists in unsatisfactory attempts to treat delinquents, due not so much to inadequate facilities as to their misapplication.The National Council on Crime and Delinquency has repeatedly focused attention on this with the criticism that local and state governments continue to invest heavily in institutional programs that have failed to help most children and youth committed to their care. Weber reports that nationally "over fifty percent, and some people think it is closer to sixty percent, of training school youths are reincarcerated in either juvenile or adult institutions." (Weber, 1967). This concern over high recidivism has stimulated renewed efforts to discover successful alternatives to mass congregate institutions for delinquents.

Paralleling, and possibly contributing, to the current rise in delinquency is the diminishing opportunity afforded the American adolescent male to establish his personal identity and demonstrate

his masculinity and competence. We fail to provide our adolescents with a clear rite-de-passage into manhood. Cultural anthropologists underscore this stating, "Neither physiologically, socially nor legally is there a clear demarcation between boyhood and manhood in our society." (Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony, 1958). In primitive societies a pubescent rite, often involving demonstrations of physical strength and stamina, served this purpose. Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony conclude with the speculation that one possible way of reducing delinquency in our society may be by instituting a formal means of coping with adolescent boys functionally equivalent to the pubescent rites found in primitive societies (Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony, 1958). While this observation seems accurate for most adolescents it is especially so for delinquent adolescents. Many writers (Erikson, 1956; Fannin and Clinard, 1965; Gibbens, 1958; Jesness, 1967; Sontag, 1958; Witmer, 1960) have commented on the delinquent's negative self-concept, lack of personal identity and frequent employment of anti-social behavior as a masculine protest. Also, professional workers in the field of delinquency have reported on the delinquent's proclivity for action as a solution to conflict and tension. This preference for action may explain the apparent failure of extant and traditional cognitively oriented "talking therapy" to modify the undesirable behavior of delinquents.

Outward Bound Schools expose the adolescent to severe physical challenge. The object is to build physical stamina and to push each individual to his physical limit. Thus the adolescent is called upon to achieve beyond what he believed he was capable; to demonstrate his competence in the most meaningful way--by action. An underlying assumption of the present study was that by participating in an Outward Bound program the delinquent's self-concept would improve and he would adopt a more socially acceptable mode of behavior.

Purpose of the Study

Outward Bound is not the panacea for delinquency in our adolescent population. However, results of the pilot studies strongly suggested that it was an effective treatment modality for some.

The primary purpose of the present study was to determine if an Outward Bound experience was more effective in reducing further delinquent behavior in adjudicated delinquent adolescent boys than a traditional training school experience. The criterion by which effectiveness was measured was a comparison of recidivism rates in two matched groups of adolescent delinquent boys, one group attending Outward Bound, the other attending a training school. For purposes of this study recidivism was defined as return to a juvenile insti-

tution for violation of parole or commitment to an adult institution for a new offense. An additional purpose of the project was to identify those delinquents for whom Outward Bound was a successful experience. To accomplish this randomization in selection within broad limits was necessary. Further, it was hoped to determine if an Outward Bound experience was effective with a sufficient number of boys so as to make it economically feasible for the Division of Youth Service to modify existing institutional programs and establish a state operated, small, short-term facility with an Outward Bound like program. Again, it was not presumed that the present program at Outward Bound Schools was capable of being transferred en toto to a state operated facility for adolescent delinquents. It was expected that there would be modifications.

Participating Agencies

Outward Bound Schools

The Outward Bound approach to motivating young men was developed by Dr. Kurt Hahn, founder and headmaster of the Gordonstoun School in Scotland. The philosophy underlying the movement is that a young man needs to learn for himself how much he is capable of, physically and emotionally. It holds that a young man cannot be told that he is capable of more but rather a set of circumstances must be devised in which he can learn this for himself. It is believed that

part of the answer lies in exposing young men to severe physical challenge.

The first Outward Bound School was established in Aberdovey, Wales in 1941. It was established to train merchant seamen for survival during the battle of the Atlantic. The results were so successful that the program has proliferated. Presently there are eighteen schools throughout the world--Great Britain, Africa, Germany, Australia, Malaya, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United States.

At the time of the present project there were four Outward Bound Schools in the United States. Three of these participated in the project and are described below. Each school adapts its program to its physical environment, that is the mountains, the sea or the forest. While this adaptation to physical surroundings introduces some differences in program all schools stress: 1) physical conditioning: running, hiking, swimming, weight training and the like; 2) technical training: the use of specialized tools and equipment, camping, cooking, map reading, navigation, life saving, drown-proofing and solo survival; 3) safety training: since some of the program activities can be hazardous, safety training is basic and continually stressed in all activities; and 4) team training: rescue techniques, evacuation, exercises and fire fighting.

Another important feature of each Outward Bound School is the plan under which all students are exposed to three days of solitary

living. About halfway through the course, after several lessons in ecology, each student is placed in an uninhabited area for three days and three nights. Equipment is minimal--a bit of line and a hook, a sleeping bag, eight matches, a nine foot square plastic sheet, a first aid kit, two quarts of water and a knife. The solo is intended as a test of the student against his environment and to provide him with an opportunity for self-appraisal.

In the United States an Outward Bound course lasts for twenty-six days with each school providing three courses each summer. Each course consists of ninety-six students divided into groups of twelve. Each group is under the supervision of one or more trained instructors. The students elect their own leaders and most training exercises are conducted as a group.

The following is a brief description of the three Outward Bound Schools which participated in the present project:

The Colorado Outward Bound School

Located at 8,800 feet on the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, approximately 230 miles from Denver and 70 miles from Aspen. Utilizing its natural surroundings the course involves mountain walking, high altitude camping, rock climbing and rappelling. The alpine expedition takes the student above the timberline where snow lies throughout the year. Each patrol of twelve boys climbs

at least one of the 14,000 foot peaks in the area. During the final week after the six mile marathon and the inter-patrol competitions, groups of three or four boys prepare for the final expedition. Without an instructor they will cover 60-90 miles of unfamiliar terrain in three days.

The Minnesota Outward Bound School

Located in the Superior National Forest near Ely, Minnesota, a short distance from the Canadian border. The School is on the edge of the Superior-Quetico Wilderness, an area which extends for hundreds of square miles and is suitable for canoe expeditions. Students are conditioned and trained at the main camp for twelve days. Then they leave on expedition with their instructors for two weeks in the forest with the principle means of travel canoeing. Upon return selected readings, films and discussions related to the students experiences are presented. The two week long expedition covers over two hundred miles of wilderness. The solo experience is scheduled in the middle of this expedition.

The Hurricane Island Outward Bound School

Located ten miles off the coast of Maine at the entrance of Penobscot Bay. More than half the program involves training in seamanship and navigation. Each twelve-man watch participates in a two-day training cruise with two instructors in one of the thirty foot

ketch rigged whaleboats. Fundamentals of rowing, sailing, navigation and safety are emphasized from the beginning. For the solo experience the student is placed on an uninhabited island where he is to survive off the sea and edible plants. The course climax is a five-day cruise in the whaleboats without an instructor wherein each watch of twelve boys must live together in a small open boat and meet the challenges presented by the open sea.

The Massachusetts Division of Youth Service

The Massachusetts Division of Youth Service is the agency of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts which cares for all children adjudicated delinquent by the courts of the Commonwealth and ordered committed. The Division receives children between the ages of seven-seventeen, but a child once committed is in the care of the Division until he reaches his twenty-first birthday or is discharged according to law. The Division of Youth Service maintains and administers ten institutions for the treatment and rehabilitation of delinquent children. The Division also administers community-based delinquency prevention programs together with an extensive after-care program for children released from its institutions. At any time the Division has between 2500-3000 children under care.

The placement of children committed to the care of the Division of Youth Service is by vote of the Youth Service Board. This Board is a three member quasi-judicial tribunal with the Director of

the Division of Youth Service presiding as Chairman. Children committed to the Division may be placed in any setting, public or private, based upon need and authorized by vote of the Youth Service Board.

The following facilities of the Division of Youth Service participated in the demonstration project.

Reception Center for Boys

Every boy committed to the Division of Youth Service in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is brought to the Reception Center. He remains at the Reception Center until a socio-psychological diagnostic evaluation is completed. The usual length of stay is approximately six weeks. Upon completion of the diagnostic study, including recommendations by the clinical staff, the boy is presented to the Youth Service Board for disposition. The Youth Service Board may authorize his placement at one of the Division's training schools or in any placement where they believe his treatment needs will be met. The majority of boys admitted to the Reception Center are first commitments to the Division of Youth Service and approximately 90% of them are transferred to training schools.

Because of the short length of stay and type of program the Reception Center is atypical for juvenile institutions. For this reason those subjects drawn from this source were identified for purposes of this study, as non-institutionalized.

Lyman School for Boys

This is a training school for delinquent boys administered by the Division of Youth Service. The age range for boys is twelve-seventeen years with a mean age of fifteen, two months. The program emphasis is on rehabilitative treatment and remedial education. The average length of stay is six months. Subjects were selected from this school in order to determine both the effectivenss of Outward Bound as a supplement to brief term institutionalization for boys committed for the first time as well as its effectiveness on boys with prior periods of institutionalization.

Industrial School for Boys

This is a training school for middle and late adolescent boys administered by the Division of Youth Service. The age range for boys is from sixteen-nineteen with a mean age of sixteen years, eight months. The program emphasis is on rehabilitative treatment, remedial education and vocational training. The average length of stay is seven months. The population at the Industrial School is similar to that at Lyman School in that both first commitments and reinstitutionalized boys are present. The same Youth Service Board is the paroling authority for both Lyman School and the Industrial School.

Method and Procedure

Subjects

One hundred twenty adolescent delinquent boys were the subjects for the study. Sixty were selected from the Division of Youth Service's Reception Center during the period May-September, 1966. The remaining sixty were selected from the institutional populations of the Lyman School for Boys and the Industrial School for Boys at the same time. Thirty boys from the Reception Center group and thirty from the institutional group attended an Outward Bound School and served as the Experimental Group. The remaining thirty from the Reception Center and thirty from the institutions were handled in a routine manner by the Youth Service Board and served as the Comparison Group.

The subjects selected at the Reception Center for the Experimental Group were placed directly at an Outward Bound School and were paroled immediately upon the completion of the twenty-six day Outward Bound course. These subjects served as the non-institutionalized group whose purpose was to examine the effectiveness of a brief term Outward Bound experience as an alternative to institutionalization. The subjects selected at the institutions included boys who were in an institution for the first time as well as boys who had prior institutionalizations with subsequent parole violations. These subjects were to examine the value of an Outward Bound experience as a supplement to an institutional experience as well as its effect on recidivists.

An additional dimension to the study resulted from the Outward Bound School's policy to place one delinquent in each brigade of twelve boys, thus associating with eleven non-delinquents. Since the purpose of the study was to explore the value of an Outward Bound like program within the Division of Youth Service, wherein all participants would be delinquents, it was deemed necessary to have one brigade composed of twelve delinquents complete one of the Outward Bound courses. The purpose of this was to attempt to ascertain whether delinquents were responding to the achievements of their non-delinquent companions or if a homogeneous group of twelve delinquents could complete the program successfully. The homogeneous group attended the third course at the Minnesota Outward Bound School. To increase homogeneity they were selected from one institution--Lyman School.

Criteria for Selection

The following criteria were employed for selection of subjects:

1. Age: Fifteen and one half years and older.
2. Physical health: An absence of any physical disability that might endanger the boy or interfere with his performance.
3. Mental health: An absence of severe psychopathology, e.g., psychosis, phobias of height, water, being alone, etc. was determined by the clinical data in the file.
4. Intelligence: Severely retarded boys were excluded. A minimum I.Q. score of 70 was established.

5. Assaultive behavior: Boys with a history of violent assaultive or sexual acts were excluded.
6. Voluntary participation. Only volunteers were considered eligible for the study. One subject selected for the Experimental Group did not volunteer and was replaced.

Matching of Experimental and Comparison Groups

The Experimental and Comparison Groups were matched initially on the basis of the following variables: age at time of selection for the study, race, religion, offense for which they were committed, area of residence and number of prior commitments to the Division of Youth Service.

Using chi square tests of the significance of the differences of percentages it was found that the two groups were effectively matched for these variables. Table 1 summarizes the number and percentages of cases for each group for each variable. This outcome provides a greater confidence in the evaluation of the effectiveness of Outward Bound on the Experimental Group. These percentages also are comparable to the contemporaneous population of adolescent males in the custody of the Division of Youth Service (Annual Report of the Division of Youth Service, 1968). Thus, conclusions from these results could have relevance to program policies and procedures of the Division of Youth Service and similar state agencies.

Table 1

Background Characteristics for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Variable	Group: Experimental		Comparison	
	N	%	N	%
Residence				
Urban	39	65	44	79
Other	21	35	12	21
Race				
White	54	90	48	86
Other	6	10	8	14
Religion				
Catholic	35	58	38	68
Protestant	25	42	18	32
Parole Status				
1st commitment	38	63	34	61
Repeat commitment	22	37	22	39
Offense				
Motor vehicle	15	25	14	23
Larceny	10	17	8	13
Breaking - entering	14	23	16	27
Runaway	4	7	4	7
Stubborn child	11	18	7	11.5
Assault	1	1.5	4	7
Disturbing peace	1	1.5	1	1.5
Other	4	7	6	10
Total	60	100	60	100
Age	**N**	**Mean**	**N**	**Mean**
Age (Years)	60	16.5	60	16.5

Table 2 summarizes the number of subjects in the Experimental and Comparison Groups selected from the three participating Division of Youth Service facilities: Reception Center, Lyman School and the Industrial School. It may be seen that half the cases in each group were selected from the Reception Center while the remainder were selected from two training schools. It should be noted that four subjects were excluded from the Comparison Group for analysis of recidivism since follow-up was impossible or they are still institutionalized. Since the two groups were matched in this way, overall differences between groups could not be attributed to misrepresentation from these institutions.

Psychological Testing

There are a variety of methods for assessing personality. Among these are: clinical judgment based upon individual interview; projective tests such as the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception test; and objective personality inventories. Individual interviews and projective testing were not considered due to the time limitation and the level of sophistication required of the interviewer or tester to give the degree of confidence in the results that was necessary. Also, if in the interest of time different interviewers or testers are employed there would be a question of the standardization of the results. For these reasons objective personality inventories were decided upon.

Table 2

Source of Subjects from Youth Service Institution for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Youth Service Facility	Group: Experimental N	Experimental %	Comparison N	Comparison %	Total N	Total %
Reception Center	30	50	29	52	59	51
Lyman School	17	28	17	30	34	29
Industrial School	13	22	10	18	23	20
Total	60	100	56	100	116	100

Jesness Inventory

For purposes of this study it was decided to employ the Jesness Inventory (Jesness, 1967). The Jesness Inventory was developed due to the lack of an adequate structured test for use with delinquent children which would be sensitive to change over a short period of time yet stable enough to provide a measure of personality types. An examination of the Inventory and a review of previous work with it recommended it highly for our purposes.

The Inventory provides scores on eleven personality characteristics. These are: 1) Social maladjustment; 2) Value orientation; 3) Immaturity; 4) Autism; 5) Alienation; 6) Manifest aggression; 7) Withdrawal; 8) Social anxiety; 9) Repression; 10) Denial; and 11) Asocial Index.

Instead of the Asocial Index, the Asocialization scale in the present study which Jesness calls the special social maladjustment scale refers to a generalized tendency to behave in ways which transgress established social rules. The use of this scale has proven reliable in predicting delinquency and measuring change as a result of a training school experience.

In addition to the Jesness Inventory it was decided to include a specific measure of self-concept. The self-concept has been defined as "How the individual perceives himself as being a certain 'kind of person' . . ."in the ways he is related to his surroundings and to others. . . ." (Krech and Crutchfield, 1958). Instruments designed to measure

the self-concept, as reviewed by Wylie (1961), are highly complex and technically advanced.

Semantic Differential

A Semantic Differential (Osgood, 1957) was selected as the measure of self-concept since it represents a procedure for measuring the connotations of any given concept for the individual. A variation of the Osgood Differential was developed for the specific purposes of this study (See Appendix B). Ten concepts were selected on an a priori basis to reflect dimensions thought to be most relevant to feelings concerning the self or meaningful associates. Each concept was rated on a seven-point graphic scale as being more closely related to one or the other of a pair of opposites. Thus, the concept "I am" was presented with seven bipolar choices and the subject places a check on the scale at the point he considers himself. For example:

I am

Tough- - - - - - -soft
Kind - - - - - - -cruel
Good - - - - - - -bad

The seven points on the scale are assigned a numerical value of from one to seven with low scores indicating a favorable response. For purposes of this study the responses were totaled and the statistical analysis dealt with raw scores only.

The subjects were administered both tests before and after their experience at Outward Bound to ascertain: 1) if change had occurred; 2) the direction of the change; and 3) to determine the value of the tests as predictors of success at Outward Bound and on parole adjustment.

Background Data

The social histories, which were available for all subjects in the study, were reviewed and relevant information such as family background, school and court records, was recorded. The code sheet used in recording these data is reported in Appendix C.

Each subject completed a Biographical Data Questionnaire (See Appendix D) at the time of selection and assignment to a group.

Rating Scales

Rating scales were developed to be completed by the instructors at the Outward Bound School on each delinquent in their patrol (See Appendix E). Instructors rated each subject on bipolar adjectives, e.g., impulsive- - - - - - -patient, by placing a check on a seven point scale.

Participant Observers

Three doctoral level social scientists served the project as participant observers. One observer attended at least one course at each of the three Outward Bound Schools. Their function was to participate in and observe the twenty-seven day program at the school by joining a patrol of twelve boys and completing the full course with them. They recorded daily their impressions of the course, its impact on them and the boys, the interaction of staff and boys. In addition

they interviewed the boys at the conclusion of the solo experience and trained the instructors to complete rating scales on each delinquent boy since the participant observers could not be with every boy in each course at each school. The participant observers attended the following courses:

Colorado	-	First course	Dr. Katz
Minnesota	-	Second course	Dr. D'Andrea
Minnesota	-	Third course	Dr. Katz (homogeneous group)
Hurricane Is.	-	Second course	Drs. Katz and Kolb

Experimental Group Procedure

1. Reception Center:

In May, June and July of 1966, boys who met the minimum criteria for selection for the study were seen in groups of six. The Outward Bound School program was described together with a brief statement as to the purpose of the project. This included mention that those who attended the Outward Bound Schools would be paroled immediately upon completion of the course. Immediate parole was an integral part of the research design and since those attending the second and third courses would learn that those attending the first had been paroled immediately, it became necessary to tell the first group to insure consistency. Following this briefing the boys were told to consider Outward Bound and if they wished to volunteer to inform the staff the following day. All but one volunteered.

Under Massachusetts law authorization for a boy to attend the Outward Bound Schools must be obtained from the Youth Service Board. To present a boy to the Youth Service Board for this authorization it is required by law to have a diagnostic evaluation of him. A necessary part of this evaluation is the social history which is completed and forwarded to the Reception Center by the field agent who resides in the boy's home area. The time of completion of this social history is dependent upon such variables as the availability of history data, parental interviews and the work load of the agent. For this reason the time of receipt of the social history at the Reception Center was unpredictable. This variability indirectly served the purpose of the project since it contributed to the randomization of the selection of subjects. As the diagnostic studies were completed the boys were presented to the Youth Service Board with the notation that they had been selected and had volunteered to attend an Outward Bound School. Upon receipt of authorization from the Youth Service Board the psychological tests were administered and subjects completed the self-reporting biographical questionnaire.

Upon completion of the Outward Bound course the boys were returned to the Reception Center where they were re-administered the battery of tests. In addition, each boy was interviewed following a standardized interview schedule which was recorded for later analysis.

Following this the subjects were immediately paroled (within twenty-four hours of their return to the Reception Center).

2. Industrial School for Boys and Lyman School:

The files at these institutions were reviewed during May, June and July 1966 and thirty boys who satisfied the criteria for selection were seen in groups of six-eight. The Outward Bound program was described and the purpose of the project discussed. They too were informed that they would be paroled immediately upon completion of the course. All the institution selectees volunteered. Authorization was requested from the Youth Service Board and all were approved for attendance.

The boys selected to attend Outward Bound from the institutions were transferred to the Reception Center two days prior to their departure date for Outward Bound. They were administered the psychological tests and completed the self-reporting biographical questionnaire. Upon completion of the Outward Bound course they returned to the Reception Center for re-testing, the standardized interview, and were paroled immediately.

Comparison Group Procedure

In August, September and October 1966 sixty adolescent delinquents who met the criteria for the study were selected from the populations at the Reception Center, Industrial School and Lyman School as the Comparison Group. It was hoped initially that the

Comparison Group would be selected at the same time as the Experimental Group. However, due to a lack of age eligible boys the Comparison Group selection continued an additional three months. The finding that the Experimental and Comparison Groups were effectively matched was presented earlier in this report. At the time of selection the Comparison Group was administered the psychological test battery and the self-reporting biographical questionnaire. Unfortunately, it later proved impossible to readminister the battery of tests at time of parole to all subjects in the Comparison Group because of the lack of funding and staff mentioned previously.

Subjects in the Comparison Group were handled in a routine manner by the Youth Service Board. Of the thirty subjects selected at the Reception Center twenty-six were transferred to training schools and were paroled during the spring and summer of 1967. The thirty subjects selected at the institutions were paroled during the winter and spring of 1967.

Recidivism Determination

The incidence of r ecidivism, as defined by this study, following nine months of parole was determined by a review of the Division of Youth Service files as well as the files of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation where all court appearances in Massachusetts, juvenile and adult are recorded.

Results and Discussion

Experimental and Comparison Group Differences

Recidivism for the Experimental Group was determined by assessing parole behavior following nine months of parole. However, not all of the Comparison Group, due to the varied parole dates, have been on parole for a nine-month period. Ten of the Comparison Group have been on parole less than nine months and four have been on parole six months or less.

Recidivism

Table 3 reveals that subjects who were treated in a routine manner, most of whom attended public training schools, had a greater percentage of recidivism than those who attended Outward Bound. Using a chi square test this outcome was at the .07 level of significance (one tailed hypothesis) and tentatively supports the expectation that the Outward Bound experience could be a more effective method of reducing recidivism in adolescent delinquent boys than the present routine management of these subjects in public institutions.

Since ten subjects in the Comparison Group, identified as non-recidivists have not been on parole for a nine month period, while all members of the Experimental Group were, the present findings will appear even more favorable if one or more of these ten boys recidivates within this nine month period. The 20% recidivism rate of the Experimental Group is half that of the expected rate (40%) for boys of this age committed

Table 3

Recidivism for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Recidivism	Group Experimental		Comparison		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Return	12	20	19	34	31	27
Not Return	48	80	37	66	85	73
Total	60	100	56	100	116	100

$x^2 = 2.20$ (corrected for continuity)

df = 1

$p < .07$ (one tailed hypothesis)

to the Division of Youth Service. On the other hand, the 37% recidivism rate found in the Comparison Group, approximated the base expectancy rate. Thus the latter group seems to be a fair and representative sample of adolescent males committed to the custody of the Division of Youth Service. However, other influences such as background variables as well as chance factors should also be considered when interpreting the present outcome. Also methodological constraints implicit in this type of research, such as the restricted definition of recidivism, the small sample sizes and the relatively short time period during which the cases were observed, may have been moderating influences.

Number of Commitments

In Table 4 it may be seen that the Experimental and Comparison Groups were comparable in the number of prior commitments to the Division of Youth Service. For the purpose of this study return to an institution for parole violation, with or without court appearance, was subsumed under the heading "Number of Commitments." Whereas 63% of the Experimental Group had only one commitment, 62% of the Comparison Group were identified in this way. Using chi square tests of significance no differences were found.

Table 5 summarizes the incidence of recidivism and the number of prior institutionalizations for the Experimental and the Comparison Groups.

