A SURVEY OF THE WOMEN'S DIVISION, OAKALIA PRISON FARM, B.C., 1958

The Beginnings of a Treatment Program

by

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ABSTRACT

There has been considerable dissatisfaction among prison authorities and other interested persons concerning the work and recreation programs of prisons in that they do not result in the rehabilitation of the delinquents incarcerated, but rather, that approximately 70 per cent return to prison. A correctional prison program must satisfy the needs of both society and the individuals concerned. This thesis undertakes a review of the total program at the Women's Division, Oakalla Prison Farm, B.C., to assess how far progress has been made in (a) providing an overall atmosphere of treatment while, at the same time, (b) meeting the custodial requirements of a provincial gaol.

The method followed includes a detailed study of (a) the facilities and staff, (b) the inmate population, and (c) the routines of work and recreation. Their relation to the current administrative philosophy is historically and empirically assessed. Some case studies have been examined in order to demonstrate what effect, if any, the program has had on individual women.

Although there have been studies and experiments of programs in correctional institutions, little attention has been paid to the peculiar needs of women in prison. The problem is to set up a program which at its simplest level will help the women to take responsibility for their own lives, to develop emotionally and socially and to provide them with education and skills that will enable them to take an acceptable place in the community.

It is the conclusion of this study that, at the Women's Division, excellent use has been made of the existing facilities in the planning of a full program. The majority of the staff are interested in their work and with adequate leadership could function under a treatment scheme. What seems to be lacking, however, is a conscious structuring of the program and use of staff in accordance with accepted principles of treatment. There is a need for communication among administration and staff and inmates of the purposes and goals of institutional procedures.
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CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEMS AND TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN GAOL

During the past few decades we have seen a gradual abandonment of the belief that strict punishment or incarceration in a prison is sufficient to reform a delinquent or protect the welfare of society. There has been an increasing awareness among prison administrators of the need for specific rehabilitative measures within the prison program. There is dissatisfaction with the present facilities and programs of the majority of prisons, in that they meet the needs of neither the offender nor society. Above all, people have been concerned because prisons, far from being rehabilitation centres, have, rather, gained the reputation of being 'schoolhouses of crime'.

Although there have been studies of and experiments with programs in correctional institutions, little attention has been paid to the peculiar needs of women in prison. Despite the fact that it is almost impossible to prove, it is generally recognized that only a small proportion of women who commit crimes are sentenced to prison. Most of those sentenced have a long history of undetected crime, police warnings, and probation. The women actually found in prisons are therefore among the most confirmed delinquents, and are, generally speaking, emotionally immature, unable to take responsibility for their own behaviour, and often lacking in occupational and household skills.

The problem is to set up a program which at its simplest level will help these women to take responsibility for their own lives and to
develop emotionally and socially, while at the same time providing them with education and skills that will enable them to take an acceptable place in the community.

The women arrive at prison after they have failed to meet the requirements of the community, after they have disregarded specific legal warnings, or after they have failed to cooperate in a disposition of probation. The period of incarceration is the interval from that time of failure to the time when they will return to the community with its same social requirements and law enforcement agencies. The only raison d'être for imprisonment is that the period of incarceration should effect such a change in the individual that she is able, either to cope with living in a community on her own, or else to work with the representative of some accredited agency in planning her immediate future. The time of incarceration should be a time for mobilizing motivation - motivation to change, motivation to learn new skills, motivation to move towards people, to form relationships with those in authority, and to acquire socially acceptable attitudes.

It has long been stated that social work and social welfare programs are based on the belief in the worth of every individual, in his potential for growth and change, and in his right to find his most satisfying social adjustment for himself and the community. And it is slowly being recognized that this philosophy must be exercised in practice in correctional institutions if we are to pay more than lip service to these ideals. Just how far it is necessary to go in implementing a program on this basis can be inferred from the following "bill of rights for the person under restraint in a free democratic society":

1. The right to clean, decent surroundings with competent attention to his physical and mental well being.

2. The right to maintain and reinforce the strengthening ties which bind him to his family and to his community.

3. The right to develop and maintain skills as a productive worker in our economic system.

4. The right to fair, impartial, and intelligent treatment without special privilege or license for any man.

5. The right to positive guidance and counsel from correctional personnel possessed of understanding and skill.

It seems a little primitive to have to state that government institutions should be "clean" and "decent". About one hundred and fifty years ago Elizabeth Fry was descrying the dirt and degradation of women's prisons. Many of the widely-acclaimed reforms that have been put into effect on this continent in recent years have been little more than humane measures concerned with maltreatment of prisoners, inadequate food and medical attention, etcetera.

A. The Historical Background of Women's Prisons

The aforementioned "rights" have been centuries in being recognized and there is considerable controversy over ways and means of their being put into practice. With particular regard to women's prisons, the realization of the need for specific measures to assist women to become acceptable members of society has been exceedingly slow, although it has generally followed the course of change in men's prisons.

1. The Work of Elizabeth Fry

Elizabeth Fry was one of the first reformers to be concerned wholly with women in gaols. The significance of her views is more apparent when one realizes the background to which she applied them. In the Newgate Prison, typical of many of the eighteenth century prisons, she found "a mass of women,
by the hundreds, reduced to the level of wild beasts". Beds were not supplied and the prisoner had to pay for the privilege of lying on straw. There was little food and none was adequately covered against the cold. There was every kind of filth, drunkenness and degradation. Male prisoners were let into the women's quarters at night and the women were under the care of men gaolers.