Table 4

Number of Commitments for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Number of Commitments	Group Experimental (N=60)		Comparison (N=56)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
One	38	63	34	62	72	62
More than one	22	37	22	48	44	48
Total	60	100	56	100	116	100

Table 5

Recidivism and Number of Commitments for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Group	Recidivism	Number of Commitments: One		More Than One		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Experimental							
	Return	4	33	8	67	12	100
	Not Return	34	71	14	29	48	100
	Total	38	63	22	37	60	100
Comparison							
	Return	9	47	10	53	19	100
	Not Return	25	67	12	33	37	100
	Total	34	61	22	39	56	100

$x^2 = 7.99$ df = 3 $p < .05$

It may be seen that whereas 33% of the first commitments recidivated in the Experimental Group, 47% of the first commitments in the Comparison Group were returned. Since this outcome was significantly different ($p < .05$) for the two groups and since the two groups were initially matched for this background variable, it may be that Outward Bound has a greater influence on those delinquents who were committed for the first time than for those who had prior periods of institutionalization.

Type of Offense

The offenses for which the subjects were committed were recorded initially in eight categories already reported in Table 1. The small number in some categories made grouping necessary for statistical analysis. On the assumption that the type of offense has a relationship to the motivation of the offender it was decided to group offenses on the basis of clinical judgment and experience in working with delinquents shared by the authors and other workers in the field (Erikson, 1956; Gibbens, 1958; Glover, 1956; Miller, 1958; Reckless et al., 1957; Savitz, 1959; Sontag, 1958; and Witmer, 1960).

The following three categories were employed:

Offense Category 1:

Offenses which if committed by an adult would be misdemeanors. They appear most frequently in boys whose delinquency seems to be

related to an acute growth problem, termed "functional delinquency" (Glover, 1956). This category included the offenses of using a motor vehicle without authority, fighting, drunkenness, disturbing the peace and malicious destruction of property. These were termed Reactive Delinquents.

Offense Category 2:

Those offenses which if committed by an adult would be a felony. These offenses usually involve pre-planning and careful execution. This category included the offenses of breaking and entering, larceny and robbery. These were termed Juvenile Criminals.

Offense Category 3:

Those offenses for which there is no adult counterpart and usually reflect an intra-familial conflict with resultant emotional disturbance in the child. This category included the stubborn child and the runaway child. These were termed the Stubborn or Runaway Children.

In Table 6 it may be seen that there are no significant differences between the two groups for these three offense categories. Thus, the significant differences in recidivism between the two groups for the three categories reported in Table 7 represents an important finding. Whereas two out of 21 or 10% of the Experimental Group Reactive Delinquients recidivated, five out of 23 or 21% of the Comparison Group recidivated. Thus, it would seem that Outward Bound has a beneficial effect on these type offenders. On the other hand the

Table 6

Type of Offense Committed by Experimental and Comparison Groups

Offense Category	Group Experimental		Comparison		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reactive Delinquents	21	48	23	52	44	100
Juvenile Criminals	24	51	23	49	47	100
Stubborn or Runaway Children	15	60	10	40	25	100
Total	60	51	56	49	116	100

Table 7

Recidivism and Type of Offense for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Group	Recidivism	Offense: Reactive Delinquents		Juvenile Criminals		Stubborn Runaway		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Experimental									
	Return	2	17	4	33	6	50	12	100
	Not Return	19	40	20	42	9	18	48	100
	Total	21	35	24	40	15	25	60	100
Comparison									
	Return	5	26	7	37	7	37	19	100
	Not Return	18	49	16	43	3	8	37	100
	Total	23	41	23	41	10	18	56	100

$x^2 = 13.41$ df = 6 $p < .05$

Experimental and Comparison Groups were comparable in recidivism for those delinquents classified as Juvenile Criminals and Stubborn and Runaway Children. However, when comparing the incidence of recidivism for the category Stubborn and Runaway Children for both the Experimental and Comparison Groups with what could be expected on the basis of their representation in the groups, the rate of return was twice as great. It would seem that these type of offenders require a more psychotherapeutically oriented form of treatment than is provided by Outward Bound as well as a traditional training school program.

Since the majority of Reactive Delinquents were committed for auto theft (71%) a special analysis was made for this variable. In Table 8 it may be seen that while 25% of both Experimental and Comparison Group subjects were committed for auto theft, 26% of the Comparison Group but only 8% of the Experimental Group auto thieves recidivated. Although these differences were not statistically significant, they are suggestive that Outward Bound may be more beneficial to adolescents who commit this offense.

Background Variables

The Experimental and Comparison Groups were examined for background variables and the results are summarized in Table 9. Although the Experimental Group was significantly higher in I.Q. no differences were found between the two groups in age of first court appearance, age of first commitment, height and weight. However, when the recidivists and nonrecidivists within each group were compared for these variables

Table 8

Recidivism and

Auto Theft Offense for the Experimental and

Comparison Groups

Group	Recidivism	Offense				Total	
		Auto Theft		Other			
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Experimental							
	Return	1	8	11	92	12	100
	Not Return	14	29	34	71	48	100
	Total	15	25	45	75	60	100
Comparison							
	Return	5	26	14	74	19	100
	Not Return	9	24	28	76	37	100
	Total	14	25	42	75	56	100

Table 9

Background Variables for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Variable	Group				
	Experimental (N=60)		Comparison (N=56)		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	t
Age of first court appearance	14.2	1.9	14.1	1.9	-0.47
Age of first commitment	15.6	1.5	15.2	1.8	1.25
IQ	102.4	11.8	95.7	11.4	3.12**
Height (inches)	67.4	3.6	66.9	3.2	0.86
Weight (pounds)	137.5	23.8	134.3	22.5	0.73

**p < .01

several important differences were found. In Table 10 it may be seen that the mean age of first court appearance and first commitment for recidivists in the Experimental Group is significantly younger than the nonrecidivists. However, no such difference was found within the Comparison Group. This outcome suggests that Outward Bound may have a greater impact on the delinquent whose first court appearance occurs at some time after puberty and possibly as a reaction to an adolescent crisis. However, those delinquents whose first court appearance occurred prior to puberty represent the more characterologically deficient who do not respond to currently employed correctional practices or to Outward Bound. The reason for the insignificant results of these same variables in the Comparison Group may be that existent training school programs do not realize positive change in some who have this potential. If this interpretation is true then greater attention should be focused on delinquents whose first court appearance occurs in late adolescence.

Test Performance

The Experimental and Comparison Groups were examined for differences on the ten concepts of the Semantic Differential and the eleven scales of the Jesness Inventory. Tables 11 and 12 reveal no differences between groups on any of these measures. Thus, it is unlikely that the subsequent difference in recidivism between groups could be attributed to predisposing conditions as represented by

Table 10

Background Variable Differences for Experimental and Comparison Group Recidivists and Nonrecidivists

Variable	Group									
	Experimental					Comparison				
	Recidivists (N=12)		Nonrecidivists (N=48)			Recidivists (N=19)		Nonrecidivists (N=37)		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	t	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	t
Age of first court appearance	12.8	2.3	14.6	1.6	-3.08**	14.0	1.9	14.1	1.9	-0.35
Age of first commitment	13.9	2.2	16.0	0.9	-5.20***	15.1	1.7	15.3	1.8	-0.50
IQ	98.6	12.9	103.4	11.5	-1.26	94.9	12.5	96.1	11.0	-0.36
Height (inches)	67.2	3.5	67.5	3.6	-0.25	65.9	3.7	67.4	2.9	-1.63
Weight (pounds)	131.8	23.3	138.9	23.9	-0.92	124.2	19.9	139.5	22.2	-2.54*

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Table 11

Semantic Differential Scores Before Outward Bound or Training School for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Concept	Group				t
	Experimental (N=60)		Comparison (N=60)		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Books	33.08	7.63	34.75	7.79	-1.16
Boys my age	33.62	9.59	34.91	9.74	-0.72
Adults	31.58	7.92	30.55	11.37	0.57
Girls my age	34.12	9.22	34.30	9.37	0.11
People who are afraid	49.35	9.84	49.07	11.29	0.14
I am	30.93	9.45	32.54	10.23	-0.87
I would like to be	17.20	9.62	15.55	6.97	1.04
Boys who don't get into trouble	23.03	11.11	21.80	9.74	0.63
I will be	20.68	8.99	21.54	10.11	0.48
Boys who get into trouble	54.60	11.38	54.57	10.98	0.01

Table 12

Jesness Inventory Scores Before Outward Bound or Training School for Experimental and Comparison Groups

Jesness Scale	Group Experimental (N=60) Mean	S.D.	Comparison (N=60) Mean	S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	24.46	7.32	26.66	6.89	-1.65
Value Orientation	16.29	6.74	16.98	6.48	0.55
Immaturity	13.26	4.53	14.32	4.21	1.28
Autism	8.02	4.01	8.19	3.78	0.24
Alienation	8.93	4.58	8.95	4.37	0.02
Manifest Aggression	14.54	5.83	14.00	5.36	0.52
Withdrawal	12.08	2.99	12.98	3.11	1.56
Social Anxiety	13.49	3.81	13.36	3.51	0.19
Repression	3.54	2.37	4.37	2.38	1.86
Denial	11.51	3.88	10.29	3.81	0.80
Asocialization	12.16	5.26	13.87	4.87	1.80

these psychological measures. When the mean scores for the eleven Jesness Scales for Experimental and Comparison Groups were compared to the normative sample reported by Jesness (Jesness, 1967) no differences were found between the delinquents in the normative sample and the subjects of the present study.

This finding, together with the data reported by Freeman, Spilka and Mason (Freeman, Spilka and Mason, 1968), suggests that for this measure the present subjects are representative of adolescent delinquents nationally.

Experimental Group Differences

In the present study, the Comparison Group served as a basis for evaluating the over-all effectiveness of Outward Bound as compared to traditional training school methods. However, in order to understand the effects of each Outward Bound School as well as to identify those types of subjects who respond most positively to the Outward Bound program, a detailed analysis was necessary for the Experimental Group.

Recidivism and Outward Bound Schools

In Table 13 it may be seen that the Minnesota had a significantly higher rate of recidivism than Colorado or Hurricane Island. Whereas 42% of the Minnesota School subjects recidivated only 11% of Hurricane Island subjects and 0% of Colorado School subjects were returned to juvenile or adult institutions. One possible explanation for this outcome

Table 13

Recidivism and Outward Bound School Attended

Outward Bound School	Recidivism: Returned N	Returned %	Not Returned N	Not Returned %	Total N	Total %
Colorado	0	0	18	100	18	100
Minnesota	10	42	14	58	24	100
Hurricane Island	2	11	16	89	18	100
Total	12	20	48	80	60	100

$x^2 = 12.43$ df = 2 $p < .002$

would be the differences in the programs of the three schools. The participant observers' report (See Appendix A) indicated that the Colorado and Hurricane Island Schools rated high in the excitement and challenge of the tasks the completion of which produced feelings of achievement and competence. However, the Minnesota School was rated as having a low excitement level and a greater emphasis on reflection and intellectualization. Perhaps, this latter approach is less effective on the action oriented adolescent delinquent.

On the other hand, several important background variable differences also contribute to the higher recidivism rate found in the Minnesota subjects.

Background Variables and Outward Bound Schools

Since from Table 10 it was seen that the age of first court appearance was an important factor related to recidivism, the mean age for this variable was determined for subjects assigned to the three Outward Bound Schools. It may be seen in Table 14 that the Minnesota subjects were significantly younger at the time of their first court appearance than either Colorado or the Hurricane Island Schools subjects.

The number of court appearances and prior periods of institutionalization of the subjects attending each of the Outward Bound Schools are summarized in Tables 15 and 16. Again the subjects assigned to the Minnesota School would appear to have the least favorable back-

Table 14

Outward Bound School and Mean Age

of First Court Appearance

Age in Years		Outward Bound School		
		Colorado (N=18)	Minnesota (N=24)	Hurricane Island (N=18)
Mean		14.9	13.3	14.8
SD		1.3	2.0	1.8
t	Colorado		3.10**	0.32
	Minnesota			-2.51*

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 15

Outward Bound School Attended and Number of Court Appearances

Outward Bound School	Number of Court Appearances 1 - 3		More than 3		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Colorado	13	72	5	28	18	100
Minnesota	8	33	16	67	24	100
Hurricane Island	13	72	5	28	18	100
Total	34	57	26	43	60	100

$x^2 = 8.87$ df = 2 $p < .02$

Table 16

Outward Bound School Attended and Number of Commitments

Outward Bound School	Number of Commitments: One		More Than One		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Colorado	15	83	3	17	18	100
Minnesota	7	29	17	71	24	100
Hurricane Island	16	89	2	11	18	100
Total	38	64	22	26	60	100

$x^2 = 20.23$ df = 2 $p < .001$

ground having had a significantly greater number of court appearances and prior institutionalizations. However, since the three variables, age of first court appearance, number of court appearances and number of prior institutionalizations are closely related they may indicate the common predisposing condition of a more severe characterological defect. For this reason, such individuals may represent potential failures regardless of Outward Bound School attended.

Another reason for the higher rate of recidivism in the Minnesota School may be the type of Youth Service institution from which subjects were selected. It may seem from Table 17 that while 67% of the Minnesota subjects came from Lyman School, 67% of the Colorado and 72% of the Hurricane Island subjects were from the Reception Center. Since Lyman School is assigned boys who are younger at time of first commitment and since the number of subjects selected from Lyman School was planned for the purposes of the study, the higher recidivism rate for the Minnesota School may be an artifact rather than any necessary failure of the School. One purpose of the present study was to measure the effectiveness of homogeneous patrols, in which all twelve subjects were delinquents from the same institution, and nonhomogeneous patrols, in which one delinquent participated with eleven nondelinquents. In order to measure this effect Lyman School was necessarily used as the source of the homogeneous sample. However, from Table 18 in that the recidivism rate (42%)

Table 17

Outward Bound School Attended and Youth Service Institution

Outward Bound School	Institution: Reception Center		Lyman School		Industrial School		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Colorado	12	67	0	0	6	33	18	100
Minnesota	5	21	16	67	3	12	24	100
Hurricane Island	13	72	1	6	4	22	18	100
Total	30	50	17	28	13	22	60	100

$x^2 = 29.77$ df = 4 $p < .001$

Table 18

Recidivism for Minnesota Outward Bound School Participants Assigned to Homogeneous and Nonhomogeneous Patrols

Patrol	Recidivism					
	Returned		Not Returned		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Homogeneous	5	42	7	58	12	100
Nonhomogeneous	5	42	7	58	12	100
Total	10	42	14	58	24	100

was the same for delinquents assigned to homogeneous and nonhomogeneous patrols, it would seem that the grouping of subjects into such units is not the critical influence related to recidivism.

When the delinquents assigned to the three Outward Bound Schools were compared on the type of offense for which they were committed to the Division of Youth Service, no significant differences were found. In Table 19 it may be seen that approximately one-third of the subjects at each school were identified in each of the three offense categories. Thus, recidivism differences among the three schools could not be attributed to this variable.

Family Constellation and Recidivism

One important finding of the present study was the relationship of the presence of parents in the home and recidivism. Whereas 83% of the recidivists as reported in Table 20 returned to homes where both parents were not present, only 40% of the nonrecidivists did so. Perhaps even more important was the age of the subject when the father left the home. From Table 21 it may be seen that the highest recidivism rate (59%) occurred for those delinquents whose father left home when the boy was less than seven years of age. Perhaps, such a condition contributes to a more profound deficiency in personality formation which cannot be compensated for with a short term contact with adults.

Test Performance

Table 22, 23 and 24 summarize the Semantic Differential Scores before and after participation in the three Outward Bound Schools.

Table 19

Type of Offense Prior to Outward Bound and Outward Bound School Attended

Offense Category	Outward Bound School							
	Colorado		Minnesota		Hurricane Island		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reactive Delinquents	5	24	7	33	9	43	21	100
Juvenile Criminals	9	37	10	42	5	21	24	100
Stubborn or Runaway Children	4	27	7	46	4	27	15	100
Total	18	30	24	40	18	30	60	100

Table 20

Recidivism and Presence of Both Parents in the Home for Experimental Group

Recidivism	Both Parents		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Return	2	17	10	83	12	100
Not Return	28	60	20	40	48	100
Total	30	50	30	50	60	100

$x^2 = 5.10$ df = 1 $p < .05$

Table 21

Age of Subject When Father Left Home and Recidivism for the Experimental Group

Recidivism	Age When Father Left Home (Yrs.) Not Leave		1-6 Years		Over 6		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Return	4	33	7	59	1	8	12	100
Not Return	28	59	11	23	9	19	48	100
Total	32	53	18	30	10	17	60	100

$x^2 = 5.76$ df = 2 $p < .05$

Table 22

Pre and Post Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores for Subjects Attending Colorado School

(N=18)

Concept	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Books	32.9	7.3	33.1	7.8	0.11
Boys my age	36.4	8.6	37.3	8.1	0.36
Adults	30.1	8.3	30.4	10.0	0.11
Girls my age	38.3	12.2	33.4	6.1	-1.64
People who are afraid	47.8	9.7	44.8	9.7	-1.23
I am	31.5	8.2	27.8	10.6	-2.13*
I would like to be	17.7	8.8	16.2	9.4	-0.81
Boys who don't get into trouble	24.1	13.1	22.6	10.5	-0.74
I will be	22.4	9.0	21.6	11.2	-0.35
Boys who do get into trouble	56.8	10.8	54.7	11.9	-0.93

*p < .05

Table 23

Pre and Post Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores for Subjects Attending Minnesota School

(N=24)

Concept	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Books	34.6	6.9	34.7	8.2	0.06
Boys my age	30.5	10.1	37.2	9.3	3.17**
Adults	32.7	7.7	31.5	7.4	-0.30
Girls my age	31.8	7.2	33.7	7.9	1.09
People who are afraid	51.5	11.1	52.5	9.0	0.46
I am	28.9	10.6	24.7	8.1	-1.79
I would like to be	15.6	9.7	12.7	2.6	-1.48
Boys who don't get into trouble	20.6	10.5	18.5	9.2	-1.07
I will be	16.3	7.7	17.3	8.5	0.50
Boys who do get in trouble	53.9	13.9	56.7	13.4	2.13*

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 24

Pre and Post Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores for Subjects Attending Hurricane Island School (N=18)

Concept	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Books	31.2	8.9	29.3	8.9	-0.71
Boys my age	35.0	9.4	30.1	11.7	-1.89
Adults	32.4	8.3	26.3	10.7	-2.13*
Girls my age	32.9	7.4	29.8	7.1	-1.93
People who are afraid	47.9	8.4	46.6	13.7	-0.54
I am	33.1	9.2	27.8	11.0	-2.90**
I would like to be	18.8	10.7	16.1	7.3	-1.30
Boys who don't get into trouble	25.2	10.0	19.1	6.8	-2.32*
I will be	24.8	8.7	19.2	9.0	-2.61*
Boys who do get into trouble	53.3	10.1	58.7	9.4	2.28*

*p < .05 **p < .01

It may be seen that while five concepts changed in a more favorable direction for the Hurricane Island subjects, the responses of the subjects attending the Colorado and Minnesota Schools remained relatively constant. Although, the concept "I am" significantly changed in a more favorable direction for the Colorado and Hurricane Island subjects, the magnitude of change for the Minnesota subjects was not significant. However, since the Minnesota boys initially had a more favorable concept of "I am" than Colorado and Hurricane Island boys and since the change at Minnesota was in a favorable direction it would seem that the present outcome is due to the initial differences of the boys attending Minnesota rather than the effect of the Minnesota School experience. Perhaps such chance factors as test administration techniques as well as other background factors contributed to these lower scores.

From Table 17 it may be seen that the majority of Hurricane Island and Colorado boys come from the Reception Center while the majority of the Minnesota boys come from Lyman School. It might be that the predisposing liabilities of the Lyman School subjects were an overriding influence not only on subsequent recidivism but also on short term changes in concepts. Since the background factors of the subjects attending Hurricane Island were more favorable than those attending Minnesota perhaps these types of adolescents are more receptive to change and thus profit more from attendance at Outward Bound. On the other hand, the relatively great impact on the

on the Hurricane Island subjects supports the participant observers' rating (Cf. Appendix A) of the high commitment of the instructors to the ideology of Outward Bound as an agent of change in adolescents.

In Tables 25, 26 and 27 are reported the pre and post Jesness Inventory Scale scores for the three Outward Bound Schools. Since the scores for the subjects attending the three schools were comparable on the pre-test scales the subsequent differences for the Minnesota School are most interesting. Although the special social maladjustment scale reflected improvement in subjects from all three schools, the Minnesota subjects' responses revealed the most attitudinal change. From Appendix A it may be seen from the participant observers' rating that the Minnesota School's emphasis on spiritual and attitudinal rather than performance change may have contributed to transient but superficial acceptance of the value system of their instructors. While these changes may be important they are not the major indicators of future delinquent behavior.

Participant Observers Report

Appendix A contains the complete report of the Participant Observers. This part of the study was prepared shortly after their participation in the Outward Bound program. These ratings and judgments were based upon their experience and were made independently of the present report. Although the observers were not aware of subsequent recidivism on test performance results, it is interesting that many elements of their report are consistent with the present data.

Table 25

Pre and Post Outward Bound Jesness Inventory Scores for Subjects Attending Colorado School (N=18)

Scale	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	24.4	8.8	21.4	6.9	-1.71
Value Orientation	16.1	7.4	13.4	7.9	-1.94
Immaturity	13.6	5.9	14.3	3.8	0.62
Autism	8.0	5.6	6.7	4.1	-1.19
Alienation	8.9	5.7	6.9	5.0	-1.81
Manifest Aggression	14.6	5.9	12.0	6.2	-2.47*
Withdrawal	12.1	2.7	11.4	3.1	-1.46
Social Anxiety	13.0	4.4	12.7	4.1	-0.33
Repression	3.1	2.5	4.4	3.1	2.29
Denial	11.4	4.0	12.3	3.1	1.09
Asocialization	12.5	5.8	9.3	5.0	-2.95**

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 26

Pre and Post Outward Bound Jesness Inventory Scores for Subjects Attending Minnesota School

(N=24)

Scale	Pre-Test Mean	S.D.	Post-Test Mean	S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	25.7	5.4	22.3	5.9	-3.27**
Value Orientation	16.7	5.7	13.8	5.6	-2.57**
Immaturity	14.0	4.0	13.6	3.6	-0.25
Autism	8.5	2.9	7.0	3.1	-2.29*
Alienation	9.2	3.8	6.0	2.9	-4.06***
Manifest Aggression	15.3	5.5	12.1	5.4	-2.72**
Withdrawal	12.1	2.5	12.4	2.6	0.39
Social Anxiety	13.7	3.2	13.5	3.2	-0.59
Repression	3.9	2.3	4.0	2.6	0.30
Denial	11.5	3.4	11.8	3.6	0.65
Asocialization	12.4	4.2	10.0	4.4	-3.46**

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Table 27

Pre and Post Outward Bound Jesness Inventory Scores for Subjects Attending Hurricane Island School (N=18)

Scale	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	22.7	7.9	19.7	6.4	-1.82
Value Orientation	15.9	7.7	11.2	5.6	-2.85**
Immaturity	11.8	3.1	12.1	3.4	0.41
Autism	7.4	3.2	6.6	3.7	-0.78
Alienation	8.6	4.5	4.9	4.1	-3.81**
Manifest Aggression	13.4	6.4	10.8	5.8	-1.62
Withdrawal	12.1	4.0	11.8	3.2	-0.76
Social Anxiety	13.7	4.0	13.2	3.5	-0.40
Repression	3.6	2.2	4.7	2.7	1.42
Denial	11.7	4.5	13.1	4.5	1.41
Asocialization	11.4	6.2	8.3	5.1	-2.20*

*p < .05 **p < .01

Outward Bound School Performance

At the completion of the Outward Bound School course a certificate is awarded those individuals who in the judgment of the staff achieved the minimum goals of the school. From Table 28 it may be seen that fifty of the sixty (83%) participants received certificates. When this variable was compared to subsequent recidivism, 33% of the recidivists while only 12% of the nonrecidivists, were not awarded certificates. This trend when compared to the results in Table 29 would indicate that the instructors in each school are rating qualities and achievement which have some relevance to subsequent recidivism. Thus, the Minnesota School not only had the highest recidivism rate (40%) but also the lowest percentage (71%) of subjects awarded certificates.

The lower rate for the awarding of certificates for the Lyman School subjects (59%) reported in Table 30 would indicate that delinquents with the type of background characteristic of these boys, i.e., younger age of first court appearance, are less likely to measure up to the standards of an Outward Bound School.

In addition to the award of a certificate, each subject was rated by the instructors on a scale constructed for this study to evaluate manifest behavior (See Appendix E). The ratings on six subjects were not available for the present analysis due to the raw data being lost in transit from the Colorado School. A mean rating for each subject was determined and fifty-four subjects were then classified as "good" or

Table 28

Recidivism and the Award of a Certificate by Outward Bound School

Recidivism	Certificate Awarded		Not Awarded		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Returned	8	67	4	33	12	100
Not Returned	42	88	6	12	48	100
Total	50	83	10	17	60	100

$x^2 = 2.90$ df = 1 $p < .05$ (one tailed hypothesis)

Table 29

Award of Certificate and Outward Bound School Attended

Outward Bound School	Certificate Awarded		Not Awarded		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Colorado	16	88	2	12	18	100
Minnesota	17	71	7	29	24	100
Hurricane Island	17	94	1	6	18	100
Total	50	83	10	17	60	100

Table 30

Award of Certificate and Youth Service Institution

Youth Service Institution	Certificate Awarded		Not Awarded		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reception Center	29	97	1	3	30	100
Lyman School	10	59	7	41	17	100
Industrial School	11	85	2	15	13	100
Total	50	83	10	17	60	100

$x^2 = 9.15$ df = 2 $p < .01$

"poor" depending upon their score in reference to the median. When these results are compared with the awarding of a certificate, it may be seen in Table 31, that 100% of those boys classified as "good" were also awarded a certificate. On the basis of the ratings in Table 32 a smaller percentage (23%) of the Lyman School subjects received a "good" rating than that for the Reception Center (69%) or the Industrial School (54%). These results are consistent with the over-all poorer performance of the Lyman School subjects.

In order to determine if performance at Outward Bound is related to intelligence, I.Q. scores were arrayed and subjects were classified as being above or below the median (104). From Table 33 it is apparent that the more intelligent subjects as measured by a standardized intelligence test were also rated as better performers by the Outward Bound instructors. Thus, although intelligence was not related to recidivism, it was related to other personality qualities perceived by the instructors.

Test Performance

Table 34 presents a comparison of the before and after Outward Bound scores on the Semantic Differential for the Experimental Group. It may be seen from the lower score on the post Outward Bound rating of the concept "I am" that the score of the Experimental Group significantly improved ($p < .001$). This outcome suggests that the Outward Bound experience provided these delinquents an opportunity to re-evaluate themselves and their abilities. This outcome is further

Table 31

Award of Certificate by Outward Bound School and

Total Rating of Outward Bound Instructors

Instructor Rating of Performance	Certificate Awarded		Certificate Not Awarded		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Good	27	100	0	0	27	100
Poor	17	63	10	37	27	100
Total	44	82	10	18	54	100

$x^2 = 9.94$ df = 1 $p < .01$

Table 32

Source of Subjects from Youth Service Institution and Total Rating of Subjects' Performance by Outward Bound School Instructors

Institution	Rating: Above Mdn (good) N	%	Below Mdn (poor) N	%	Total N	%
Reception Center	16	67	8	33	24	100
Lyman School	4	23	13	77	17	100
Industrial School	7	54	6	46	13	100
Total	27	50	27	50	54	100

$x^2 = 7.51$ df = 2 $p < .05$

Table 33

Instructor's Rating of Performance at Outward Bound School and IQ

Performance at Outward Bound	IQ Below Mdn		IQ Above Mdn		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Good	9	33	18	67	27	100
Poor	17	63	10	37	27	100
Total	26	48	28	52	54	100

$x^2 = 3.64$ df = 1 $p < .05$ (one tailed hypothesis)

Table 34

Semantic Differential Scores Before and After Outward Bound for Experimental Group

(N=60)

Concept	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Books	33.08	7.63	32.63	8.43	-0.35
Boys my age	33.62	9.59	35.10	10.06	1.00
Adults	31.58	7.92	29.60	9.33	-1.46
Girls my age	34.12	9.22	32.47	7.23	-1.27
People who are afraid	49.35	9.84	48.42	11.08	0.72
I am	30.93	9.45	26.57	9.66	-3.69***
I would like to be	17.20	9.62	14.78	6.74	-2.15*
Boys who don't get into trouble	23.03	11.11	19.92	8.93	-2.46**
I will be	20.68	8.99	19.18	9.46	-1.17
Boys who get into trouble	54.60	11.38	56.68	11.71	1.77

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

supported by the significant improvement in the concept " I would like to be" ($p < .05$). The latter measure may represent an increased level of aspiration as well as a more mature and socially acceptable adjustment. Interestingly, there was no concomitant improvement in the concept " I will be". Perhaps, these delinquents recognized the limited range of possibilities available to them for educational, economic and social advancement.

Since the concept "Boys who don't get into trouble" changed in the direction that indicated a more favorable opinion of nondelinquents, it may be that the Outward Bound experience afforded an opportunity to establish new criteria for assessing peer behavior other than social deviancy from their close contact with nondelinquent members of their patrol.

The significant changes for the relevant concepts, together with the absence of change for the more neutral concepts, e.g., "books", indicates that these results are not simply an artifact of the repeated testing of subjects. If chance alone were operating a more random distribution and direction of change on relevant as well as irrelevant concepts would be expected. Although post institutional testing of the Comparison Group would have contributed to a more direct evaluation of the effects of Outward Bound on the Experimental Group, the present results strongly suggest that Outward Bound was the important contributing influence to change.

A comparison of the before and after Outward Bound Jesness Inventory scores for the Experimental Group reported in Table 35 reveals that the means on seven of the eleven scales significantly changed ($p < .05$). The lower scores observed following Outward Bound indicated that the social attitudes related to social maladjustment, value orientation, autism, alienation, manifest aggression and asocialization significantly improved. The significant increase in the Repression scale may be due to the restricted range of responses or some other artifact associated with this scale. On the other hand, if the scale does represent a measure of repression it could be interpreted that an increase in repression for delinquents may represent a more socially improved mode of behavior than impulsive acting out.

The absence of change for the immaturity, withdrawal, social anxiety and denial scales may be due to insensitivity of these measures after a short period of time. However, it might be that the nature of these traits require a longer time or a different type of experience to produce change.

The present findings support one of the stated intentions of the Jesness Inventory, namely measuring attitudinal change in delinquents over a short period of time. Thus it seems to be a useful instrument suitable for longitudinal studies of the effect of treatment programs for delinquents. In addition these findings are in the direction of the stated goals and expectations of Outward Bound.

Table 35

Jesness Inventory Scale Scores Before and After Outward Bound for Experimental Group (N=60)

Jesness Scale	Pre-Outward Bound Mean	Pre-Outward Bound S.D.	Post-Outward Bound Mean	Post-Outward Bound S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	24.46	7.32	21.27	6.37	-3.94***
Value Orientation	16.29	6.74	12.91	6.38	-4.30***
Immaturity	13.26	4.53	13.38	3.68	0.51
Autism	8.02	4.01	6.75	3.55	-2.42*
Alienation	8.93	4.58	5.93	4.04	-5.44***
Manifest Aggression	14.54	5.83	11.68	5.68	-3.98***
Withdrawal	12.08	2.99	11.90	2.93	-0.69
Social Anxiety	13.49	3.81	13.17	3.54	-0.75
Repression	3.54	2.37	4.35	2.77	2.32*
Denial	11.51	3.88	12.33	3.73	1.89
Asocialization	12.16	5.26	9.32	4.76	-4.96***

*p <.05

** p <.01

*** p <.001

In Table 36 it may be seen that except for the measure "Girls my age" no differences were observed in the Semantical Differential Scores between recidivists and nonrecidivists in the Experimental Group. Although this finding may have some psychological meaning it seems likely that chance was the more important contribution. From Table 37 it may be seen that no differences were observed between recidivists and nonrecidivists for the eleven scales of the Jesness Inventory. Table 38 and 39 reveal that on the post Outward Bound performance on the Semantic Differential and the Jesness Inventory no differences were found between recidivists and nonrecidivists. Thus, it is concluded that the recidivists in the Experimental Group could not have been identified prior to or after Outward Bound on the basis of their performance on these measures.

Table 40 and 41 summarize the pre and post Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores for the twelve subjects who later recidivated and the forty-eight subjects who did not recidivate within the nine month period. Although the concept "I am" significantly improved ($p < .05$), for the recidivists the change was either a transient effect or else other more compelling influence may have mitigated its gain for these individuals. The fact that there was no significant change on the other nine concepts for the recidivists while four of the ten concepts improved for the nonrecidivists indicate that the recidivists were not as responsive as the nonrecidivists to the intervening effects of Outward Bound.

Table 36

Comparison of Pre-Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores of Recidivists and Nonrecidivists in Experimental Group

Concept	Recidivists (N=12) Mean	S.D.	Nonrecidivists (N=48) Mean	S.D.	t
Books	34.67	9.6	32.69	7.2	0.79
Boys my age	33.00	10.0	33.77	9.7	-0.24
Adults	33.50	8.1	31.10	7.9	0.93
Girls my age	29.42	7.6	35.29	9.4	-2.01*
People who are afraid	48.58	10.3	49.55	9.9	-0.29
I am	30.08	9.8	31.15	9.5	-0.34
I would like to be	16.75	12.7	17.31	8.9	-0.18
Boys who don't get into trouble	19.58	12.0	23.89	10.9	-1.19
I will be	17.91	9.3	21.37	8.9	-1.18
Boys who do get into trouble	53.75	17.1	54.81	9.8	-0.28

*$p < .05$

Table 37

Comparison of Pre-Outward Bound Jesness Inventory Scores of Recidivists and Nonrecidivists in Experimental Group

Jesness Scale	Nonrecidivists (N=48) Mean	S.D.	Recidivists (N=12) Mean	S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	23.78	7.6	27.60	4.8	1.51
Value Orientation	15.74	7.1	18.90	3.8	1.35
Immaturity	13.21	4.8	13.50	2.9	0.18
Autism	7.72	4.3	9.40	2.1	1.20
Alienation	8.55	4.7	10.70	3.8	1.35
Manifest Aggression	14.15	6.1	16.40	4.2	1.11
Withdrawal	12.34	2.9	10.90	3.0	-1.39
Social Anxiety	13.70	4.0	12.50	2.3	-0.91
Repression	3.53	2.4	3.60	2.2	0.08
Denial	11.29	4.0	12.50	2.9	0.88
Asocialization	11.75	5.5	14.10	3.4	1.29

Table 38

Comparison of Post-Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores of Recidivists and Nonrecidivists in Experimental Group

Concept	Recidivists (N=12) Mean	S.D.	Nonrecidivists (N=48) Mean	S.D.	t
Books	35.75	8.7	31.87	8.4	1.42
Boys my age	36.50	9.3	34.75	10.4	0.53
Adults	31.91	7.8	29.02	9.7	0.95
Girls my age	33.33	9.0	32.23	6.8	0.46
People who are afraid	50.50	11.0	47.89	11.3	0.72
I am	22.25	6.9	27.64	10.1	-1.75
I would like to be	12.00	1.5	15.48	7.4	-1.60
Boys who don't get into trouble	15.41	4.6	21.04	9.5	-1.98*
I will be	17.66	10.2	19.56	9.4	-0.61
Boys who do get into trouble	57.00	16.6	56.60	10.4	0.10

*$p < .05$

Table 39

Comparison of Post-Outward Bound Jesness Inventory Scores of Recidivists and Nonrecidivists in Experimental Group

Jesness Scale	Nonrecidivists (N=48) Mean	S.D.	Recidivists (N=12) Mean	S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	20.86	6.4	22.75	5.9	0.90
Value Orientation	12.45	6.5	14.75	5.7	1.12
Immaturity	13.35	3.7	13.50	3.5	0.12
Autism	6.41	3.6	8.08	2.9	1.47
Alienation	5.83	4.3	6.33	2.8	0.38
Manifest Aggression	11.52	5.9	12.25	4.7	0.38
Withdrawal	11.75	3.1	12.50	2.2	0.79
Social Anxiety	13.33	3.6	12.50	3.4	-0.72
Repression	4.29	2.8	4.58	2.6	0.32
Denial	12.25	3.8	12.67	3.5	0.34
Asocialization	9.10	4.9	10.17	3.9	0.68

Table 40

Comparison of Pre and Post Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores of Nonrecidivists in Experimental Group

(N=48)

Concept	Pre-Test Mean	S.D.	Post-Test Mean	S.D.	t
Books	32.69	7.2	31.87	8.4	-0.59
Boys my age	33.77	9.7	34.75	10.4	0.55
Adults	31.10	7.9	29.02	9.7	-1.36
Girls my age	35.29	9.4	32.25	6.8	-2.12*
People who are afraid	49.55	9.9	47.89	11.3	-1.21
I am	31.15	9.5	27.64	10.1	-2.71**
I would like to be	17.31	8.9	15.48	7.4	-1.72*
Boys who don't get into trouble	23.89	10.9	21.04	9.5	-2.10*
I will be	21.37	8.9	19.56	9.4	-1.38
Boys who do get into trouble	54.81	9.8	56.60	10.4	1.29

*p < .05

**p < .01

Table 41

Comparison of Pre and Post Outward Bound Semantic Differential Scores of Recidivists in Experimental Group (N=12)

Concept	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Books	34.67	9.6	35.75	8.7	0.38
Boys my age	33.00	10.0	36.50	9.3	1.56
Adults	33.50	8.1	31.91	7.8	-0.51
Girls my age	29.42	7.6	33.33	9.0	1.58
People who are afraid	48.58	10.3	50.50	11.0	0.53
I am	30.08	9.8	22.25	6.9	-2.82*
I would like to be	16.75	12.7	12.00	1.5	-1.27
Boys who don't get into trouble	19.58	12.0	15.41	4.6	-1.24
I will be	17.91	9.3	17.66	10.2	-0.06
Boys who do get into trouble	53.75	17.1	57.00	16.6	1.66

*p < .02

Since there is an improved idealized self-concept "I would like to be" ($p < .05$) as well as present self-concept "I am" ($p < .01$) in the nonrecidivists, it may be that concomittent improvement for both concepts are a necessary condition for long term behaviorial change. The absence of significant change in the future self-concept "I will be" also may be an important finding. Perhaps, the nonrecidivists fail to recognize the importance of this positive internal change while exaggerating the negative influence of their social and physical environment on their subsequent behavior.

The other insignificant changes are also of interest in that they not only represent concepts less personal as well as being less concerned with the paramount effects of Outward Bound. The nonrandom distribution of the significance of the changes is evidence that the presently constructed Semantic Differential Scales and the method by which they were scored are useful instruments for differentiating future nonrecidivists after an Outward Bound experience. These results also lend confidence to the interpretation that the scales are sensitive measures of change in concept over a brief period of time.

Tables 42 and 43 contain the pre and post Outward Bound Jesness Inventory scores for the twelve recidivists and forty-eight nonrecidivists of the Experimental Group. Only the three personality characteristics represented by Socal Maladjustment, Alienation and Asocialization improved significantly for the recidivists, while five additional scales changed significantly for the nonrecidivists. For the nonrecidivists

Table 42

Comparison of Pre and Post Outward Bound Jesness Inventory Scores of Nonrecidivists in Experimental Group (N=48)

Jesness Scale	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	23.78	7.6	20.86	6.4	-3.29**
Value Orientation	15.74	7.1	12.45	6.5	-4.08***
Immaturity	13.21	4.8	13.35	3.7	0.44
Autism	7.72	4.3	6.41	3.6	-2.31*
Alienation	8.55	4.7	5.83	4.3	-4.74***
Manifest Aggression	14.15	6.1	11.52	5.9	-3.82***
Withdrawal	12.34	2.9	11.75	3.1	-1.67
Social Anxiety	13.70	4.0	13.33	3.6	-0.89
Repression	3.53	2.4	4.29	2.8	2.16*
Denial	11.29	4.0	12.25	3.81	1.98*
Asocialization	11.75	5.5	9.10	4.9	-4.19***

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 43

Comparison of Pre and Post Outward Bound Jesness Inventory Scores of Recidivists in Experimental Group (N=12)

Jesness Scale	Pre-Test Mean	Pre-Test S.D.	Post-Test Mean	Post-Test S.D.	t
Social Maladjustment	27.6	4.8	22.75	5.9	-2.33*
Value Orientation	18.90	3.8	14.75	5.7	-1.45
Immaturity	13.50	2.9	13.5	3.5	0.26
Autism	9.40	2.1	8.08	2.9	-0.71
Alienation	10.70	3.8	6.33	2.8	-2.61*
Manifest Aggression	16.40	4.2	12.25	4.7	-1.42
Withdrawal	10.90	3.0	12.50	2.2	1.67
Social Anxiety	12.50	2.3	12.50	3.4	0.20
Repression	3.60	2.2	4.58	2.6	0.82
Denial	12.50	2.9	12.67	3.5	0.19
Asocialization	14.10	3.4	10.17	3.9	-2.85*

*$p < .05$

the decrease in the Value Orientation scale suggests that they shifted away from beliefs characteristic of the lower-class; a decrease in the Autism scale indicating more realisitc thought and consideration of others; and a decrease in Manifest Aggression indicating a diminished readiness to respond with anger or aggression. The increase for the Repression scale indicating greater exclusion from conscious awareness of feelings and emotions and the increase in the Denial scale indicating a greater reluctance to acknowledge unpleasant reality may be a favorable change for delinquents in the sense that they may tend toward better control of impulses and feelings.

In general, on the basis of the Jesness Inventory score changes, it would seem that Outward Bound had a more pervasive impact on personality characteristics for those subjects later identified as non-recidivists. This outcome is understandable when one examines the background variables presented in an earlier section of this report in which the recent onset of delinquent behavior and a more favorable home environment of the nonrecidivists may have contributed to their openness to change. On the other hand, the recidivists due to their chronicity of delinquency and their poor home environment may have established a more inflexible response pattern.

An important methodological implication of these results is that although the Jesness Inventory is a sensitive measure of change, the absolute scores themselves may not be useful predictors of recidivism. It would seem that a better way of predicting future delinquency is not

employing a normative reference point but rather the change from his own personal reference point.

The Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Jesness Inventory Scales and Semantic Differential Scores are summarized in Table 44. Since high scores on both instruments represented more unfavorable responses, the positive correlations in this table indicate that the better concept ratings are related to the better social attitudes. Thus, the improved post Semantic Differential score for the concept "I am" was associated with ($r = .31$, $p < .05$) more improved social attitudes as measured by the post Social Maladjustment score on the Jesness. In general, the greater number of positive correlations between post Semantic Differential and post Jesness Inventory scores would indicate that Outward Bound had an integrating influence on the concepts and attitudes of delinquents. The significant ($p < .05$) pre test score correlation of -.27 between the Jesness Asocialization scale and the Semantic Differential concept "adults" became a positive correlation of .33 ($p < .01$) after the Outward Bound experience. Such a dramatic reversal of relationship when considered with the consistent positive relationship between Asocialization and "boys" could indicate that prior to Outward Bound the better socially adjusted boys had a favorable concept of boys their age and an unfavorable concept of adults, while after Outward Bound they had a favorable concept of "boys my age" as well as of "adults". It may be that Outward Bound instructors provided

Table 44

Correlation between Semantic Differential Ratings of Concepts and Jesness Inventory Scores for Experimental Group (N=60) Pre and Post Outward Bound

Jesness Inventory		Semantic Differential: Books	Boys	Adults	Girls	People	I am	I like be	Boys not trouble	I will be	Boys in trouble
SM	Pre			.32*							
	Post		.37**	.26*	.26*		.31*				.60**
VO	Pre			.28*			.33*				
	Post	.30*	.37**	.32*			.31*	.28*			.49**
IMM	Pre										
	Post										
AU	Pre		.27*								
	Post		.26*								.49**
AL	Pre		.28*	.33*			.33*	.28*			
	Post		.38**	.38**							.42**
MA	Pre			.31*			.38**				
	Post		.32*	.26*			.38**				.36**
WD	Pre	.31*									
	Post	.26*	.32*			.33**	.37**				.34**

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 44

Correlation between Semantic Differential Ratings of Concepts and Jesness Inventory Scores for Experimental Group (N=60) Pre and Post Outward Bound

Jesness Inventory		Semantic Differential								
		Books	Boys	Adults	Girls	People	I am	I like be	Boys not trouble	I will be	Boys in trouble
SA	Pre										
	Post		.37**								
REP	Pre						-.28*				
	Post						-.27*				
DEN	Pre	-.40**		-.28*			-.36**				
	Post			-.28*		-.35**	-.47**		-.28*		-.39**
ASOC	Pre	-.27*	.28*	-.27*							
	Post	.35**	.42**	.33**		.29*	.36*	.26*			.56**

*p < .05 **p < .01

many of these delinquents their first positive relationship with mature adults.

Another interesting outcome in Table 44 is the negative relationship both before and after Outward Bound between the concept "I am" and the Jesness Inventory scales repression and denial. Since high scorers on these scales represent individuals who are generally uncritical of themselves and others as well as those who deny personal inadequacy or unhappiness, it would seem that those who rate themselves highly on the concept "I am" base their judgment generally on criteria which they consciously admit rather than on the basis of their true feelings about themselves and others. Perhaps such defense mechanisms provide delinquents, as well as others, with an important means of maintaining self-esteem and adjusting to problems of daily living.

Summary

The purpose of the present study was to determine if Outward Bound was more effective in reducing further delinquent behavior in adjudicated adolescent delinquent boys than could be expected from a traditional training school experience. Effectiveness was measured by a comparison of the recidivism rates between two matched groups. One hundred twenty delinquent boys between fifteen and a half and seventeen years of age committed to the Massachusetts Division of Youth Service served as subjects for the study. The Experimental Group, consisting of sixty subjects, was assigned to one of three

Outward Bound Schools located in Colorado, Minnesota and Maine. The sixty subjects assigned to the Comparison Group were treated in a routine manner by the Division of Youth Service. Nine months after parole the recidivism difference between the two groups was compared and these results were related to test performance on the Jesness Inventory and a Semantic Differential Scale and background variables as well as performance at Outward Bound.

While only 20% of the Experimental Group were subsequently identified as recidivists, 34% of the Comparison Group were returned to an institution. Background variables such as age of first court appearance, presence of both parents in the home, first institutionalization as well as type of offense are important predisposing conditions and were important contributors to the differences in recidivism found among the three Outward Bound Schools. Although the three Outward Bound Schools were based on the same philosophy, the unique physical environment of each school as well as the action oriented emphasis of its program and its physical challenge to the participants may also have contributed to the recidivism differences. The Minnesota School provides greater reflection and intellectualization while the Colorado and Hurricane Island Schools provide greater peaks of excitement.

In the Experimental Group subsequent recidivists were less likely to be awarded a certificate of successful completion and were rated less favorably by the instructors than those delinquents who were not

returned to an institution. However, the recidivism rate among subjects in the homogeneous patrols was the same as that among subjects in nonhomogeneous patrols.

In general, all the subjects improved in their self-concept and in social attitudes as measured by the Semantic Differential and the Jesness Inventory. However, those subjects who did not recidivate also improved in their concepts "I would like to be" as well as "boys who don't get into trouble." While only two of the eleven Jesness Inventory Scales scores improved for the recidivists, nine scale scores significantly improved for the nonrecidivists.

Implications

These results suggest that for some delinquents an Outward Bound experience is a desirable short term alternative to traditional institutional care and is an effective means of promoting positive change. However, background variables such as a childhood history of delinquency, prior institutional experience or an absence of both parents in the home may outweigh whatever advantages Outward Bound can offer. It seems that Outward Bound provides an opportunity to improve self-concept among adolescents and in this way achieves one of its stated goals.

Thus an Outward Bound experience with severe physical challenge including peaks of excitement may serve as a useful alternative to traditional institutionalization for delinquent

adolescents or as a model for improving current correctional programs. However, it would seem that those delinquents who are responding to an adolescent crisis rather than a characterological defect would most profit from such a program.

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APPENDIX A

Report of Participant Observers

OUTWARD BOUND AND EDUCATION FOR PERSONAL GROWTH*

Richard Katz
Harvard University

David Kolb
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of the directors, staff and students at the Colorado, Hurricane Island, and Minnesota Outward Bound Schools in the summer of 1967, in particular Jerome Pieh and John Williamson; also Thomas D'Andrea, Haverford College; Francis J. Kelly, Research Director, Massachusetts Youth Service Board; Joshua Miner III, President, Outward Bound, Inc.; and Mrs. Mary Maxwell Katz.

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I. PROLOGUE

Outward Bound is a 26-day residential school conducted in an isolated, wilderness setting. The typical course is for males* ranging in age from 16-23, and coming from a variety of racial, religious, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. The curriculum contains a variety of primarily physical tasks, geared to the resources and demands of the school's setting (see Appendix A for a sample curriculum). The tasks are meant to become increasingly difficult for students, both physically and psychologically. The school tries to challenge its students to go beyond what they considered their (psychological and physical) limits. The attempt is made to use such "stretching" experiences to increase students' knowledge and appreciation of themselves and others.

The Massachusetts Division of Youth Service had collected preliminary evidence that an Outward Bound school experience reduced recidivism in adolescent delinquent boys committed to a correctional authority. To obtain more complete and conclusive evidence, a new research project was launched to study the effect of Outward Bound on juvenile delinquents. This new research effort included a team of participant-observers.**

Why the need for participant-observers? Though there was already preliminary evidence that an Outward Bound experience reduced recidivism

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* Minnesota runs courses for females.

** Richard Katz, Ph.D., David Kolb, Ph.D., Thomas D'Andrea, Ph.D.

there was little impartial information about what constituted an "Outward Bound experience". If delinquents were being affected, we could not go far toward suggesting "why". The "treatment" condition of the study had to be described.

Our professional training for the role of participant-observer is in the social sciences, particularly social and clinical psychology. This professional background was thought to increase the likelihood of impartial information about Outward Bound. Our professional training did, for example, seem to help guard against substituting the Outward Bound ideology for what actually happened at the schools. This task was especially difficult because the ideology exerts a powerful influence on the conduct of an Outward Bound course. Our professional training, however, is effected by its own ideology. We tried not to use certain components of our social science ideology, e.g., emphasis on psychological variables and group processes, to misinterpret the Outward Bound experience.

Our goal as participant-observers was to understand Outward Bound as a culture, as a system of education for personal growth. To do this, we tried to isolate Outward Bound's key educational principles and techniques. We also tried to examine how the school functioned, and how students were motivated and affected by the Outward Bound experience. This participant-observer report, then, presents our understanding of Outward Bound as a system of education for personal growth. It also attempts to capture some of the atmosphere of an Outward Bound school. The report may thereby provide a better context for understanding the more quantitative sections of the M.Y.S. study of Outward Bound's effect on delinquents.

How were we to do our job at Outward Bound? Before our arrival at the Outward Bound schools, we felt that the usual difficulties of the participant-observer role would be compounded there. There would be the need for a delicate balance between participation and observation, participating enough so as to make valid and not merely "objective" observations. Added to that, it seemed that observation would have to deal with a 24-hour phenomenon, and most of the observing would have to be done "on the run". Outward Bound seemed a total culture and so much of it seemed to involve strenuous action. Both these assumptions were confirmed. The participant-observers' schedule tried to facilitate their extended involvement in the typical Outward Bound program. Within certain logistical constraints, the schedule also tried to cover each school, and special groups (e.g., the homogeneous delinquent patrol) and have at least one observer who had been to all three schools.* To record our observations we employed a portable tape recorder (for interviews, observations) and a daily journal.

On our arrival at the Outward Bound schools, our role as participant-observers came suddenly clearer. Unless one participated extensively and actively, one could not really understand Outward Bound at all. And so participate we did. We were introduced as educators trying to learn more about Outward Bound. Since the Outward Bound schools are by now used to visitors and observers, our entree was not difficult. Generally we participated along with one of the regular groups of students as they went

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* First course Colorado (C-16): Katz, full course.
Second course Minnesota (M-7): D'Andrea, full course.
Second course Hurricane Island (H-4): Kolb, two weeks; Katz, three days.
Third course Minnesota (M-8): Katz, full course.

through the course. At times we functioned as assistants to the instructors, most often as students.

There were at least three reasons for extensive participation. First, so much of Outward Bound operates from the inside, from within the culture. In order to appreciate the impact of this culture, one has to be immersed in it to a considerable degree. And the experiential impact of Outward Bound was something we perhaps could not have prepared for. Moreover, unless one participated extensively and actively, one could not acquire enough skills to observe in critical situations. We were not willing to observe students on a climb or an expedition unless we felt reasonably confident about our own wilderness abilities.

And finally, there was an unwritten law that respect and comaraderie was based upon a person's willingness to at least try those Outward Bound activities which befitted his age and condition. Since we were apparently young and physically fit and coordinated, few activities were seen as innappropriate for us to try. Once we began to participate, it was not easy to abstain from parts of the program because we were "PH.Ds" or "there for only one course" or "not really part of the program". Much of the success we had in observing Outward Bound seems dependent on the respect and comaraderie generated by the degree of our participation.

This immersion on the Outward Bound culture had important implications. The need to categorize -- seemingly universal, but particularly rampant among social scientists -- had to be abated. The Outward Bound experience too often demanded so much that there was little energy or interest left for categorizing. If you were really scared on

that rock-climbing exercise, your categorizing had to wait until the exercise was over. The observer role was most often performed at night, in the tent, where one could reflect on the day's experiences. The daily journal became quite important because your feelings and observations would change from day to day, often dramatically. And after completing an Outward Bound course, as one's perspective gradually developed, these journals became an invaluable source of data.

We also found extremely useful those many categories which laymen use to describe human experience, but which social scientists avoid. Words like "courage", "hard work", "life-death situation", "boredom", seemed made to order for describing Outward Bound.

One final note about our role as participant-observers. As social scientists, we were initially excited about studying something which we rarely encountered professionally, i.e. a situation which apparently produced dramatic personal growth. After attending the schools, we ourselves felt quite affected. We still felt excited about Outward Bound and its potential for encouraging personal growth.

II. OUTWARD BOUND: AN EXPERIENTIAL VIEWPOINT

Now that we were starting to spend more time in the field, it felt like we were shifting into high gear. Only the staff knew exactly where we were going that morning, which sort of left you wanting to know more about the routine that was planned and the exercise that you'd be participating in. We rode for a while in the truck, going over bumpy mountain roads, tossed about on the hard seats, sharing in an early morning adventure joy-ride.

We reached our destination and looked up. It did look big. "It" was a rock face, something which later we would respect much more than we did that morning. Hiking up the gully we arrived at the base of the rock face. It looked even more awesome and magnificent than from the road below. There were some other patrols there, close to forty students and five or six instructors milling around.

Soon the demonstration began. With apparent ease, confident ease it seemed, several of the instructors demonstrated rock-climbing. We looked up the rock face as they gracefully worked their way up, looking for the proper hand holds and foot holds. After a few more climbs by the instructors, the task was ready, the challenge set forth. And then began the slow process of each student confronting the task each in his own manner.

Who should go first? There was much jockeying around for that "privilege", and as usual, the guy who "always wants to go first" went

first. Watching one of your peers negotiate the same climb that only the instructor had done previously made the task seem within your own reach, made it seem possible, perhaps easy. Soon, however, there were students who began to encounter difficulty. Their climbs were not effortless, not graceful. They were more struggling up the rock, fighting against the rock rather than working with it, searching frantically for holds rather than carefully finding them. Then the task again appeared difficult. You started to make judgments about how you would do based on how others were doing. But once your peers started climbing, the task was one you had to confront and try.

Ever so slowly each student had his chance to walk up to the base, check his knot, and begin his climb. But the progress was slow. Mass production techniques had made little headway in the operation of this activity. Three routes were going, but there were nearly forty boys, and they did not climb fast. And each climb was spot-lighted. Observed by various peers to get pointers for their own climbs or to make judgments about the climber. Observed by the instructors, for their job was safety, to keep people out of trouble. So there was lots of waiting, lots of idle chatter, some concern for the fact that you would be climbing soon.

After several students had completed their climbs, they took over the other part of the task for the day, that of belaying. Those who were belaying had the responsibility for insuring that the climbers did not have a serious fall. The rope attached to the climber's belt was held by the belayer at the top of the rock face. The belayer had to continually "feel" the climber at the end of the rope, giving him just enough slack so that he could climb freely, not so much slack that if he

slipped he would fall too far. This ultimate responsibility, this balancing of another's life was easy to talk about, harder to really feel. When the climb was not going smoothly, when the climber perhaps slipped, then innocence would vanish. The belayer felt the climber's life in his hands.

Lunch came, a break in activity. A time to exchange some of the fear, some of the exhiliration that went into the rock climbing activity. But a time for most of the boys just to eat peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, talk about the weather, kid each other, and generally act as they did on all other lunches in the field. A time to relax, except for those whose climbs were yet to come, who felt some tension, at the very least a sense of expectancy. The lunch was short. It had to be. There were many who still had to climb. Back up the gully, along the loose rock, back to the base of the rock face.

My turn. It was not that I was holding back; it's just that I wasn't one of the most eager ones. I went to the base, with confidence. The ones who had climbed the route that I was going to take looked like they were having a relatively smooth run. Roped-in. Check my knot out with the instructor, a couple of times. And then I began to climb.

The first several moves were easy, and I developed over-confidence. I climbed without really thinking ahead and looking for my next moves, and soon I was in a terrifying position. I could see no where to go. Up, down, left, right, there seemed no route open to me. I got really frightened, scared, and forgot that I was roped in. It became an ultimate situation for me, my life was at stake. I tried to move to the left. I reached high,

too high, and that was it. My grip couldn't hold any longer, and I slipped. The feeling inside was a sinking, a real sinking. I knew that was the end. Split-seconds later I was on the ground. I hadn't fallen more than eight or nine feet, possibly ten. Inside, however, I had passed through death, and there I was on the ground again. I was shakey, but my next thought was to start up again. There just didn't seem to be any other reasonable alternative.

I began to climb again, this time with a little less confidence than was appropriate, and the climb was not easy. There were several spots where I was there for what seemed a long time, looking for the right path, seeing none, then taking a chance, coming up with a hand-hold which seemed to work, scrambling more than climbing. Above me another student was having real problems, and he froze. He froze for quite a time, and beneath him I had to stay flat against the rock waiting for him to move, in any direction. He tried several ways but couldn't get going again. Eventually the instructor came out and assisted the boy above me off the rock face.

Arriving at the top of the rock face after my climb was not exhilirating, not exciting; it was just good to be there. Once at the top I joined a special league, a league which was created just on that day, a league whose addmission was climbing from the bottom of that rock face to the top. It was not a hard league to join. Everybody but one or two of the forty boys made the league, but still, it was a league, and being a member of it brought you that much closer to the people around you. Closer, not because you knew them any better, but because you and they had gone through an unusual experience together.

Today was a long one. By the time all the students had a chance to climb the rock face, it was late in the afternoon. As we walked down from the face, again down the gully, tired this time, I realized that the situation had provided me with an ultimate moment. Undoubtedly I had been prepared for such a thing, but the situation encouraged and stimulated such a moment. Down on the road again, walking back to camp I felt much more humble, still a little shakey. I really felt that my Outward Bound experience would not be easy. There would be moments like that one on the rock face, where I had died in my own mind. It was in hope of just such moments that I had come to Outward Bound.

The hike back to camp was very "professional". We knew where we were going, we decided what pace to set. We all felt much more involved in our mountain environment. And we had done something which professional climbers do, they with much less effort and much more skillfully. But we had done it, we could talk about it, and it made us feel more "professional".

At night, the fall was still with me. I relived it several times, the sinking feeling was real. I thought -- it seemed almost a vow -- that in the future I would not "give up" when the consequences were so dire. I felt more aware of that moment when "it's all over" and wanted to maintain that awareness. There were no lights on in the other tents. Most boys were probably already asleep. Had many reflected much on the day? They were instinctively storing up energy for the next day, which seemed a good idea.

III. THE OUTWARD BOUND IDEOLOGY

The Outward Bound ideology is both powerful and pervasive. The ideology presents Outward Bound as a dramatic, important, potentially life-changing experience. It portrays Outward Bound as a way of actualizing one's potential, particularly in the area of character development. The ideology markedly affects what happens at Outward Bound. It both facilitates and obstructs the schools' educational effectiveness.

A. The ideology is compelling because of its content.

Outward Bound is portrayed as an effective tradition-tested way of self-discovery. There are numerous references to the Outward Bound movement, and the people who through the years have taken the Outward Bound path. There is an assumption that the Outward Bound program is intrinsically educational. Moreover, there is an assumption that Outward Bound can be successful with all types of boys, that each boy will benefit in his own way.

Through primarily physical activities which are increasingly stressful and demanding, a student is forced to confront himself. Plato's statement is quoted: "Let us build physical fittness for the sake of the soul". Outward Bound "trains through the mountains and not for them". The student discovers aspects of his essential nature and thereby begins to develop character. Important ingredients of character are: self-reliance, the desire to serve others, courage, self-discipline,realistic self-image, resourcefullness, will-power, and appreciation of nature and man's place in it.

Moreover, there is the claim that character is essential to human functioning but particularly lacking and hard to develop in modern youth. Kurt Hahn, the founder of Outward Bound, is quoted in the Outward Bound brochure:

> "The purpose of Outward Bound is to protect youth against a diseased civilization. Three decays surround the modern youth: The decay of care and skill; the decay of enterprise and adventure; and the decay of compassion".

Most adults involved in Outward Bound find this claim expresses their viewpoint. As the Outward Bound course progresses, more and more students come to feel that the claim is accurate. The ideology promises a way to develop what is essential, but lacking and difficult to attain.

B. <u>The ideology is pervasive</u>.

A variety of public relations materials are employed in communicating the ideology. The more formal ones range from the Outward Bound brochures to the Outward Bound movies and scores of magazine articles written about Outward Bound. Most of these more formal public relations materials emphasize a dramatic existential quality to the Outward Bound experience. The reader or viewer is constantly impressed with the ultimate quality of the Outward Bound experience, and is instilled with confidence that the Outward Bound approach works. The lead quotation from the Outward Bound brochure is a student's analysis of Outward Bound:

> Only under the pressure of stress does a person get the chance to know himself. Outward Bound is not easy; it is not meant to be. It is something very good.

It is hard for a prospective Outward Bound student not to feel that some-

thing significant will happen at Outward Bound after he reads such a statement. The Colorado Outward Bound movie entitled "Tall as the Mountains" dramatizes the Outward Bound experience. On viewing that film one does feel that Outward Bound "is not easy", but one also feels a strong motivation to complete the Outward Bound course because it is something special, almost heroic.

The more formal public relations materials are continually supplemented by the talk and action of the Outward Bound staff. One often sees in a staff member the personification of the Outward Bound ideology. And for these staff members who accompany their actions with talk, the message of the ideology is made even more explicit. This is not to say that staff members give out a "party line". There is a core value system which seems shared by most of the staff, a core which stresses the Outward Bound experience as a path of self-discovery and service to others. But there are as many modifications on how this core is presented, and ways in which this core is elaborated, as there are staff members.

C. The ideology facilitates education at Outward Bound Schools.

The ideology can enhance the experience at Outward Bound and facilitate its educational effectiveness. It can serve as a powerful motivating factor. Staff members feel that they are involved in a special job, an extraordinary educational experience. This feeling seems to derive not only from the realization that students' lives depend on their instruction, but also on their feeling a part of the Outward Bound movement. They have a special sense of pride and desire to do a good job. The Outward Bound ideology also generates in students a feeling that they

are involved in an important educational experience. They appreciate and are encouraged by the fact that many before them have tackled the same problems that they will face.

The ideology has a self-fulfilling property. According to the ideology, Outward Bound is an effective way of discovering one's self. Students, and especially staff, share in this belief. Having the belief can help, in fact, to make the Outward Bound experience meaningful and effective. Most students come to Outward Bound to change or be changed. This would include the high school student who feels he will become (physically) tougher and the college junior who feels he will develop leadership ability; the boy sent by his parents to "become a man" and the boy sent by the correctional institution to be "reformed".

D. The ideology obstructs education.

But the ideology, by its very power and pervasiveness, can also obstruct the educational effectiveness of Outward Bound. Expectations based on the ideology are often unfulfilled. The Outward Bound ideology does not emphasize gradual change. The ideology considers change in a broad and dramatic manner, as in, for example, "learning to deal with fear". It does not focus upon the smaller, less dramatic but often more essential aspects of change. Students therefore find it more difficult to be satisfied with and build upon minor experiences of change and growth.

Students' experiences at Outward Bound usually do not seem so dramatic or clearly worthwhile as the ideology can lead them to expect. It takes a certain kind of courage to accept one's own experience as being a valid Outward Bound experience when the drama is not apparent or their experience

is not clearly "something very good". It becomes difficult for the student to describe his own experience in his own words. When, for example, students talk about their "solo" one is acutely aware that many of their descriptions have already appeared in the various public relations media. On further exploration with these same students they emphasize different but very important aspects of their solo, such as their boredom, or their disappointment in not making more constructive use of their time. Students describing their own experience in the language of the public relations media is unfortunate. It becomes even more serious, however, when ideology is substituted for experience when the Outward Bound ideology actually prevents students from having an Outward Bound experience. For it is clear that only when the student has his <u>own</u> experience, does he have an Outward Bound experience.

The ideology can become so overwhelming that it can lead some students to take a passive approach toward Outward Bound. Since the Outward Bound experience is portrayed as so powerful, they feel that it will happen <u>to</u> them. Though this passive attitude is continually discouraged, it can limit the students' degree of involvement in the program. Staff members can also be overwhelmed. This leads to a general feeling that the Outward Bound program "automatically" works. Their efforts at "making it work", so critical to success at Outward Bound, are lessened.

The ideology assumes that Outward Bound can be successful with all types of boys. This position supports the concept of the extremely varied student body which is found at the schools. But with some types of boys, Outward Bound can be an educationally unrewarding experience.

For some, Outward Bound appears to have a diminished impact. Some of the more mature college students are less motivated than the usual student in the course who tends to be very much at the high school stage. The mature student has more perspective and is not as thoroughly immersed in the Outward Bound culture. Peer pressures, inter-group competition become less powerful forces for him. He can more easily absent from undergoing an experience in the Outward Bound way. Students who are experienced woodsmen, sailors or climbers do not generally get as much from these activities at Outward Bound as do other students. Much of the challenge and excitement due to the novelty of the task is absent.

There are other types of students who may be adversely affected. A boy who has intense psychological problems does not seem appropriate for Outward Bound even though he may come to the school because he wants to change. If a boy has intense fears, or an intense need for reassurance, it presents particular problems. Having him confront fear can lead to increased fear unless the confrontation is handled with extreme sensitivity and competence.

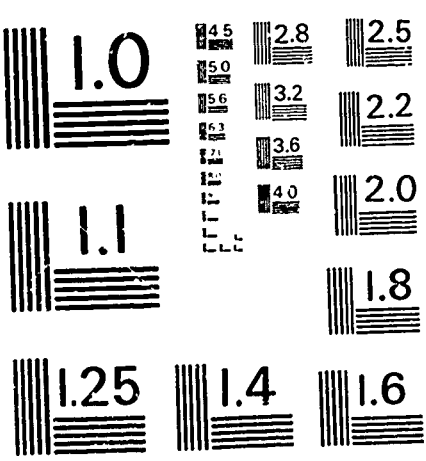
The Outward Bound approach sees a value in treating all students in essentially the same way. The assumption is in part that if you treat a "problem" student like the other students, i.e., as if he were "normal", then he is likely to start being "normal". There is some psychological evidence to suggest this can be an effective approach if handled with great inter-personal sensitivity and understanding. However, this same approach can lead to ignoring a student's intense problems, and perhaps increasing their severity. At Outward Bound, since few of the staff had

experience working with intense psychological problems, such problems were often ignored. At times they were ignored by officially assigning "problem" students to a special group from which staff only expected the worst.

Moreover, staff generally does not have enough time to work too extensively on particular problems students may have. There was a feeling among some staff members that such specialized attention was beyond their responsibility. They were bothered by the increased difficulty of running a course including "problem" students.

Outward Bound at present seems particularly suited to educate "normals". Perhaps a procedure of selection could be developed which would assure a more effective matching of prospective student and Outward Bound. This procedure might include discouraging certain types of boys from attending an Outward Bound school. In addition to the present requirement that the prospective student be in good physical condition, there also might be a requirement that the student not be at the time involved with intense psychological problems. This procedure might also encourage a prospective student whenever possible to attend the Outward Bound school which seemed the best educational environment for him. As we shall see, there are important differences between schools.

But more elaborate selection procedures conflict with the Outward Bound ideology and at present seem impractical. If the "problem" student is to be treated as if he were "normal", there need be no screening for psychological disturbance. Moreover, the "first-come first-serve" basis of present Outward Bound selection is eminently practical and convenient.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

There does, however, seem to be an increasing number of "problem" students who attend Outward Bound schools. This would include students attracted by the public-relations image of "from marshmellow to man in 26 days" as well as the students supported by government grants who are often "juvenile delinquents" or "kids in trouble". It seems that some modifications are necessary in selection procedures and/or staffing and programming.

IV. OUTWARD BOUND'S EDUCATIONAL METHOD

Outward Bound relies primarily on an experience-based, action-oriented method of education. Learning occurs in a "total culture" which generates commitment and excitement. Many of the students' experiences and actions have an intense, ultimate quality. This increases the already vast educational potential of the method. A key technique in the Outward Bound method of education is self-confrontation. Self-confrontation encourages the individual to surpass what he thought were his limits. Staff is the critical factor in Outward Bound's method of education. The staff members must guide a student's experiences and actions if education is to be maximized. Outward Bound schools do not emphasize preparing a student psychologically for an experience; nor do they emphasize dealing with his psychological reactions to the experience, an approach which may reduce the educational impact of the student's experience.

A. A comprehensive, compelling culture develops at the Outward Bound School generating commitment to the Outward Bound program.

The very physical isolation of the schools acts to increase involvement and to emphasize Outward Bound values and standards. Visitors to the school are looked upon as outsiders. There develops a strong feeling among the students of being in a retreat, being in a "special place" in order to do "special work". If one does accept the purposes of attending the Outward Bound school, then one's entire life can revolve around the school and its program. Most of the students have such a relationship to the school. It is infrequent that they can support interests or needs

antithetical to Outward Bound, and therefore not usually taken care of by Outward Bound. Since the student's life revolves around the Outward Bound school, the values of the Outward Bound culture (e.g. "finishing the course") become intensified.

Students become immersed in the Outward Bound culture. Things which never would have been attempted become standard practice. As students go down the zip-wire, sliding over the gorge, they often feel that "kids back home should only see me now". Old values and standards for behavior are replaced by the Outward Bound values. Very often one consciously realizes he is doing "Outward Bound-type things" only after he has already done them for some time. This immersion is both sudden and gradual. Outward Bound starts off with "a bang". Usually the very first day you are doing something which you would never have attempted before, e.g., running headlong down slippery rocks through the bog. Also, as the course progresses, your values become Outward Bound values: "Of course I'll run and do the dip, what else do you do when you get up in the morning".

Indeed it is hard to be anything but completely involved in the program. As we described in the Prologue, we really had to participate in order to be participant-observers. Students who were only marginally involved in the program could not stay very long at the schools.

The Outward Bound ideology is a key influence in shaping the culture. It becomes difficult not to meet challenges or finish the course. There is a prevalent value that only the "strong", the "men" are able to finish the course. In an event like the marathon, individuals who do not finish or do not cross the line running are looked down upon. Persistence is a

virtue, and giving-up is hard to tolerate. Students feel that what they have to do at Outward Bound is what should be done. It becomes very difficult for a boy to "walk away" from a challenge. Students are often kept in the challenging situation for a period of time to encourage their meeting it. There are few "acceptable" reasons for not doing parts of the program, or for leaving the course. Serious physical injury like a broken leg, is one such acceptable reason. Injuries which allow for "malingering", like sprains, are rarely acceptable. Psychological problems, like fear of the mountains, are not easily understood, sometimes ridiculed.

Challenges, particularly when they are felt as dangerous, when one's life is "at stake" take on an irresistable quality. The excitement of the challenge, the sense of adventure, is contagious. Exciting events intensively involve the students in Outward Bound. More dangerous tasks generate more excitement. As on the climb up the rock face, much of the excitement stems from a conflict about whether one should make a certain move or should not. Many students feel they have come to Outward Bound specifically to meet challenges. Challenges are often seen as the highlights of the Outward Bound experience.

The opportunity to really test one's limits is very important. Challenges, particularly those felt as dangerous, are often approached as opportunities for defining oneself. For many students, the question "Who am I?" is very pressing. As suggested by many writers, adolescents' sense of identity is in formation. For many, the challenges of Outward Bound provide an opportunity to gain some clarity about "who they are". They look upon Outward Bound as an "initiation rite", a not particularly pleasant but "real" way of finding out who they are, what their limits are.

Many students approach Outward Bound as if it were the initiation rite which will effect their transition from boyhood to manhood.

The development of competence and confidence in meeting the Outward Bound tasks becomes important. Competence (mastery) generates a sense of personal worth and a feeling of accomplishment. Students develop pride in their competence, an almost professional feeling about their sailing, climbing or canoeing abilities. There is also a strong desire to be able to deal with danger confidently. It becomes important to be able to face one's fear about a dangerous situation, and still complete the task. Students are not comfortable with the feeling that "I'd never do that again, it was too scarey."

There is a strong desire among students to be seen as "men" not "boys". They do not want to be considered soft or cowardly. Hard work becomes intrinsically rewarding and a source of pride when one wants to avoid appearing soft. After a hard day of hiking or paddling, students feel a meaningful sense of accomplishment. Many of the tales told by students deal with the weight of the pack they carried, or the number of hours they rowed. Students who take short cuts, or have a lazy attitude, rarely occupy positions of influence or respect. Outward Bound is "hard work", not "fun". Rarely does a student enjoy Outward Bound. Rather, it is something he should go through. To be considered "chicken" and not to be able to disprove this claim is a supreme insult at Outward Bound.

Peer, staff, and family expectations exert great pressure toward conforming to the Outward Bound culture. As on the climb up the rock face, when everyone is doing it, the individual student finds it hard not to join

in. This is particularly so when he realized that the comaraderie which develops is based on a sharing of common experiences. Anyone who did not climb the rock face that day was "left out" in a very important sense. The watch patrol or brigade as a unit also exerts strong pressure on completing tasks and the course. Inter-group competition is based on individuals' performances on tasks, particularly on their completing tasks.

Staff members are persons who have completed tasks similar to or more demanding than the Outward Bound program. Their almost unquestioned expectation is that their students will also complete the Outward Bound course. In fact, part of their reputation as instructors depends on how all their group completes a task or finishes the course.

Parents add a final pressure toward completing the course. It seems that there is an increase in the number of boys who are "sent to Outward Bound in order to become a man". There is also the more usual expectation that when one goes to a school, one finishes the course and gets his diploma, or in this case, certificate.

B. <u>The educational method is experience based. Self-confrontation is a major technique.</u>

Critical self discoveries are brought about by placing the student in situations where he must confront himself and his abilities. The situations demand actions which challenge his self-definition and encourage him to explore and surpass what he thought were his limits. They are designed so that the student has to confront his own limitations, the fear, etc., rather than avoid it or smooth it over. The self-confronting situations range from the mundane to the dramatic; where a life might be

at stake or a basic need such as hunger might be involved. The confrontation could take place in a student's private world or in a very public arena

The climb up the rock face was one example of a limit-stretching experience. This was especially true, as we saw, when your moves follow a period when you find yourself "stuck", wondering what to do next. A student was facing a very difficult jump (psychologically) on the ropes course. He was there a long time, and a number of his peers gathered to watch. He constantly and continually described how he was going to make this critical jump, how he wasn't afraid, how he just needed a little time. He made the issue of his courage very explicit. After some time, he had to give up and climb down. He also had to deal with a modified image of his courage. There was also the boy for whom the mountains presented a situation which evoked self-discovery. He confided his private fear: "You're not going to get me up there -- I'm scared of these mountains, I might get lost or I might fall down; I didn't realize I'd be so scared.# Then there was the heavy packs, or canoes to portage. It was something each student had to deal with, yet it stretched each student in different ways. Many of the situations which presented the most substantial challenge to students were situations they all had to go through, situations which were "part of the course".

The technique of self-confrontation seems critical to personal growth or self-realization. "Identity crises" (as described by Erik Erikson) and "peak experiences" (as described by Abraham Maslow) are associated with selfeconfronting experiences. Both of these pheonmena are often

growth-producing. In the identity crisis the individual raises issues of "Who am I?", "Where do I want to go from here?". In the peak experiences, the individual can "get outside of himself", get perspective on what he is doing. He can feel or see more intensely than is usual and discover new aspects of his emotions and thoughts. Outward Bound adds an intensity and ultimate quality to self-confrontation because the confrontation often demands that the student act, not merely talk, and because the student's physical life can be at stake.

But self-confrontation at Outward Bound does not <u>automatically</u> engender personal growth. Self-confrontation is often an intense and volatile experience which requires sensitive attention. Staff guidance as manifested in preparation for and follow-up after experiences become critical. For example, if experiences are to be self-confronting, the "limits" of a student must be sensitively assessed. It is not easy to know how much someone can stretch himself or what is the right time for him to try. These judgments rested with both students and staff. There were no tasks which automatically made these decisions. More often than not the decisions that were made at Outward Bound seemed wise.

There is an emphasis on making information - or content-learning experiential. The feeling is that a student should grow into knowledge about the wilderness, learn through his own trial and error. Indeed there is a certain unwritten rule that a wilderness expert does not pass on to others all of his knowledge, all of the lessons he's learned from his own experience. Lectures, when given, are usually followed by exercises which employ the principles of the lecture.

This emphasis on experiential learning had certain limits, of course. When there was insufficient time or when there was a life or death issue, the staff became quite didactic. There was instruction, for example, in pitching the tent and cooking one's food in the field. The course was short and such minimum instruction was necessary to get students out into the field, to get them started. If one met a section of coast which was particularly difficult to navigate, or if one was heading towards a particularly difficult section of white-water, the staff took command. When a life was at stake, one could not afford experiential learning. The instructions on how to master the difficult section were given clearly and forcefully. This did not seem to detract too seriously from the power of the Outward Bound experience.

C. The educational method is action-oriented.

Action is constantly required. In an important sense, things don't happen at Outward Bound until people "do" something. It is almost as if the wheels are set in motion as soon as someone does something rather than just thinking or talking about it. There is an emphasis on task performance. Performance is the true measure of the man. Bravado, bragging and boasting are quickly exposed by peers and staff. Of course, not doing something is equally important. Much of the Outward Bound experience occurs during those times the student faces a particular task, for example, the next move up the rock face, and stops, hesitates, or becomes immobilized for a very long time.

There is a higher and more public evaluation of actions than thoughts and feelings. Physical prowess and conditioning become a source of pride

and interest among the students. Students talk a good deal about how heavy their pack is, or how far they ran that morning. Feelings like fear or loneliness are touched upon mainly in private or in small groups, if at all, and then they are discussed in a joking manner, in a way which minimizes their importance. The student whose contribution is mainly intellectual, for example, the one who had ideas about how to solve an initiative problem, is often more tolerated than admired. Unless this "planner" also makes a substantial physical or action contribution he does not usually exert a major influence on his peers.

Finally, two things about physical conditioning contribute to the higher valuation of actions and the physical realm: students rather quickly "get into shape"; and "being in shape" is a concrete measurable arena of accomplishment.

We have already mentioned that being in the field made the program feel like it was "in high gear". There is a general feeling among both students and staff that canoeing (or climbing or hiking or sailing) is "what we are here for". The expeditions seem more "real" and are considered more important than the time spent at the home base. A logical extension of this emphasis, courses which are held entirely in the field (mobile courses), are seen as getting that much closer to the core of Outward Bound. Being in the field also provides a more total exposure to the Outward Bound culture. Students come with fewer of their own strategies for coping with the wilderness as compared to the school compound. They are therefore more receptive to the Outward Bound approach when in the field.

The amount of delay between a lecture and the opportunity to put the message of the lecture into action is felt as critical. It felt like "you were really doing something" when you immediately had to put into action the message of the lecture. Sometimes the action was not too difficult, as when, for example, you tried out one of the drown-proofing strokes. Sometimes the action represented a major challenge, as when, for example, you checked the way you had just been shown to rope yourself in, because in the next moment you were going down the side of the cliff for the "big rappell". Those times, or those days, when lectures predominated were felt as boring or "slow days". People became restless, eager to get on with "what really mattered".

D. <u>The Outward Bound program is explicitly uniform, yet a wide range of individual response is acceptable.</u>

There is a strong pressure at Outward Bound for everyone to receive the standard treatment, for everyone to take the same course. This is a particularly significant pressure considering the variety of boys attending an Outward Bound school. There are actually, however, many different courses at any one Outward Bound school session. In terms of his actions, and more importantly in terms of his reactions and attitudes, each boy has essentially his own course.

The psychological requirements for a particular Outward Bound task or for an entire Outward Bound course are often modified for an individual student. The decision about how and when to make such modifications is not an easy one. But then, judgments about helping a student explore his limits are not easy. Staff had the authority to make such modifications.

They considered both the physical and when possible psychological capacities of a student. For example, they can give a lighter pack to a boy who is somewhat weaker than others; or assign a normal expedition route to a boy who can push himself in spite of a bruised ankle; or give a difficult solo site to one of the more resourceful boys. Staff members try to avoid insulting a student by saying in effect that he cannot complete the standard course. Often staff and student do not mutually recognize the need for particular modification.

Sometimes the decision to modify the requirements of the task or the Outward Bound course depends on the student's judgment and/or actions. In the climb up the rock face we described, certain students purposely took more difficult climbing routes. Students vary in the degree to which they push themselves on final expedition. Finally, student bravado is often taken literally. Students who boast about their ability to do certain things are usually challenged to put their words into action. This often creates more difficult task requirements for students inclined towards bravado.

If one looks at content alone, one can say there are many different Outward Bound courses at any school. The course each student takes become even more individualized when one considers his reactions to the tasks, his attitudes, his emotions, etc. Students experience self-confrontation in different ways, at different times. Fear of the open sea may be different from the fear of not finishing the marathon. A student can be challenged by loneliness on the solo, or by the need for group co-ordination on the climb. The variety of subjective reactions to the "same" course seem endless.

The fact that each student takes essentially his own course increases the educational potential of Outward Bound. Certain problems, however, prevent this potential from being realized to any large extent. Outward Bound is not really prepared for such individualized instruction and treatment. As we will discuss in the next section, staff cannot provide individualized attention. Nor is there psychological preparation available which would facilitate the individual educational experience of a student in one of the "standard" tasks. Moreover, there are no easy guide lines for the decision about when a modification in the course is necessary, appropriate or a "cop-out". This creates some confusion in both students and staff. And since the general expectation among students is that everyone should do the same course, you often hear unconstructive complaining about modifications: "some guys aren't really doing their job", "some guys are getting off easy".

E. Psychological preparation for and follow-up after an experience are not emphasized.

As social scientists, we must be especially careful at this point in the report. We must try to control our professional bias toward emphasizing psychological functioning. We will try not to misinterpret Outward Bound so as to confirm our bias. Outward Bound draws some of its unique educational impact from its very avoidance of "psychologizing".

First let us make clear what we mean by psychological preparation for and follow-up after an experience. We do not mean intellectualizing about an experience. We do not necessarily mean talking about or conceptualizing an experience, though one might. As demonstrated by "basic encounter" groups (T-groups), talking about things can be an intense

experience. "Psychological" also includes emotional and non-verbal preparation and follow-up. By "psychological" preparation we mean being psychologically ready to learn from an experience not being told what to experience. By "psychological" follow-up we mean being psychologically able to sustain the educational impact of the experience, not being told what you experienced.

At Outward Bound, preparation for and follow-up after an experience is handled effectively on the physical dimension. For example, students are adequately clothed, and receive adequate medical attention. They gradually build up their physical climbing skills by working on the "ropes course" and the rock slabs. Debriefing sessions were most often skill-oriented.

Attention is paid to psychological factors at Outward Bound. Work on the ropes course also prepares students psychologically for their climb, e.g., it develops confidence. But there are two particularly important areas in which psychological preparation and follow-up seem inadequate, thereby decreasing the educational effectiveness of experiences. First, the intense, volatile emotions (e.g., fear) generated by some experiences seem inadequately handled. Second, the variety and range of particular experiences seem inadequately explored. Though some staff worked effectively in these two areas, there are few formal structures supporting them in this effort.

Many of the experiences at Outward Bound involve intensely felt and volatile emotions such as fear. When a student confronts himself, such emotions usually arise. Psychological preparation and follow-up becomes

particularly acute at those times. Generally, however, it seems inadequate. Fear, for example, is often engendered without an appreciation of the effects it might have on an individual. Follow-up is often too minimal to direct the fear into productive directions. In such cases the student was less able to deal with and/or understand the fear. An emotion experienced in such a way was too often gladly forgotten or avoided. The potential learning that could have occured, which was great, is severely limited.

The three-day solo exemplifies an experience whose range of possibilities seems inadequately explored. Preparation and follow-up was primarily on the physical dimension. Many students spent their solo "caught" in one or two routines (e.g., getting wood for the fire, thinking about food). They were not able to learn more by examing alternative behaviors. Others found themselves unable to do even the simplest things. They became disappointed in themselves. There was little post-solo examination of such "limited" behavior, which could have turned that behavior into an educational experience. Instead of merely being disappointed in himself, a student could understand how his behavior explained something about himself.

There are students who "came prepared" to enhance the educational impact of experiences. They naturally consider the meaning of their behavior or the implications of an action. The vast majority of students, however, need guidance. They cannot by themselves turn Outward Bound experiences into educational experiences. These students might benefit from more psychological preparation and follow-up both at critical points

in the course (e.g. before and after the solo) and at critical points in their own course (e.g. when they must exercise leadership for the first time). Perhaps discussions might be helpful, e.g. describing how the fear felt, and sharing this description with others who also give their reactions to fear. Being able to clarify or conceptualize an experience, even in a very rudimentary form, is often helpful in understanding the experience. The danger, of course, is over-psychologizing. Then the concept becomes substituted for the experience; introspection leads to immobility. But Outward Bound seems far from this danger.

F. Staff is critical to the success of the educational method.

Without the proper guidance from staff, the Outward Bound program (for example, tasks, events) would work only fortuitously. The physical locale, the tasks to be performed, the schedule, -- all seem ancillary to the Outward Bound experience. They are "equipment" which must be used. Depending on the quality of the staff, they are used in a way which produces more or less of an educational experience. The same climb, the same portage, the same sail affects students differently and is differentially effective with them. A student can be pushed to constructively explore his limits or pushed too far or too fast. The difference often lies with the instructor in charge of the activity. Though the point is moot whether the present Outward Bound locations and programs are necessary, it seems very clear that they are not sufficient in themselves. Staff members are often not aware of the extent of their influence on Outward Bound. We have already mentioned the feelings many staff had that the mountains, etc. and/or the Outward Bound program were automatically educative.

Staff is in constant and immediate contact with the students. The key unit in the Outward Bound experience is the "patrol" or "brigade" or

"watch". This unit usually consists of two staff members and twelve students. The patrol spends most of its time working separately from other patrols, which leads to a very decentralized quality in Outward Bound schools. The low staff-student ration and the decentralized aspect of the program gives the instructor a great deal of influence. This influence is further enhanced by the immediacy of the contact which occurs between staff and students. On the various field expeditions, when the staff and students cook together and pitch their tents in the same area, when they have to deal with the same portage, a closeness develops.

Not only is the contact between staff and students constant and immediate, but the staff has great authority in the program. Staff in effect runs the program. Outward Bound is not a "participatory democracy". Even after students gain some knowledge of the terrain and how to travel in it, they are only rarely consulted in planning the route and length of expeditions. The 26 day schedule is largely preplanned, and number of open periods at a minimum. The mobile courses are much more flexible in this regard. Staff knows what to do and how to do it - they have the skills. Being in control of the program, and having the skills to carry out the program, heighten the degree of staff influence on the Outward Bound experience.

Outward Bound requires an exceptionally talented staff; generally it is able to recruit qualified people. An instructor's job is extremely difficult. To use the environment skillfully, in a way conducive to learning, is not easy. Nor is it easy to teach in an environment which values experiential learning. It is hard to judge when to let the student learn by trial and error, and when to offer guidance and in what amounts.

Staff must be more sensitive to the individual qualities of a student than his peers usually are. The "planner", is often overlooked by his peers, must be recognized. The value of meeting challenges must be held more sensitively and flexibly than it is by most students. Some of the Outward Bound rules, e.g. no smoking or drinking, are not adhered to by staff. Applying these rules to students becomes that much more difficult. Added to these (more subtle) difficulties is the enormous responsibility Outward Bound instructors have -- their students' lives often depend on the quality of their instruction. One final element is the expectation that students will change in important ways. This puts additional pressure on the staff.

There seem to be at least three important aspects to a good staff member: technical proficiency, skill as an educator, and dedication to the Outward Bound idea. Most of the Outward Bound staff are exceptionally qualified in the technical realm. There are many professional climbers, canoeists, yachtsmen, etc. Outward Bound's "classroom" is the sea, the mountains, the lakes and streams. Before one could teach effectively there, one had to have enough technical competence to instinctively make the "right move". The instructor who had to worry about his own performance too much, was at a disadvantage. He couldn't devote enough attention to his students. Moreover, his relative lack of skill or confidence was sometimes picked up by the students, diminishing their respect for him. Also, technical competence was essential in encouraging students to test their limits. Instructors had to know about the physical and technical difficulty of the various tasks at Outward Bound. Sometimes it seemed that some staff members were "too competent" or "too professional" for

Outward Bound. At times some seemed to demand too much perfection in the way an act was performed. And other times some didn't seem sufficiently aware of how difficult the beginning stages of a climb or portage were for a student. At other times, however, their high degree of technical competence was essential for safety. Their standards of safety, often based on an experience with a tragic accident, were an essential aspect of the Outward Bound experience. And they spoke out when they felt these standards were being compromised either in the area of equipment or supervision.

Fewer on the Outward Bound staff are effective educators. It takes great skill as an educator to know when a person is stretching his limits. The effective educators usually were not among the most technically proficient. Having some instructors who were not physical "supermen" helped students communicate with staff and learn from them. An instructor who became winded in the morning run became more accessible to the student who had a similar experience. The primary teaching mode is by example.

Staff members are generally quite dedicated to their job. Without this dedication it is hard to imagine how they could accept the considerable demands on their energy, patience and understanding.

As important as it is to have good instructors, it is even more important to avoid "bad" ones. Unqualified instructors are rare, but in the one instance that we observed the effect was near disastrous. This instructor at times severely compromised safety standards, at other times perverted education into militaristic regimentation and seemed a "cheerleader" for a cause he neither understood nor participated in. Staff

selection becomes critical. Staff training programs are employed at Outward Bound schools both to understand staff better, selecting out unqualified ones, and to orient staff toward the Outward Bound approach. Another good staff selection and training procedure is the extensive in-service program at Outward Bound schools for staff-trainees, many of whom have recently completed an Outward Bound course. These staff-trainees assist instructors and there is ample opportunity to judge their potential as regualr staff.

V. OUTWARD BOUND'S EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES

Outward Bound functions more in terms of experiences, actions and activities than explicit educational principles. Its theory of education and personal growth is implicit and unarticulated. There are, however, educational principles which guide the selection and development of these experiences and activities. The educational principles we discuss will not coincide exactly with the educational goals presented in the Outward Bound ideology. That is because we are trying to focus upon factors which seem to be actually operating at the schools.

A. Encouraging personal growth.

Encouraging personal growth is perhaps the basic and overriding educational principle at Outward Bound. The six other educational principles listed below are in a sense vehicles for encouraging students' personal growth. For example, Outward Bound tries to develop a student's capacity for persistence, as one important dimension of personal growth.

One very important aspect of this educational principle is that personal growth be sustained and generalized after Outward Bound. The Outward Bound idea is to educate through mountain-climbing, canoeing or navigating on the open sea. For example, overcoming a physical obstacle is a teaching analogy for overcoming a psychological obstacle. This idea of education through climbing etc. has serious obstacles to becoming operational. The problem does not seem to be that climbing is not intrinsically educational. Rather the problem seems to be that the

educational implications of climbing are not always automatically perceived or experienced.

Generally, students do not intuitively and/or immediately see the relationship between e.g. climbing a mountain and the issues which concern them back home. The most obvious case of this is the city-dweller who talks of the absence of mountains or lakes on his block. This concrete approach is quite prevalent and takes time to overcome.

The staff at times unwittingly reinforce this dilemma in students. Many of the Outward Bound staff believe that the mountains, lakes and sea are automatically educative. There is a strong feeling that all a student has to do is climb one of the taller peaks and an important and educational experience will occur for him. We talked already of areas where psychological preparation and follow-up for experience seemed inadequate. Not many students come prepared to see how e.g. their climb might relate to the problem they have in the classroom.

Moreover, students often want to become competent in the activity at hand, e.g. navigation and the activity can easily become an end in itself. As students develop skill and competence in navigation, they often become captivated by an image of themselves as being professional in sailing. This interest is in learning more of the techniques, more of the terminology, more of the "inside" information about the sea.

In addition to this tendency to think of sailing as an end in itself, there are other features of the Outward Bound experience which make it seem unrelated to the situations most students face after the course. For example, the schools are located in retreat-like wilderness settings quite unlike the urban, industrialized environments most boys are in contact with. This

difference between the Outward Bound environment and the home environment can serve as a stimulus to change while at Outward Bound. In a new environment individuals often try out new behaviors. This difference also, however, makes integrating the Outward Bound experience into daily functioning after the course more difficult.

Post-course conditions are not conducive to supporting personal growth changes in students. Students have few procedures available for integrating the important and special Outward Bound experience into their daily functioning. Some Outward Bound students can talk with, or perhaps work out with, others who have been to Outward Bound. This is especially so at certain of the large prep schools, but again this is not an extensive follow-up procedure. Other students try to bring small parts of Outward Bound into their daily functioning on their own. For example, they may run every morning. This is not easy to keep up especially when you have to run alone. A few of the Outward Bound students continue actively in the Outward Bound organization. They may come back to the school as staff-trainees, and then as staff. They still have no special help in integrating Outward Bound into their usual (non-Outward Bound) functioning.

Without such integration into a student's daily functioning, the Outward Bound experience can elicit feelings undonducive to long-term change, such as nostalgia. Students can easily become nostalgic, looking back on the Outward Bound course as one of their major life experiences. The experience may be thought of merely as a "past" event, something which could never be duplicated. They may even wonder how they were able to do what they did at Outward Bound. This can happen when, after getting distance from the Outward Bound experience, one feels more completely the

fears which accompany a particular incident. Changes in self-image felt during the course may begin to seem alien to a person. There is a tendency to exaggerate the dramatic and dangerous aspects of the course and emphasize dramatic experiences. The equally valid, and more frequent experiences of gradual personal change at Outward Bound can remain undeveloped.

B. Developing the ability to deal with danger, in particular the fear which is evoked (developing of courage).

There are many kinds of danger at Outward Bound, and many fears which are evoked. Physical dangers, at times involving a student's life, are emphasized both in the public relations media and during the course. But there are other dangers which seem potentially to have a great impact on students. There is, for example, the danger of not succeeding, and the accompanying fear of failure. On the long hikes, or long rows in the open whale boats, one can never be sure all the time one will make it.

As we have suggested, it did not seem that Outward Bound handled the emotion of fear in a way necessarily conducive to learning. Too often the experience of fear was not a learning experience. There can be little doubt, however, that confrontation with what is subjectively felt as dangerous is a crucial part of a student's Outward Bound experience. Were it not for this, Outward Bound would become just another summer camp.

In examining the element of danger and its accompanying fear we will focus on physical danger. There are several reasons for this focus. We mentioned the emphasis on physical danger in the public relations media and during the course. Students point toward situations involving physical

danger. They anticipate these situations, though rarely do they eagerly enter them. Moreover, of all the dangers present at Outward Bound, physical danger seems the best understood, and the most carefully worked on.

An educationally-effective amount of danger, involving a balance of "objective" danger and what is "subjectively" felt as dangerous, is not easily attained at Outward Bound. Tasks which are objectively dangerous are not always synonymous with tasks which are subjectively felt as dangerous. Climbing up loose rock is in fact quite dangerous, but students do not instinctively feel it as too dangerous. The rappell on the other hand, is usually felt as being quite dangerous, though the way it is set up makes it in fact fairly safe. A task which is both objectively dangerous and subjectively felt as dangerous is canoeing in difficult whate whaer. Most often tasks which are subjectively felt as dangerous depend on the student'' inexperience with the task requirements. The first time one climbs a rock face, or "shoots the rapids" or is on the eaa at night in an open boat, is entirely different from the second or any cuccedding time. The unknown is critical to generating a feeling that one is involved in a dangerous task. Often, as a student gains experience with such tasks they feel less dangerous and can become objecfively less dangerous. But studen s can make the tasks objectively more dangerous through over-confidence. At times tasks are designed whose major purpose se ms to be to provide the students with a "new thrill", a new danger experience. Some of the more professional staff objected to this type of task, particularly when the task did not seem central to pre-

paring students for functioning in their wilderness environment. Yet if objective physical dangers were eliminated, the Outward Bound experience would possibly be much less intense than it now is. It seems likely that many of the instructors would no longer operate as effectively. Since they know there are objective dangers, they retain a more intense, and active participation. They make extraordinary demands on their own time, energy and involvement.

One of the more prevalent approaches to the question of physical danger is shared by the more professional staff members. They believe in exploring limits but with continued knowledgeable and careful assessment of the dangers involved, and the probabilities of surviving those dangers. Their approach is safe and reasonable, while they continue to extend themselves and confront danger. Their approach is perhaps the main reason why they are still alive after their many climbs and wilderness experiences. The importance of technical competence and judgment again becomes clear. Instructors must be able to assess the objective dangers of a situation, and take into account the level of competence students may have for dealing with the situation.

Tasks which involve physical danger are clearly defined. Rules for meeting these tasks are specified and adherence is demanded. When one is learning about climbing, the technique is fully explained. The dangers inherent in the task are explained and methods for dealing with them are outlined, for example, what to do in case of falling rock. It is made very clear that "one wrong step" often does mean the difference between life and

Students are instructed against doing things which would be considered "reckless". There is an emphasis on appraising the situation, and determining the probability of success, the degree of danger. When a particular action is considered appropriate, the emphasis is on the task. The student should think of himself only in regard to how he can complete the action successfully. His concern is how he can make the difficult part of the climb, hugging the mountain on the ledge with nothing below but an enormous fall. He literally cannot afford to think about how frightening that moment is, until he has performed the action. Too much introspection at moments like that could lead to dangerous self-consciousness, even physical immobilization. That's likely what happened to the boy who froze on the rock face. It is not easy for students to focus on the next hand hold or foot hold and ignore the fact that they may be more frightened than they have ever been in their life.

The fact that certain procedures and rules are necessary to meeting dangerous tasks has important implications. A student cannot participate in certain parts of the course if he hasn't mastered the rules. Having a boy on a climb who has not mastered the safety rules is quite different from having a student in a class who does not understand the math problem as well as others in the class. A boy on the mountain who is not aware of the safety precautions can endanger his own life as well as the lives of others. Because of the cumulative nature of the learning at Outward Bound and because techniques are taught rapidly as time is short, unless a boy participates from the beginning it is likely he will not be able to participate later during the course. When a student has not participated in the early stages and is not prepared to go into the field or climb a

mountain, special instruction usually takes place. This, however, becomes a severe strain on the already limited instructional staff.

Moments of danger are embedded in the "daily" requirements of persistence. The times when a student has to confront danger often come unexpectedly. The climb would be going quite well when suddenly one approached a crevass, and the moment of danger was unexpectedly at hand. The dangerous task would also be quite expected; one could work toward mastering it. For example, students were aware of the "big rappell" even before they began the course. They looked toward the rappell and thought about it. But throughout, was the need for persistence. As with the rock climb, so many of the dangerous moments had to be confronted "one by one"; the rest of the time one waited, persistently. Tasks which require persistence take up more actual time in the Outward Bound course than tasks requiring other capacities. Tasks involving danger, however, are often emphasized more and considered more significant by students.

C. Developing the capacity for persistence (developing will-power).

The persistence needed is both physical and psychological. The need for physical persistence is quite clear. The long hikes, the long rows, the long portages, the long days of paddling, all require substantial persistence. Well after fatigue has set in, when physical pain has already come and gone, students often must continue. In the conditioning exercises, for example, though a student is completly exhausted, he is asked to "do one more" pull up, etc. The need for persistence often leads to a fatigue which lowered one's "psychological resistance". Students become at times more willing and at times less willing than

usual to try things or stretch their limits.

Psychological persistence is equally important. We talked of the waiting at the rock face, the long waits before it was your turn to climb. There are many occasions when students have time to think about the danger that lay ahead. Students also have to be able to stay with a task even though the rewards were few or scattered far apart. For example, one had to continue on the long expedition despite the fact that one had not had a good night's sleep or a good meal for several days. The three-day solo experience is primarily a test of persistence; day after day has to be faced. The solo becomes a dramatic event in post hoc descriptions. Then the solo is often considered as a single event rather than so many minutes, hours, or days, facing the ever-present traps of boredom, and lonliness.

The need for persistence seems to impart a sense of continuity to the Outward Bound experience. Were they not set within the context of persistence, the moments of danger would more likely become merely discrete "spectaculars". Set within the context of persistence, these moments of danger become more likely to have an effect on personal growth.

D. Developing a style of functioning which includes pacing oneself, living efficiently and economically, and relying on one's natural resources.

The individual must develop a steady, regular pace. This pace is necessary to master many of the tasks and to meet the sometimes extra-ordinary demands made upon one's energy. As we saw on the climb up the rock face, steady, regular movements are required. "Scrambling" makes the task extremely difficult and dangerous. The hikes, expeditions, canoe

trips -- all demand energy expenditure spread over long periods of time. If one is to work at them throughout the day and sometimes into the night, pacing becomes essential. Especially in the early part of the course, students do not have a regular rhythm to their canoe paddling and will put forth spurts of hard paddling in the context of generally lackadaisical paddling. It is only in time that students realize how important it is to have a regular rhythm to their paddling, to systematically switch the sides on which they paddle. Not all students learn this, and for them a long day of paddling is extraordinarily difficult. The same is true with hiking and rowing. The urge to "work hard and get there faster" had to be subdued. Regular breaks are also essential.

There is an important difference between pacing which is externally imposed on a student, and pacing which evolves from within the student and is based on his own characteristics. The former pacing is very mechanical, the latter is more of a rhythm. Most students do not develop pacing as a rhythm though this is the ideal.

Within the context of this steady, regular pace, the individual must also be flexible, ready for unusual demands on his energy or "decisions". When one is on white water, there is a premium on being able to make "just the right stroke". One had to be able to react quickly, and one's instincts must be right more often than wrong. There are also times when a quick person's energy is essential. In mountain rescue work, if the litter starts to slip, an extreme output of energy in a very short period of time may be required. Moreover, as one is hiking, or paddling, one must adapt to changes in conditions. Students must learn to regulate their body temperature by making adjustments in

their clothing. One must also keep dry. One's rain gear must be handy, but not in the way when it is not in use. If one's pacing is merely mechanical, this flexibility is more difficult to attain.

The individual must learn to live simply, efficiently and economically. On expedition, one must take only those things which are essential because the weight of the packs must be kept down. Gear must be organized and packed efficiently. Space is also at a premium. The solo experience for many students epitomizes this need to live simply, efficiently, and economically. The idea of the body as a "machine" becomes important. One, for example, takes on expedition small amounts of high energy food, and feeds the body as one would stoke a furnace. Food is seen as fuel, whose purpose is to provide energy. The simplicity, effeciency and economy are much more prevalent in the field than at the home base or the school. Still there are very few frills at school, for example, no TVs or radios, and students live in tents.

The individual must continually exert his own effort without employing short-cuts. There is a conscious emphasis on the use of the most basic (often archaic) modes for student training. You hike at Outward Bound whenever possible. Rides are available if the time required to travel by foot would prevent key parts of the program from taking place. For example, if one had to walk to the point from which the canoe expedition embarks, the expedition could never be held. Whale-boats equipped with oars, at times using sails, are used instead of power boats. One paddles and carries one's canoe over the portage rather than employing motor power, or flying in to the various lakes by small plane.

Modern technological aids are used primarily by staff, particularly to insure safety. Various communication devices and power boats are available for rescue operations. Staff members also "treat" themselves to the "luxury" of modern conveniences, e.g. the latest in alpine stoves on the expedition or a ride to the solo site.

The tasks which require efficiency, economy and use of one's own resources are designed, and at least implicitly offered to the student as "lessons" in getting close to one's "natural conditions". These lessons, however, seem short-lived. Perhaps the best example of this is the solo experience. Given minimum resources for food and shelter, the student must deal with these critical areas himself and in a very primitive form. He goes about foraging his own food, cooks it if he desires, and then eats it. Throughout he has been directly involved in providing energy for his body. The same holds true in his providing warmth and shelter for himself. And in a more subtle and perhaps more important area, students must learn to deal with time. For four days and three nights alone in the woods is a long time, and boredom is one of the major elements in the solo. Things such as electric blankets, bedrooms, TV and movies take on a new meaning. Without them the student must work harder and longer at meeting some of his basic needs. During the solo he comes to understand these needs more intimately for he often has difficulty in finding food and providing shelter. Unfortunately much of this understanding seems tied to the particular task of completing the solo.. After solo, students very quickly "forget" many of the things they "learned".

There often seem to be insufficient amounts of fun, play, release, and exploration. These seen necessary counterpoints to the emphasis on pacing, efficiency and economy. There is a tremendous pressure to keep going, to take a longer route, to push on further before making camp. This pressure means that certain pleasures must be sacrificed, for example, an evening dip in the lake, exploring an island, or glissading down a vast stretch of snow. When such recreation is sacrificed too often, things seem to get stale. Fatigue builds to an unproductive level. The dip, or the exploration, inevitably refreshes students, and regenerates them so they can continue to put forth effort and remain involved.

E. Developing interpersonal competence and sensitivity to improve task performance.

Interpersonal relations at Outward Bound are primarily oriented toward task performance. Extensive or intensive interpersonal relationships are not encouraged, nor are they frequent. This presents a problem, for often such relationships seem necessary to the Outward Bound experience. We talked for example of how the educational impact of a fear experience might be increased if the student could share this experience with others. But sharing feelings of fear in a constructive way usually requires a good deal of understanding, and trust among people. A relationship of such depth is not frequent at Outward Bound.

The fact that interpersonal relations are oriented toward task performance also influences the concept of Outward Bound as a "melting-pot". There is great opportunity for Outward Bound to be a melting-pot experience. In any one watch, brigade or patrol, the variety is great. But what in fact happens as that a heterogeneous group of students learns

to function as a team though students generally do not come to understand each other in any depth. The initiative tests are a good illustration of how students develop team work. The basis of the teamwork is an apprasal of the particular strengths and/or weaknesses of the individual members. For example, someone who is quite strong fulfills one part of the task, someone who is light and can jump high fills another part. But the variety of aspects which makes up any one person is not explored. The part of him which is functionally important, that is, which will lead to the solution of a task, is emphasized. Students easily acquire labels, for example, "he can really navigate", or "he can really portage", or "he's really strong in the shoulders". These labels are misleading. Not only do they discourage in depth knowledge of another person, but also they make empty and facile the Outward Bound idea that "each boy has a contribution to make". Too often a student's contribution becomes a not too subtle smokescreer for a failure to accept him as a person. The boy who is "our fastest runner" is often denied participation in the full range of activities such as free-time horsing around, or "bull sessions". Being "the fastest runner" less frequently serves as an entree into the group.

The teamwork which develops does not seem particularly durable. It seems to belie the fact that interpersonal relations do not cover the many facets of the individual. The degree of teamwork is easily affected by the task at hand. At certain points, when the going is particularly tough, for example, on a muddly portage, teamwork often deteriorates. At other points, when the going is easier, for example, on the return trip

on the expedition, teamwork is much more in evidence.

Impressive learning could occur if interpersonal exploration were encouraged. Since the group composition is heterogeneous and there are a number of intense, shared experiences, groups could communicate about important things. This kind of interchange does happen spontaneously, on occasion, and the results seem so fruitful and important that it may be wise to encourage this interpersonal sharing more explicitly.

The helping relationship provides a further example of the task oriented nature of interpersonal relations. "To help" and "to be helped" are important aspects of Outward Bound. Students depend on each other in an ultimate but circumscribed way. As we described in the climb up the rock face, the climber depends in an ultimate way on the belayer. But the person who belays is more a role than a person. Within very broad limits, any student could belay for any other student who was climbing. Very often the student upon whom you ultimately depended while climbing is one you do not turn to for help in other situations. The classic example of a patrol helping the "fat guy" over the wall or beam is likewise often a very circumscribed helping relationship.. The exigencies of the task seem to bring out the helping response, which in other less demanding situations is conspicuously absent.

Competition with standards of excellence, the concern with effective performance is one issue which is rather fully explored. Intergroup competition is an explicit issue at Outward Bound. There are days set aside for group competition and daily scores for group competition on tasks like drown-proofing and conditioning are often kept. Competition with oneself is also stressed. Students are encouraged to improve upon their

past performances, to outdo themselves. On the rock face, the need to immediately climb again and this time not fall, was in complete harmony with the Outward Bound idea. Tasks like drown-proofing and conditioning encourage the individual to gradually improve his skills and better his prior performance. Inter-individual competition, though not encouraged, is allowed. The marathon, for example, is often an opportunity for individuals to compete against each other, in spite of the fact that group scores are kept.

Much of the impetus for competition comes from the staff. The staff members are continually trying to improve upon their own performance. They are either trying to do a task more efficiently, or trying to present themselves with a harder task to complete. The staff members also compete with each other. They very often use their groups in this inter-staff competition. For example, there is competition to see which brigade can take the hardest route on the expedition. This intra- and inter-staff competition helps the staff avoid boredom or disinterest in doing the same task at least three different times in any summer session (there are three courses each summer).

There is little support for expressing what are traditionally considered more feminine concerns, for example, tenderness, caring about others, sensitivity to others' needs. There is a tremendous force to "get on with the job". Someone who wants to "take time out" to inquire about how others are doing or what they may need, does not often occupy a valued role. Over-protective concern for others is often ridiculed. A student who checks on whether others are dressed to meet the weather may be dismissed with the label, "hey mother". There is a

tendency to polarize these expressions of tenderness and sympathy into a concept of femininity (and weakness) as contrasted with masculinity. The general realm of feelings and appreciation of beauty also tend to be pushed into a concept of femininity.

The de-emphasis on exploring interpersonal issues seems to result from both characteristics of the Outward Bound program and staff preferences. The Outward Bound schedule is a tight one. As we saw in the climb up the rock face, there is little time left over after all students have had a chance to perform the task. The time students spend waiting for their turn invariably remains waiting; rarely does anything with interpersonal intensity get started. Moreover, there is an understanding that exploration of interpersonal issues can make task performance ineffective, at least in the early stages. Again, because of constraints of time, as well as the fact that real dangers exist with many tasks, tasks must be performed effectively quite soon. In isolated instances, for example, in some of the initiative tests, interpersonal issues are allowed to intrude upon the effectiveness of task performance. But one's life does not depend upon the way the initiative test is solved. Finally there are few structures which encourage exploration of interpersonal issues. There are, for example, few times devoted to group discussions; and not enough time is given to develop the discussion in depth.

Staff preferences in this area are critical. Most of the Outward Bound staff do not see their jobs as encouraging interpersonal exploration. They feel that task performance is the essential aspect of Outward Bound, the key challenge experience. Interpersonal understanding, if it occurs, is seen as an outgrowth of task performance. And because they too are

pressed for time, with so many things they have to attend to, they do not often specifically encourage interpersonal understanding.

The emphasis on action does not explain fully the emphasis on task performance and de-emphasis on interpersonal exploration. In actuality, some of the most important instances of interpersonal exploration at Outward Bound are pure actions. When you're struggling to get your heavy pack up on your back, the person who comes over to lend a hand says something quite special. Moreover, students must think things out in solving tasks. For example, learning to use a compass is critical to the trek in the woods; developing a plan of action or solving a problem is critical to meeting the initiative tests.

F. Developing a desire to serve others.

Outward Bound works in three areas which are essential to developing the desire to serve: (a) confidence in being able to help others; (b) the development of certain service skills, e.g. first aid; and (c) a service attitude or orientation. There is a strong interest in developing students' confidence in their ability to help others. In belaying, for example, the student is told that another's life literally depends on his skill and attention to the task. Students are also given responsibility for larger groups and even parts of the school, for example, the duty patrol and in particular the duty captain. Helping skills, such as first aid, are important parts of the Outward Bound program. During both mock and actual rescue operations these skills are further developed and tested. There is finally the general service attitude which pervades the schools. The schools serve as official rescue centers for their areas.

Moreover, many members of the staff have participated in a number of rescues. Such persons lend authority to the instructional sessions about service and rescue.

"Real" perhaps "dramatic" service opportunities seem important to developing in students the desire to serve. Fortunately, such opportunities are not often available to students. Part of the Outward Bound program is a number of simulated rescue operations. Rarely does a faked injury convince many of the students. This is the case even though the "injured" may display many of the more subtle symptoms he would in an actual injury -- confusion, or wondering in fact whether he is hurt. When the rescue is a real one, there is a completely different feel about it. Involvement is higher because the stakes are higher. Students go beyond themselves on the real rescues where on the simulated ones they do not. When a real rescue opportunity does occur, and this is not frequently, a limited number of boys are directly involved. Very often groups are out in the field and only that group which is near the accident is involved in the rescue. Moreover, staff leads the rescue operation. It should be no other way if the safety of the victim is to be considered. But it does somewhat detract from the intensity of the service opportunity for the students involved.

Dramatic service opportunities (for example, a rescue) engage students more than do mundane opportunities. This encourages a limited, immature concept of service to be developed in students. Too often it seems that service in the minds of the students become equivalent with rescue operations. Keeping the woods clean on a canoe trip to prevent fire hazard does not have the impact to engage students' interest or energy.

These more mundane service opportunities are certainly more frequently encountered than the dramatic ones. They also seem central to the idea of a desire to serve others. There is also the more general desire to serve, a general concern for others and feeling responsible for their welfare. This general desire to serve does not often spring from a student's involvement in a rescue operation.

G. Developing a Religious attitude.

Morning readings, followed by a period of silence, are the formal religious vehicle. These readings give religion an official place at Outward Bound but are not as effective as the less frequently used informal vehicles. The morning readings deal with a number of themes, usually expressed in poetry or prose. There are readings about man's inisgnificance in relation to nature, about the beauty of nature, about the importance of "try, try again", about being a "square shooter". Often, however, students do not listen attentively. In the field religion becomes more powerful. When a student is called upon to give grace for the meal which follows a long hard day of canoeing, the grace can be quite inspiring. This is particularly the case when the standard graces are discouraged. As one reaches a magnificent view on a climb and the instructor stops and gazes out over the valley, the impact can be quite powerful.

The relationship to nature at Outward Bound is many-sided. It is a key symbol of the more general relationship of man to his environment taught at Outward Bound. At the start of the course, students usually struggle with or fight against nature. As the course progresses, students

learn more how to cooperate with nature, and on occasion, to appreciate nature. The climb up the rock face typified the degree of struggle with nature that occurs among students. The first climb of a mountain is usually a conquering of the peak. As students learn more to pace themselves, they move more towards a cooperation with nature. They begin to understand the significance of Euell Gibbons' solo preparation: "When the tide is low, your dinner table is set". As we discussed, there is an emphasis on doing and on keeping moving. It is rare that a student can spend time just sitting and listening to the sounds of the wilderness. Part of the problem, of course, is that when they have the time, for example, around dinner time, they do not use it in the appreciation of nature. Though the students are almost forced to feel a return to nature (especially on the solo), this seems a short-lived phenomenon. The simplicity and primitive aspects of a return to nature are often easily and quickly forgotten.

Staff generally cooperates with, appreciates, and wants to return to nature. Staff have a somewhat neutral attitude toward nature. They feel that they have a job to do and that nature has her own ways. They try to maximize the congruence between their needs and nature's ways. Pacing, being able to do the same amount of work with less energy, are examples of this cooperation with nature. Staff members can appreciate nature while on the move. As they paddle they can count on their bodies to do the job and therefore their minds and feelings are involved in the scenery or environment. Staff also know how to use their time. The time after dinner, for example, is used by staff for relaxation and appreciation of nature. Many staff seek a "return to nature". They value the more natural, uncomplicated, more primitive way in which they

can live in the field.

Rules of conduct are pervasive and are ethical in addition to being functional. The rules against smoking and drinking make sense in terms of physical conditioning. But they are also presented to the students as having a moral implication. The "rules of the wilderness" likewise have both the functional and moralistic quality. One keeps the campsite clean of litter so as to prevent fires, but also out of courtesy to the next user. The right of way is always offered not only because it facilitates traffic, but also because it is part of a "gentleman's code". The pledge students make at the beginning of the course to abide by Outward Bound rules is both given and taken seriously and with strong moral overtones. Boys often turn themselves in when they violate parts of the pledge. The violations are conceived of primarily as moral violations.

VI. EVALUATION AT OUTWARD BOUND

"Success" at Outward Bound is determined less by what the student does than by his attitude. The criteria of success are, moreover, ambiguous and individualistic. This gives added validity to the remark often made to students: "Only you know how you've done in this course, whether you stretched your limits". The formal evaluation process, culminating in the award of a certificate, is however, controlled by staff.

A. Success is based in part on student's actions, how much of the Outward Bound program he completes.

Most students complete all of the Outward Bound program. Completing tasks is particularly important in the mind of the students. It is an easy way for them to measure what they are doing in the course, and how they compare with fellow students. If one does not complete the entire Outward Bound program, one must complete most if not all certain key parts. These key parts are events such as the marathon, the solo, and the long expedition. These events are usually the most demanding and/or dangerous parts of the program, and are most often well described in the Outward Bound literature. We have already discussed, however, that there are many modifications in the tasks to be performed.

B. Success is based primarily on the student's reaction to the course, particularly his attitude.

Perhaps the most important quality a student must show is the desire to confront himself and hopefully go beyond what he thought were his limits in some manner. Frequently, a student will confront himself, yet not be

able to explore or stretch his limits extensively. A student may, for example, realize the falseness of his bravado about a particular part of the ropes course. He may not, however, be able to approach that part of the ropes course in a way which suggests he has been able to redefine his limits. He may have overcome his false bravado, and still not have developed new ways of dealing with the task.

Certain other student attitudes are valued at Outward Bound and serve as important criteria of success. It is important, for example, to do things because one wants to, or because one is willing, rather than because one is forced. Of course, too much initiative can create problems, as for example, trying to take a new route on the final expedition. It is important that students continually try. One student tried to lift his pack only to have his knees buckle beneath the weight. His pack was the usual weight, but he was not as strong as most boys. It is important not be a thorough-going complainer. One boy would "bitch" as he willingly, almost eagerly, pushed himself throughout the expedition. His actions made his attitude acceptable. Certainly one does not have to be joyful or cheerful while going through an Outward Bound course. It is also important to work towards more than a minimum performance. The student is expected, for example, to be constructive during his solo rather than just lie all the time in his sleeping bag (if he has one). The ideal is to have the student desire excellence in his performance.

C. Criteria of success are ambiguous and individualized.

Though it may be easy to judge if a student has physically completed a particular task, it is not easy to decide what the specific

task for that student should be. As we discussed, tasks are modified frequently. Students reactions and attitudes, the more important criteria of success, are even more difficult to judge. Students' reactions and attitudes are subtle matters and are often displayed in idiosyncratic fashion. Moreover, instructors have differing ideas about the appropriate Outward Bound attitude or the appropriate approach to the Outward Bound course. One student felt that he had not only confronted himself but had started to stretch his limits when he became proficcient at portaging the canoe. The instructor's standards, however, were such that he considered this achievement very minor, and not an instance in which the student had stretched himself. It was unclear wherein lay a fair judgment of that situation.

The problem of "malingering" highlights the dilemna of determining success at Outward Bound. Who is to say whether the sprained ankle or aching back is enough to put one out of commission? Broken bones, of course, present less of a problem. But even then, there is ambiguity about what one can or should do. What will lead one boy to give up may be taken by another as a challenge to be overcome. In the final analysis, each student knows how he went through the course, whether he pushed himself or eased through. Students are often told: "Only you know if you've done this task", "Only you know if you've met fear". This approach seems valid, for the Outward Bound experience is in essence an internal one. Yet when it comes to deciding who passes the course, the emphasis shifts: staff more than student decides what the student has done. This final decision is based on many smaller staff decisions about

e.g. whether a student malingered.

D. Staff decides who passes the course.

The criteria of success are ambiguous. Staff occupies a powerful position at the schools. A student will naturally look to the staff for some indication as to whether he is doing a "good" course. And staff freely gives feedback to a student about his performance and attitude. What happens is that staff, formally and informally, decides whether a student passes the course in terms of the more important and subtle criteria such as attitude. Students who qualify in terms of these criteria become eligible for a certificate, which is the formal sign of passing the course. Students do refuse the certificate. When this happens it is invariably because they have broken the rules against smoking and drinking.

Giving staff this decision-making power, however, seriously undercuts the idea that the student himself must be the ultimate judge of how he did in the course. Instructors, of course, try to find out a student's own evaluation. There are interviews formally set aside for this purpose. Often the instructor spends most of the time giving the student his (the instructor's) frank evaluation of him, leaving little time for the student's own evaluation of himself. Self-evaluation can be quite valid. Considering also the particular importance of self-evaluation at Outward Bound, it seems useful to include students in a more meaningful way in the evaluation process.

Being awarded the Outward Bound certificate is the formal sign of passing the course. The certificate is also the widely-accepted sign of

success at Outward Bound. The certificates are awarded in a serious ceremony which is viewed by staff and students as the culmination of the course. The ceremony usually occurs on the last night of the course, and talk about certificate becomes increasingly frequent as the program draws to a close. Certificates are accepted with pride. Even the boy who played the role of the court jester becomes quite serious when he walks up to accept his certificate. Since the obviously undeserving students usually do not get certificates, the certificate continues to be valued by the Outward Bound community, especially the students.

There are, however, no easy formulae for deciding who gets the certificate. With many students the decision about a certificate becomes a question of balance of his strength and weaknesses, or balancing Outward Bound standards with a student's own personal growth. If a student has fulfilled all the task requirements, it is hard not to give him a certificate, unless his attitude has been poor. On the other hand, if a student has an excellent attitude, he can be awarded the certificate despite the fact that he has not finished all parts of the course.

Certificates are sometimes awarded contingent on what the student does for a period of time after the course formally ends. Violation of Outward Bound rules, such as smoking and drinking, disqualifies a student from receiving a certificate. If this student, however, has done well enough in the rest of the course, he is given what amounts to another chance. If after the course formally ends, he does not smoke for a specified period of time, he may be awarded the certificate.

There is a general belief that certificates are awarded to those who deserve them. This belief is based primarily on the assumption that

certificates are an accurate external sign of students' internal judgment of their own success at Outward Bound. If this assumption is not true, the error is toward the side of leniency. At times students who do not seem deserving are awarded certificates. In some of these cases, certificates are awarded to encourage the student to act so as to deserve it. Students look upon the certificates to confirm their own judgments. Rarely can a student maintain the validity of his own judgment about the certificate when it conflicts with the staffs' judgment. Decisions about certificates have a compelling and final quality.

In addition to certificates, there is a report written on each student by his instructor. This report attempts a more extensive and intensive description and evaluation of the student's behavior and attitude during the course. The report is sent to the student's parents and/or sponsors. Evaluation can become more of a learning experience with these reports because instructors usually discuss with a student the content of his report during an interview at the end of the course.

VII. THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT AND OUTWARD BOUND

Outward Bound presents particular challenges and problems for the urban juvenile delinquent. In some instances these encourage personal growth, in other instances they discourage growth.

A. Certain qualities of the Outward Bound experience particularly encourage urban "juvenile delinquents" to change.

At Outward Bound there are opportunities which are specially important to delinquents but usually unavailable to them, i.e., opportunities for concrete impressive accomplishments, "real" excitement, and "real" challenge. To have in fact climbed up the rock face gives the delinquent a sense of concrete accomplishment. The action is concrete. It is clear that he has done it both to himself and to others. Those few parts of the Outward Bound program which were intellectual and verbal were much less satisfying. This of course relates to the reasons why so many of these delinquents had difficulties in school. Many of the delinquents talk continually about their toughness, their taking risks, and the thrills which they continually seek. Much of their talk is merely bravado, but it does reflect a need for excitement and challenge. As we have already described, Outward Bound gives its students a "real" opportunity for both excitement and challenge. Many of the urban delinquents do find mountain climbing more exciting than stealing cars. Self-confrontation usually precludes bravado as a response.

Aspects of Outward Bound make demands on delinquents' particular problem areas. The need for pacing at Outward Bound challenges delinquents'

impulsivity. The need for persistence at Outward Bound challenges their lack of endurance. Delinquents are generally all to eager to give up on a task, particularly when encountering difficulties. When there are no dramatic rewards, persistence becomes even more difficult. This is often the case at Outward Bound. The need for collaboration at Outward Bound challenges delinquents' individualistic orientation. Collaboration becomes acute in something like the rationing of food. On expeditions much of the food must be shared with others. Food seems to have particular importance for most delinquents. If they are ever to "look out for themselves", it is in regard to the amount of food they get. The sharing of food is a particularly trying experience.

Perhaps the most difficult experience for the delinquents is the solo. Their dependence on companionship, to be around their buddies, seems to be particularly intense. The solo challenges this dependence on companionship and a supply of food. Food deprivation can become extremely difficult for them. The need to obey safety rules challenges the delinquents' image of rules (and laws) as worthless. When he sees that the rule protects his life, it becomes valued. Finally, being in the field makes it hard for the delinquent to "con" his way through the program. On expedition, for example, there are a whole set of rules and assumptions with which he is unfamiliar. Living in the field is a new experience for him and he must use much of his energy in coping with it. He is barely able to keep up with the expedition; there is little time left to try and "con" the system. On the school grounds, where things are more familiar, it is easier to "con" his way through.

The pressure to reform is strong. Outward Bound is often used as a "golden opportunity" to start a new life. Delinquents often feel more than the usual desire to change when at Outward Bound. They seem to feel that more is riding on their ability to "shape up" (e.g., return to the community). This pressure to reform is not only internal. Officials at the correctional institutions and parents apply pressure in similar directions.

Much of the Outward Bound experience is new for them. This stimulates their interest and gives them a sense of excitement and challenge. We have already talked about the importance of inexperience in the Outward Bound activities. Furthermore the entire environment of the Outward Bound school is usually unfamiliar to the urban delinquent. The landscape and weather help to keep him interested. Comments about natural beauty and grandeur at Outward Bound often come from these delinquents.

B. Certain qualities of Outward Bound make it particularly difficult for these delinquents to change.

They can be unusually unprepared for Outward Bound. Many of the delinquents are physically "out of shape". This makes it much harder to be involved in the program, to participate in the physically demanding tasks. Many cannot swim. This means they must learn how to swim, as well as develop swimming endurance and skills. Very few of the delinquents have any wilderness experience. They are essentially strangers to the woods. They do not know how to dress properly, set up a comfortable and efficient camp. They are not prepared for the weather conditions they meet. Too often such boys remain strangers to the woods. They never feel knowledgeable enough or comfortable enough in the woods to begin to

learn about their relationship to their environment. Moreover, there are other more specific issues. For example, the pledge not to smoke is particularly hard for many of the delinquents. Unlike many of the other students, most delinquents are already heavy smokers.

Their view of Outward Bound is sometimes quite limited. The Outward Bound course can be seen merely as an alternative to traditional punishment methods. Some of the delinquents go through the Outward Bound course just to get their diploma (they are often told it is necessary in order for them to be paroled). They respond to Outward Bound as they would respond to the more traditional methods of punishment. They merely want to "serve their time" and "get out". This leads to a rather minimal participation and low level of involvement in Outward Bound.

Often the extra time, encouragement and patience needed by a delinquent before he can get involved in Outward Bound is not available. Since the delinquent usually comes from a radically different environment, he often needs more time to get involved in Outward Bound. Because he is somewhat distrustful of institutions generally, he often requires extensive encouragement and staff patience before he does get involved. Outward Bound schools are not set up at present to handle too many "special cases". Overly strict discipline sometimes is used merely to retain order. This can be particularly unfortunate for the delinquent.

The discrepancy between Outward Bound and the delinquents' home situation is unusually large. The idea of education through climbing does not make intuitive sense to most. Moreover, there are no groups of Outward Bound people for the delinquent to be in touch with. Unlike the prep-schooler, the delinquent is likely to be the only one in his

neighborhood or from his school who went to Outward Bound. Also, his parents are unlikely to have any familiarity with an Outward Bound-type experience. The urban delinquent returns to an environment which cannot support or extend any lessons of the Outward Bound experience because it does not understand them. Many delinquents develop unrealistic expectations of their post-course behavior, e.g., they think they will return to the Outward Bound school as assistant instructors.

C. Outward Bound groups composed entirely of delinquents.

Typically, there is no more than two delinquents in any group of 12 students. On two occasions a group composed entirely of delinquents (a homogeneous group) was tried. The homogeneous group did not easily develop ways of functioning effectively at Outward Bound. They did not find it easy to develop group organization and collaboration. The homogeneous group had great difficulty in organizing itself. The three men in a canoe, for example, took an unusually long time before they worked out efficient routines for sharing the paddling and portaging. They were more concerned with not having to carry the canoe over a particularly difficult portage than with developing a systematic means of organizing. Moreover, no effective leadership structure developed until quite late in the course. The problem was essentially that too few people were willing to follow. The "weaker" members of the group either withdrew from tasks or stubbornly refused to be told what to do. Without this support of followers, it would have required an extraordinary degree of leadership ability to make the group work. The idea of helping the weaker members was also slow to develop. The usual procedure was to scapegoat, or "put

down" the weaker members. In fact "putting down" other members of the groups was not confined to the ostensibly weaker members.

Delinquents in the homogeneous group tended to mutually reinforce maladaptive ways of behaving. This delayed the development of adaptive ways of behaving and effective learning at Outward Bound. When someone made a "wisecrack" he would likely find an appreciative audience in his peers. When someone who was attempting to direct the group constructively was frustrated by lack of cooperation, he got little encouragement from the rest of the group. Usually all just gave up and said "What's the use, we can never get it done". They usually blamed others for their own inability to meet a particular task. Very often there were a number of boys in the group who failed at a particular task. The unwillingness to persist, or to meet a challenge seemed contagious. This resulted in a group norm which did not encourage confrontation or meeting challenges. The fact that in one homogeneous group all the boys were from the same institution merely aggravated the problem. Their ways of relating to each other -- mainly maladaptive for Outward Bound -- had already developed to a sophisticated level. These established patterns had to be unlearned in addition to learning patterns which would be effective at Outward Bound.

We have described some of the problems encountered by the homogeneous groups. It is, however, important to emphasize the potential of such groups for having educationally effective Outward Bound experiences. When staff related to the homogeneous group with flexibility and patience, and sensitivity to some of the delinquents' special needs, the results

were quite promising. For example, learning seemed to increase when staff did not sacrifice communication with the delinquent for a strict adherence to Outward Bound standards or certain expectations, such as being on time for activities. Effective instruction seems a questions of timing and priorities. For example, the homogeneous groups were particularly careless with equipment, and particularly slow in getting to activities and completing tasks. With future groups, care and respect of equipment might be something staff stresses throughout. But being on time for activities might be something which is played down in the interest of establishing communication. One thing remains clear. The homogeneous groups required specialized attention, not so much in terms of staff time as in staff attitudes and understanding. Such specialized attention is not now commonly available at Outward Bound schools.

In this report we have by and large tried to present the data about Outward Bound as would social scientists. Careful, objective descriptions and evaluations have been our aim as much as avoiding social science "biases" such as psychologizing. Such an approach does not allow for qualities like enthusiasm. In our summary statement about Outward Bound, we wish to express enthusiasm. We feel enthusiastic about Outward Bound's potential and capacity to educate for personal growth. We feel, however, that this enthusiasm should be coupled with several recommendations. Foremost is that Outward Bound continue to engage in critical self-examination, expressing the results of this examination in modifications of its approach and program. The mobile courses and adult workshops are exciting modifications. This report, and the research project of which it is a part, are in the tradition of self-examination.

There should be further articulation of the Outward Bound methods and principles of education. As the demand for new types of Outward Bound programs continue there must be some guidelines for developing these programs. What educational principles of Outward Bound must be retained in any modification of the standard program? How does one move Outward Bound from the wilderness retreat to the urban environment? Must sections of the typical Outward Bound program be transplanted to the city? What are some ways of engendering self-confrontation in the classroom? What kinds of persons are especailly able to learn and grow in an Outward Bound environment? What kinds of persons may not find Outward Bound a particularly educating experience? A second important area involves what a student does <u>after</u> his Outward Bound course. Procedures are needed for maintaining and developing some of the changes begun during the course. Finally, there is the problem of maintaining staff quality. With the increasing popularity of Outward Bound and Outward Bound-type programs, the need for accurate staff selection and thorough staff training becomes acute. How can staff be recruited in large numbers when the requirements for the job are so demanding? Outward Bound's effectiveness and future development depends on how it deals with such issues.

VII. SUMMARY and COMPARISON OF OUTWARD BOUND SCHOOLS

The following chart attempts a summary characterization of the Outward Bound schools observed in terms of the major qualities of Outward Bound. Ratings of high (H), medium (M) and low (L) are given on these Outward Bound qualities for the schools in Colorado (COBS), Hurricane Island (HIOBS), and Minnesota (MOBS). These ratings are based on the participant-observers' experience at the schools, including discussions and interviews with staff and students. The ratings are meant to suggest how the schools compare on these Outward Bound qualities and the "absolute" degree to which these qualities existed at the schools. For example, the chart suggests important differences between the schools in the amount of objective danger and excitement and the degree of "warmth" and concern for interpersonal relationships. The chart also suggests that none of the schools seem particularly successful in developing the desire to serve.

	COBS	HIOBS	MOBS
1. Outward Bound Ideology			
A. Content of ideology is compelling	H	M	L
B. Ideology pervades the school	H	M	L
C. Ideology facilitates education at the school	M	H	M

	COBS	HIOBS	MOBS
11. Educational Method			
A. Development of a culture which generates committment	H	H	H
1. Amount of time living in the field	M	L	H
B. Learning through experience	H	H	H
1. Use of self-confrontation (sense of challenge)	H	H	H
2. Emphasis on physical activities	H	H	H
3. Excitement	H	M	L
C. Interpretation of Experiences	L	M	M
D. Modification of course to meet individual needs	L	M	M
E. Importance of Staff	H	H	H
1. Staff's technical competence	H	M	M
2. Staff's teaching skill	L	M	M
3. Staff's committment to Outward Bound	M	H	M

	COBS		HIOBS		MOBS	
	*	#	*	#	*	#
I. Emphasis on Educational Goals and the degree to which they are achieved						
A. Developing personal growth	M	M	M	M	H	M
1. Personal growth generalized beyond Outward Bound	M	L	L	L	M	L
B. Developing an ability to deal with what is felt as dangerous (courage)	H	M	M	M	L	L
1. Objective danger present in the course	H		M		L	
C. Developing a capacity for persistence (will-power)	M	M	M	M	H	M
D. Developing "wilderness style of living"	H	M	M	L	H	M
1. Pacing oneself	H	M	M	M	H	M
2. Economy/Efficiency	H	M	L	L	H	M
3. Fun	L	L	M	M	M	L
E. Developing interpersonal competence and sensitivity to improve task performance	H	M	H	M	H	M
1. Competition with standards of excellence	M	M	H	H	M	M
2. "Warmth, caring, concern for interpersonal relationships	L	L	M	L	H	M
F. Developing a desire to serve others	H	L	H	L	M	L
G. Developing a religious attitude	M	L	M	M	H	M

Emphasized
Achieved

IV. Evaluation at Outward Bound	COBS	HIOBS	MOBS
A. "Success" based on student's thoughts, feelings, attitudes rather than performance	M	H	H
B. Criteria of success individualized	M	H	H
C. Students participation in formal evaluation process	L	L	M

Appendix A

COLORADO OUTWARD BOUND SCHOOL
course C-16
1966

Day Date	Morning	Afternoon	Night
1 Sat 11	Instructors Meeting	Boys Arrive	
2 Sun 12	Equipment Issue - Orientation		Sign Book
3 Mon 13	Axmanship - Firefighting - Cookout Lunch - Rescue First Aid		Outward Bound Film
4 Tue 14	Community Service Day		Discussion: VISTA, Peace Corps, Job Corps
5 Wed 15	Basic Mountaineering (A-B-C-D) Initiative Tests (E-F-G-H)	Prepare for Basic Expedition (A-B-C-D) Basic Mountaineering (E-F-G-H)	Expedition Briefing (by Patrols
6 Thu 16 7 Fri 17 8 Sat 18	Leave before breakfast Basic Expedition (A-B-C-D) Basic Mountaineering (E-F-G-H) Prepare for Basic (E-F-G-H)		Survival Film (E-F-G-H) (A-B-C-D) return
9 Sun 19 10 Mon 20 11 Tue 21	Leave before breakfast (E-F-G-H) Clean equipment, inspection (A-B-C-D) Initiative test (A-B-C-D) Basic Expedition (E-F-G-H) Basic Mountaineering (A-B-C-D)		Firefighting talk (E-F-G-H) Survival Film (A-B-C-D) (E-F-G-H) return
12 Wed 22	Clean equipment, inspection (E-F-G-H) Basic Mountaineering cont. (A-B-C-D)	Quest	Infiltration exercise
13 Thur 23	River Evacuation Exercise Lunch on the Trail	Prepare for Alpine Expedition	River Evacuation - Debriefing Alpine briefing
14 Fri 24 15 Sat 25 16 Sun 26 17 Mon 27 18 Tue 28	Leave after early breakfast - 6 a.m. Grand Alpine Expedition		
		Begin Solo after Lunch	
19 Wed 29 20 Thu 30 21 Fri 1	SOLO Return for steak dinner		Discussion

(cont.)

Day Date	Morning	Afternoon	Night
22 Sat 2	Clean equipment	Marathon	Free
23 Sun 3	Patrol Competitions - Prepare for Final		Final expedition Briefing
24 Mon 4 25 Tues5 26 Wed 6	Leave at dawn FINAL	Supper on return	Debrief-ings
27 Thu 7	Turn in equipment - Final interviews -	Finish volleyball competition	Closing ceremony
28 Wed 8	Boys depart		

APPENDIX B

Sample of Semantic Differential Concept

I AM

smart	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	dumb
sad	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	happy
good	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	bad
crazy	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	normal
clean	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	dirty
losers	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	winners
calm	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	angry
childish	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	grown-up
honest	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	dishonest
weak	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	strong
women	____:____:____:____:____:____:____	men

APPENDIX C

OUTWARD BOUND RESEARCH CODE SHEET

corresponding card spaces

1. Code number — 1 - 3
   001 - 099 Experimental group
   100 - 199 Control group

2. Subjects' commitment number — 4 - 8
   Experimental groups — 9
   1. Reception center to Outward Bound School
   2. Lyman School for Boys to Outward Bound School
   3. Industrial School for Boys to Outward Bound School

   Control groups
   4. Reception center - paroled
   5. Reception center to Lyman School for Boys
   6. Reception center to Industrial School for Boys
   7. Reception center to Forestry Camp
   8. In institution as of 6/1/66

4. Outward Bound attended — 10

	Departure from Boston	arrival in Boston
1. COBS 16	June 16	July 14
2. COBS 17	July 9	August 8
3. COBS 18	August 11	September 9
4. MOBS 6	June 4	July 17
5. MOBS 7	July 13	August 11
6. MOBS 8	August 11	September 9
7. HOBS 3	June 19	July 16
8. HOBS 4	July 18	August 14
9. HOBS 5	August 16	September 12
0. Control group		

5. Age of subject to closest year at the time of departure for O.B. — 11 - 12

6. Age of subject to closest year at the time of commitment — 13 - 14

7. Offense for which subject committed — 15
   1. illegal use of a motor vehicle, auto thrft, riding in a stolen car
   2. larceny
   3. breaking and entering
   4. runaway
   5. assault - non-robbery
   6. stubborn child
   7. sex
   8. drunk, disturbing the peace
   8. other - malicious destruction of property, school offender, other offenses which are not listed above

8. Race of subject — 16
   1. Caucasion
   2. Negro
   3. Other

corresponding card spaces

9. Religion of subject — 17
   1. Protestant
   2. Catholic
   3. Jew
   4. Other
   5. None

10. Residence of subject — 18
   1. Urban
   2. Suburban
   3. Rural

11. Number of court appearances on new offenses not including that of commitment — 19
   0 - no further court appearances

12. Other offenses with or without adjudication — 20 - 22
   1. illegal use of a motor vehicle, auto theft, riding in a stolen car
   2. larceny
   3. breaking and entering
   4. runaway
   5. assault (non-robbery)
   6. stubborn child
   7. sex
   8. drunk, disturbing the peace
   9. other - malicious destruction of property, school offender ot er offenses which are not listed above
   0. no further offenses committed

13. Age at first court appearance to closest year — 23 - 24

14. Most recent I.Q. (from either W.I.S.C. or Stanford-Binet) — 25 - 27

15. Last grade placement — 28 - 29
   02 - 12 corresponding to appropriate grade
   13 special or adjustment class
   14 data not available

16. Number of years disparity between grade in and grade should be in (actual number of repeats) — 30

17. School behavior rating — 31
   1. good
   2. fair
   3. poor

18. School effort rating — 32
   1. good
   2. fair
   3. poor

19. Age subject dropped out of school, in months — 33- 35
   000 - did not drop out

corresponding card spaces

20. Grade dropped out of — 36 - 37
    02 - 12 corresponding to appropriate grade
    13 special or adjustment class
    14 data not available

21. With whom subject residing at the time of commitment — 38
    1. mother and father
    2. mother
    3. father
    4. mother and step-father
    5. step-mother and father
    6. relatives
    7. foster home
    8. group home

22. Parents married — 39
    1. yes, at time of birth of first child
    2. not at time of birth of first child
    3. not at all
    0. data not available

23. Date of birth of first child in subjects' family — 40
    1. less than nine months after date of parents' marriage
    2. nine months or more after date of parents' marriage
    0. unknown

24. Number of siblings of subject — 41 - 42

25. Subjects' position, in descending order, among siblings — 43 - 44

26. Sex of siblings (first number - brothers, second - sisters) — 45 - 46

27. Type of employment of father in the home at time of commitment — 47
    1. service
    2. industrial
    3. professional
    4. farm
    5. not employed
    6. not living in subjects' home

28. Subjedts's parole status as of departure for O.B. — 48
    1. first commitment, no parole violations
    2. recommitment, no parole violations
    3. committed once, one parole violation
    4. committed once, two parole violations
    5. committed once, three or more parole violations
    6. recommitted, with parole violation (s)

corresponding card spaces

29. Type of employment of father outside of home — 49
    1. service
    2. industrial
    3. professional
    4. farm
    5. not employed
    6. not living outside of home
    0. unknown

30. Type of juvenile offense(s) committed by natural father (in Mass.) — 50 - 51
    0. no offenses committed
    1. illegal use of a motor vehicle, auto theft, riding in in a stolen car
    2. larceny
    3. breaking and entering
    4. runaway
    5. assault - non-robbery
    6. stubborn child
    7. sex
    8. drunk, disturbing the peace
    9. other - malicious destruction of property, school offender, other offenses which are not listed above

31. Type of adult offense(s) committed by natural father (in Mass.) — 52 - 53
    0. no offenses committed
    1. illegal use of a motor vehicle, auto theft, riding in a stolen car
    2. larceny
    3. breaking and entering
    4. non-support
    5. assault - non-robbery
    6. neglect
    7. sex
    8. drunk, disturbing the peace
    9. other - malicious destruction of property, other offenses not listed above.

32. Number of times father incarcerated, juvenile and adult combined — 54

33. Number of years father incarcerated, juvenile and adult combined - round to upper year — 55 - 56

34. Type of offenses committed by mother — 57
    0. no offense committed
    1. illegal use of a motor vehicle, auto theft, riding in a stolen car
    2. larceny
    3. neglect, desertion
    4. runaway
    5. assault - non-robbery
    6. stubborn child
    7. sex
    8. drunk, disturbing the peace
    9. other - malicious destruction, other offenses not listed above

Corresponding card spaces

35. Age of boy when natural mother left home to the closest year (first and second numbers); reason why mother left (third number) — 58 - 60
    1. death
    2. desertion
    3. prison
    4. divorce
    5. separation
    6. did not leave
    7. data not available

36. Number of times mother incarcerated, juvenile and adult combined — 61

37. Number of years mother incarcerated, juvenile and adult combined (round to upper year) — 62

38. Court record of siblings — 63
    0. unknown
    1. yes, younger
    2. yes, older
    3. yes both
    4. none

39. Age of boy to closest year whin natural father left home — 64 - 65
    00. did not leave
    01. also indicates prenatally

40. Reason for natural father leaving — 66
    1. death
    2. desertion
    3. prison
    4. divorce
    5. separation
    6. did not leave

41. Deficiencies of natural father — 67
    1. mental
    2. physical
    3. criminal
    4. mental-physical
    5. mental-criminal
    6. physical-criminal
    0. none identified

42. Deficiencies of natural mother — 68
    1. mental
    2. physical
    3. criminal
    4. mental-physical
    5. mental-criminal
    6. physical-criminal
    0. none identified

corresponding card spaces

43. Type of work of mother at time of subjects committment — 69
    1. service
    2. industrial
    3. other
    4. not employed presently
    0. unknown

44. Childhood illnesses of subject — 70
    1. normal
    2. unusual
    3. both normal and unusual
    4. none

45. Accidents and operations of subject — 71
    1. minor
    2. serious (accident requiring hospitalization)
    3. both minor and serious
    4. none

46. Serious sensory-motor impairments — 72
    1. visual
    2. auditory
    3. needs glasses, wears glasses
    4. needs glasses, does not wear glasses
    5. none noted

47. Neurological disorders — 73
    1. epileptic, convulsive
    2. encephalitic
    3. tumors
    4. syphilitic
    5. none noted

48. Subjects most recent height, in inches to closest inch — 74 - 75

49. Subjects most recent weight, in pounds to closest pound — 76 - 78

Self-Reporting Biographical Questionnaire

Name: _____ Date: _____

1. How old were you when you were picked up by the police for the first time:

   (a) under 10 (b) 11-13 (c) over 13

2. What did the police pick you up for the first time?

   (a) stealing (b) hurting someone (c) breaking something

   (d) running away (e) truancy (f) disobeying parents

3. When you get into trouble, are you:

   (a) always with other boys (b) sometimes with other boys

   (c) always alone

4. How often do you get into fist fights:

   (a) every day (b) once a week (c) once a month

   (d) never

5. As a child how often did your father punish you:

   (a) every day (b) once a week (c) once a month

   (d) never

6. As a child how often did your mother punish you:

   (a) every day (b) once a week (c) once a month

   (d) never

7. How were you usually punished at home:

   (a) hitting (b) shouting (c) take away privileges

8. Who usually punished you at home?

   (a) father (b) mother (c) brother or sister

   (d) relative (e) other (f) never punished at home

9. In how many different places have you lived in the past 10 years:

(a) 1 (b) 2 (c) 3 (d) 4 (e) more than 4

10. How many other families were there in the building where you live:

(a) none (b) one (c) two (d) three

(e) more than three

11. How many people sleep in the same room as you when you were living at home?

(a) sleep alone (b) one (c) more than one

12. How many rooms are there in the house (apartment) where you were last living?

(a) 1 (b) 2 (c) 3 (d) 4 (e) more than 4

13. Where you lived, how many families use the same bathroom as your family:

(a) no other family (b) 1 other family (c) more than one other family

14. How often do you tell other people your troubles:

(a) never (b) rarely (c) often

15. How many new friends have you made in the past year?

(a) none (b) few (c) many

16. How many tight friends do you have:

(a) none (b) 1 to 5 (c) 6 to 10 (d) more than 10

17. How often have you taken a dare?

(a) always (b) frequently (c) rarely (d) never

18. What is your favorite type of daydream?

(a) about girls (b) about cars (c) about money

(d) about sports (e) about fighting (f) about food

19. How often do you feel dissatisfied with yourself?

(a) always (b) frequently (c) rarely (d) never

20. How often do you feel discouraged:

(a) frequently (b) occasionally (c) rarely (d) never

21. What part of your life has been the happiest:

(a) early childhood (b) grade school (c) the last few years

(dO the present (e) no particular period

22. How often did you rank other kids:

(a) very frequently (b) frequently (c) occasionally

(d) seldom

23. Which member of your family has the <u>most</u> influence on you:

(a) father (b) mother (c) brother or sister

(d) grandparent (e) other

24. How often did you bite your finger nails:

(a) frequently (b) rarely (c) never

25. How many steady jobs have you had:

(a) never had one (b) one (c) 2 to 3 (d) more than 3

26. How often do you feel frustrated:

(a) frequently (b) occasionally (c)seldom (d) never

27. How old were you when you last wet the bed?

(a) before 5 years old (b) between 5 and 10 years old

(c) between 11 and 15 years old

28. How frequently did you attend church services:

(a) never (b) 1 to 5 times a year (c) once a month

(d) once a week

29. If you had your choice, where would you prefer to live:

(a) a farm (b) the city (c) the mountains

(d) a small town (e) sea coast

30. How frequently do you have headaches:

(a) rarely (b) frequently (c) very frequently

31. How frequently do you get sick to your stomach:

(a) very frequently (b) occasionally (c) seldom

32. How many days were you sick in bed last year:

(a) none (b) 1 to 2 (c) 3 to 5 (d) over 5

33. How many colds do you have each year:

(a) none (b) one (c) more than one

34. In your lifetime, how many times have you broken a bone in your body?

(a) none (b) one (c) more than one

35. How many times have you spent the night in a hospital:

(a) none (b) 1 to 2 (c) 3 to 4 (d) 5 or more

36. How many times have you had to have stiches for a cut?

(a) none (b) 1 to 2 (c) 3 to 4 (d) 5 or more

37. On the average, how many hours of sleep did you get a night:

(a) 6 or less (b) 7 to 8 (c) 8 to 10 (d) more than 10

38. How many hours a week did you listen to the radio:

(a) less than 5 (b) 5 - 10 (c) 10 - 20 (d) over 20

39. How many hours a week did you watch TV:

(a) less than 5 (b) 5 - 10 (c) 10 - 20 (d) over 20

40. What kind of movies do you most prefer:

(a) spy (b) western (c) comedy (d) war

(e) horror (f) "Beach Party"

41. How many times have you driven a car?

(a) many times (b) rarely (c) never

42. How many times have you hitchhiked:

(a) many times (b) rarely (c) never

43. How many times have you taken a long trip?

(a) never (b) once (c) more than once

44. If you have taken a long trip, who was most frequently with you when you took these trips:

(a) parents (b) relatives (c) some other adults

(d) friends or relatives your own age (e) alone

45. Have you ever traveled in an airplane?

(a) yes (b) no

46. Do you have a hobby:

(a) yes (b) no

47. If yes, what is your favorite hobby:

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48. Have you ever had a dog as a pet?

(a) yes (b) no

49. What do you think about gambling:

(a) it is stupid (b) it is exciting (c) it is fun

(d) I can take it or leave it

50. How frequently, do you gamble for money:

(a) frequently (b) occasionally (c) seldom (d) never

51. What do you think about smoking:

(a) it is stupid (b) it is exciting (c) it is fun

(d) I can take it or leave it

52. How many cigarettes do you smoke in a day:

(a) less than 5 a day (b) 5 - 10 (c) 10 - 20 a day

(d) more than 20 a day

53. How old were you when you first smoked:

(a) 8 or under (b) 8 - 10 (c) 10-12 (d) 13 or under

54. What do you think about drinking:

(a) it is stupid (b) it is exciting (c) it is fun

(d) I can take it or leave it

55. How old were you when you first drank beer?

(a) never (b) 12 or younger (c) 13 or older

56. How often did you drink beer:

(a) at least once a week (b) at least once a month

(c) at least once a year (d) never

57. How old were you when you first drank whiskey:

(a) never (b) 12 or younger (c) 13 or older

58. What do you think about taking drugs:

(a) it is stupid (b) it is exciting (c) it is fun

(d) I can take it or leave it

59. How many times have you taken drugs?

(a) many times (b) seldom (c) never

60. How old were you when you went on your first date:

(a) not yet (b) 12 or younger (c) 13 to 14

(d) 15 or older

61. How old were you when you went to your first dance:

(a) never did go to a dance (b) 12 or younger

(c) 13 or older

62. Have you ever had a steady girlfriend:

(a) yes (b) no

63. What is your favorite sport:

64. How many hours a week did you spend playing athletic games:

(a) none (b) 1 hour a week (c) 2 to 3 hours a week

(d) 5 or more hours a week

65. How often did you read a newspaper?

(a) every day (b) at least once a week (c) at least once a month

66. Have you ever had a pet animal?

(a) yes (b) no

67. Can you play a musical instrument?

(a) yes (b) no

68. If you had your choice, would you rather get up early than go to bed early?

(a) get up early (b) go to bed early

69. How do you feel about cats as pets?

(a) like them (b) take them or leave them (c) hate them

70. How do you feel about swimming?

(a) like it (b) take it or leave it (c) don't like it

71. Could you stay afloat in deep water longer than one minute?

(a) yes (b) no

72. How many times have you been in a boat?

(a) many times (b) seldom (c) never

73. How many animals have you ever killed?

(a) many (b) a few (c) none

74. Have you ever camped out over-night?

(a) many times (b) seldom (c) never

75. Have you ever shot a rifle?

(a) yes (b) no

76 Do you like cold weather:

(a) like it (b) take it or leave it (c) don't like it

77. Do you like warm weather:

(a) like it (b) take it or leave it (c) don't like it

78. What do you do most frequently in the evening during the summertime:

_____

78. What do you do most frequently during the daytime during the summertime:

_____

APPENDIX E

Instructor's Rating Scale

Directions: Rate each student for each of the following traits on the basis of your overall impressions of his performance during the four weeks of the course as compared to other boys you have worked with on this patrol. Place one check mark (✓) at the point along the line which you think corresponds to the degree to which the student possesses or has demonstrated each trait. Do not spend much time on any one item. Once you have evaluated each item go on to the next one. Do not be concerned with your previous ratings when you are rating the new item. Do not skip any items. Complete the items in the numbered sequence. Be sure you are placing the check mark on the correct line. If you make a mistake be sure to erase the incorrect check mark. Keep the check mark within the limits of the vertical lines.

Example: For the line bounded by the limits "intelligent to dull"

If you consider the individual being rated as slightly above average when compared to other boys you might check this line:

intelligent ✓ dull

If you consider him very dull you might check the line:

intelligent ✓ dull

A check mark could be placed anywhere along this line depending on your opinion of how the individual could be ranked along this dimension.

28.	uninterested		curious
29.	persistent		quitter
30.	vulgar		refined
31.	profited from outward bound experience		did not profit from outward bound experience
32.	good athletic skill		poor athletic skill
33.	cannot use tools effectively		uses tools effectively
34.	good swimmer		poor swimmer
35.	poor physical strength		good physical strength
36.	willing to learn		not willing to learn
37.	fear of high places		no fear of high places
38.	good physidal endurance		poor physical endurance
39.	poorly coordinated		well coordinated
40.	gets along with others		does not get along with others
41.	good self confidence		poor self confidence
42.	fear of animals		no fear of animals

Name of student_____ Name of rater_____

Date_____

1. decisive		indecisive
2. sickly		good health
3. leader		follower
4. erratic		steady
5. punctual		tardy
6. reclusive		good mixer
7. honest		cheater
8. sloppy		neat
9. generous		stingy
10. rigid		flexible
11. talkative		close mouth
12. childish		mature
13. energetic		lazy
14. dependent		self sufficient
15. sensitive		callous
16. thoughtless		considerate
17. attentive		unattentive
18. impulsive		patient
19. optimistic		pessimistic
20. indecisive		decisive
21. cooperative		uncooperative
22. unimaginative		creative
23. cheerful		glum
24. feminine		masculine
25. easygoing		excitable
26. goldbricker		hardworker
27. modest		exhibitionist

APPENDIX F

OPERATION OF PROJECT

This section will present in some detail the operational phase of the project. It is presented in detail since while many logistical problems were anticipated, some were not, particularly the airline strike of 1966 which found Massachusetts delinquents scattered throughout the country.

Medical Examinations and Applications:

Immediately following Youth Service Board vote authorizing the boy's attendance at Outward Bound, the medical staff at the institution completed the Outward Bound Medical Forms. This form, together with the application form was then signed by the parent or guardian. This latter procedure was followed even though Youth Service Board approval was sufficient legally to send a boy. Staff attempted to have the parent sign on visiting day. In the event this was not possible a member of the project staff visited the home to obtain the required signature.

Clothing and Equipment:

In order that Division of Youth Service boys would be properly equipped a list of clothing was compiled and mailed or given to parents in an effort to cut down on clothing costs and also involve the parents in the program.

This procedure worked well at the Reception Center where the recently committed, "noninstitutionalized" boys were in residence, but

was unsuccessful at the training schools where the boys had been out of their homes for a period of time.

As a result the clothing budget was depleted early. Consequently, cleaning and reissuing used clothing salvaged from boys returning from earlier Outward Bound courses became necessary.

Orientation, Testing and Preparation:

The boys selected for attendance at Outward Bound Schools at Lyman School or Industrial School were transferred to the Reception Center two days prior to their departure. Together with the group selected from the Reception Center they underwent a "crash" program of orientation, testing and preparation.

Each of the participants was tested by a Psychological Consultant. Next, all of the Outward Bound Schools were discussed with special emphasis on the School a particular group would be attending. A standardized presentation was made to the group. In the discussion period which followed the over-all theme was building confidence, and offering reassurance that each boy could complete the course if he had enough desire. Frequent reference was made to boys who had completed the Outward Bound course the previous year, and had done well on parole. Movies and slides were shown of each of the Schools.

Transportation:

Arrangements for travel by plane and chartered bus were completed by mid-May. The project called for three groups of six boys each to

attend the Colorado Outward Bound School for Courses C-16, C-17 and C-18; three groups of six to Hurricane Island and Outward Bound School in Maine to participate in Courses H-3, H-4 and H-5; two groups of six boys to the Minnesota Outward Bound School for Courses M-6, and M-7, and conclude with a homogeneous group of twelve delinquents from Lyman School to attend Course M-8.

The Colorado and Minnesota groups were to be escorted on a six to one ratio, by a volunteer employee of the Division. Prior to the end of each course another staff volunteer was dispatched to return with the group following the completion of the course.

The only groups unescorted were those attending Hurricane Island who were placed aboard a chartered bus in Boston for a direct ride to the school.

The first three groups of boys for Courses C-16, M-6 and H-3 (the first courses of the season) arrived at the Schools on time and without incident.

At this point airlines went on strike.

Return of Course C-16:

The return escort with this group departed from the Colorado Outward Bound School with no knowledge that the airlines had been struck and that there was no way to return the group from Denver to Boston. With some difficulty the escort was contacted in Glenwood Springs, Colorado, and directed to return to the School where it was

felt he would have better control over his group than in Denver. The director of the Colorado Outward Bound School was most cooperative and agreed to let them remain until such time as arrangements could be made for their return.

Six days later the boys were bussed to Denver where the following day they flew to Chicago on a non-struck airline, boarded a BOAC flight from Chicago to Montreal, Canada where they were met by the Assistant Project Administrator, who returned with the group the following morning on a non-struck airline to Boston.

Course M-7 leaves, Course M-6 returns:

Similar arrangements were made with the Minnesota Outward Bound School but the group could not remain at the School and was returned to Duluth with its escort.

For the next five days the group remained in the Hotel Duluth with their staff escort since it was impossible to move them further than Chicago by plane and travel from Chicago to Boston by bus or train was on a standby basis with reservations for a group of seven requiring a six day wait in Chicago.

The boys awaiting transportation in Boston to attend Course M-7 were driven by staff in a rented Volkswagen Bus 1550 miles from Boston to Ely, Minnesota. After resting a day, the returned via Duluth to pick up the stranded M-6 group and returned in two days to Boston. The two groups covered 3100 miles in four days.

Course C-17 leaves:

Project staff rented a nine passenger station wagon and drove the C-17 group to Chicago.

In the meantime the Project Staff had been able to secure eight prepaid tickets on a Continental flight from Chicago to Denver.

Following their arrival in Denver, a second rental car was used to drive the group to Glenwood Springs where they were turned over to the Colorado Outward Bound Staff some forty-five hours after leaving Boston.

Return of Course C-17 and M-7:

The return of C-17 and M-7, by non-striking Airlines, went without incident although it was necessary to have the C-17 group remain overnight in Chicago.

Course C-18 and M-8 leave:

The six boys and escort for the third course at Colorado and the twelve boys (homogeneous group) and two escorts for the third course at Minnesota had reservations on a non-striking airline. Upon arrival at the airport the staff was informed by the airlines that through some unexplained error all twenty-one reservations had been cancelled two days previously.

This came at a crucial time in the program for not only would it have been extremely unfair to the boys it would have had a very serious effect on the value of the entire project.

After considerable negotiation, the C-18 group boarded their original flight which enabled them to arrive in Denver on schedule.

The fourteen for Minnesota, however, were put aboard an unscheduled flight for Chicago with no assurance that they could continue to Duluth.

Following the departure of both planes a series of phone calls were made which eventually secured further flights for M-8 to Madison, Wisconsin and from there into Duluth, Minnesota.

Eight days following the arrival of the last group in Duluth, the airlines strike was settled.

Release on Parole:

Within twenty-four hours of their return to the Reception Center the boys were tested, interviewed and released on parole to either their own homes or community placements.

APPENDIX G

OUTWARD BOUND INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. PURPOSE OF THE INTERVIEW

The purpose of the interview is to get ideas about how boys react to and feel about the Outward Bound program. This information may help researchers get some idea of why Outward Bound seems to work. Above all, the interview is not attempting to get any information which would later be used against any particular boy. Therefore each boy should be as honest as possible about his experiences. The boys' honesty is essential if the interview is to be of value.

II. GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERVIEWING

A. <u>You and the boy understand the purpose of the interview</u>. Crucial to a relaxed interview is a mutual understanding of the purpose of the interview as explained above.

B. <u>The boy does the talking</u>. Let the boy do as much of the talking as possible.

C. <u>The boy uses his own words</u>. Let the boy use his own words or phrases whenever possible, i.e., don't suggest things to him unless he really seems stuck for words.

D. <u>The boy is relaxed and thus talks freely</u>. Try to make the boy as relaxed as possible so that he will feel free to talk, and will talk as honestly as possible. His negative feelings about Outward Bound are as important as his positive feelings.

E. You are relaxed and use your own way of saying things. If the boy is to talk freely, you must also feel relaxed. Conduct the interview in your own language, in a way comfortable to you. The suggestions this guide will make as to possible questions to ask need not be taken verbatim. You should ask these questions in your own language and style.

III. HOW TO CONDUCT THE INTERVIEW

A. Before the interview proper begins. All interviews must start with an explanation to the boy of why you are making the interview, i.e., the purpose of the interview as described above. Stress that nothing the boy says will later be "held against him" in any way so that he can be honest and talk about negative as well as positive things.

B. Beginning the interview proper. The interviewer should be trying to discover that the boy experienced at Outward Bound. The first question should be open ended, i.e., you should give the boy a chance to select what in his experience he wants to talk about first. You might start the interview proper with a question like: "Tell me about your experience here in Colorado (or Minnesota, Maine)." Try to discover the boy's overall description and evaluation of the course.

C. Keeping the boy talking. You should say just enough to keep the boy talking, and not so much as to talk

for the boy. After the initial general question, you might use other more specific questions to help the boy describe his experience, e.g., "What did you like best about O. B., what did you like least, or hate?" "What meant the most to you?" "What was the high point?" "Were you ever scared or frightened?" "When was it most exciting?"

D. Stay with what the boy is interested in. When the boy selects an event to talk about, e.g., the rope climb, or his feelings about his patrol leader, stay with the event or experience as long as it seems productive. Ask questions which will give as complete a picture as possible of how he felt and thought about the subject he has chosen.

E. The "why" is as important as the "what". Always find out the "why" as well as the "what", e.g., not only what he liked best, but why he liked that particular thing best.

F. "Feelings" are as important as "thoughts". Try to get the boy to talk about feelings as well as thoughts,.e.g., not only that he thought the cliff was much too steep, but also that the cliff was for him a scary experience. You might ask "How did you feel when you saw the cliff?"

G. Length of the interview. The interview should take approximately 30-40 minutes. (Each tape can record 20 minutes on each side). But if you have a boy who

who is rather quiet and has difficulty talking, be patient, encourage him more and give him more time. If you have a boy who is quite willing to talk, don't cut him off because 40 minutes is up. All of his reactions to O. B. will be valuable. Don't let the need to use a new tape stop the interview.

H. Use of the microphone. Direct the microphone so as to get as much of th entire interview as possible, i.e., all of the boy's remarks and as many of your questions and facilitating remarks as possible.

I. At the end of the interview. After the boy has gone please record any impressions you had about the interview.

IV. TOPICS TO COVER IN THE INTERVIEW

A. Part of Outward Bound you'll remember most.

B. Describe your "solo". What you did.

C. What did you like most about Outward Bound?

D. What did you like least about Outward Bound?

E. What did you think of the food?

F. Describe the thing about Outward Bound which scared you the most.

G. Describe the time when things got so tough you felt like quitting.

H. Tell us about your friends.

I. What does Outward Bound mean to you?

J. Would you like to go back to Outward Bound, if you could? Why? Would you like friends to go to O. B.?