In her report to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Prisons of the Metropolis in 1818, Elizabeth Fry stated the need for employment and education of women prisoners—"I should believe it impossible.... that any reformation can be accomplished without employment.... We may instruct as we will, but if we allow them their time and they have nothing to do, they naturally must return to their evil practices." She felt that classification was an absolute necessity "to keep criminals apart from first offenders.... I should prefer a prison where women were allowed to work together in companies, under proper superintendence; to have their meals together under proper superintendence, and their recreation also. But I would always have them separated in the night." She wanted women warders for women prisoners, or better still, a separate women's prison.

The cautious reply of the Government Committee summed up, perhaps more than they realized, the 'treatment' needs of a women's prison.

The benevolent exertions of Mrs. Fry and her friends in the female department of the Prison have indeed, by the establishment of a school, by providing work and encouraging industrious habits, produced the most gratifying change. But much must be ascribed to unremitting personal attention and influence.

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2Ibid. p. 167.
3Loc. cit.
Not only was it necessary to educate and employ, but also, to make the work effective, was needed the personal attention, the influence of one individual on another—that factor now referred to in social work literature as "relationship".

Practically, however, the immediate achievement of Elizabeth Fry through her work in the Newgate Prison, and by her influence in British and Puritan-American circles, was in the direction of providing clean, decent surroundings and some employment or occupation for women prisoners.

2. The Borstal Institution

In Britain, the first Borstal institution for women was opened at Aylesbury in 1909. A program was set up for the definite purpose of meeting the needs of women prisoners, as distinct from those of all prisoners. The organization was generally along the lines of a school, with emphasis on onderliness, training, occupation, and self-improvement. At the same time, it was stated that "the methods of treatment of these wayward girls have to be mainly psychological"¹ or to have "some form of religious, moral and aesthetic appeal".² "Probably the girls require even more individualized treatment than the lads...in view of the peculiar complexity of the causal factors of crime among girls"³.

Here we find expression of the belief that training and regularity need an individualized reference when the concern is with women. And also it allows that, in the setting up of an effective 'treatment' program for women, the approach may be along different lines from the programs in men's institutions.

3. Building Programs in the United States

In the United States, attention was first drawn to the needs of

²Barman, op. cit., p. 125.
³Barman, op. cit., p. 111
women in prison through numerous scandals resulting from women being housed in men's prisons. The 1866 Annual Meeting of Friends in Indiana brought about the creation of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls in 1873. Since that date, the building program has been fairly extensive, although there are still many instances in both the United States and Canada where women do not have a separate building. This is particularly true of local gaols, where the female population would be small.

Generally the recently built correctional institutions for women in the United States have followed what is called the "cottage plan". Here the women are housed in several more or less self-contained units separate from the administrative, training and recreation facilities. It is considered that the ideal unit houses twenty women or less, but high costs frequently prevent this, with the result that units containing up to forty or sixty women have been termed "cottages".

The philosophy behind such a building design (which greatly increases the number of staff required) includes the belief that the rehabilitation of women calls for group living in as natural a situation as possible, which should provide an atmosphere conducive to change and allowing for individual expression but which at the same time facilitates discipline and control because of the small numbers in groups.¹

However, the most oft-repeated cry from American authorities is that the practice of treatment aims is greatly hindered by the lack of aptitude of the custodial staff. The personnel of many institutions are insufficient in number, underpaid and untrained.² Millions of dollars have

²Additon, op. cit., p. 300.
been expended on physical facilities, but rarely is found any corresponding increase in staff budget.

An interesting comment to note here is made by one of the leading authorities on the American penal system, Harry Elmer Barnes. He states:

Whether the programs of our modern reformatories are of much service to the women sent there is highly debatable, but we feel that there is little reformation, especially for sex offenders and drug addicts, in our female reformatories. They are taught to sew, and most of them are put through a domestic science course, so that they may get jobs as maids or mothers' helpers upon parole. But few prostitutes or promiscuous sex offenders are satisfied with a job which pays as little as housework....

On the whole, women's reformatories are administered more progressively than men's institutions. Some of the latter, however, outstrip many of the female establishments in personnel, objectives, classification, and general vision and insight.¹

It seems that most women's prisons are not meeting the needs of the inmates housed in them. Perhaps we should look more closely at what these needs might be.

B. The Female Delinquent

Official criminal statistics are deceptive. The actual volume of crime is probably impossible to determine and it has been stated that just over three per cent of crimes known to police finally lead to sentence in a penal institution.² It seems that the divergences between actual and apparent crimes are even more pronounced in the case of female offenders. According to Canadian statistics, in 1951 the proportion of male to female offenders was 14 to 1³, and the F.B.I. reports of 1955 state that in the United States


the ratio of male to female arrests was 8 to 1 and the ratio in the population of federal and state prison was 18 to 1.\(^1\) There appears little basis for any belief that women are inherently less criminal than men, and therefore it is worthwhile examining other theories as to why the number of women sent to prison, compared with the number of men, is so much smaller. Our purpose for this study would be to discover some facts about the women who are eventually sentenced, and more particularly about some of their personal needs, which most of our prison programs do not appear to meet.

1. Cultural Factors

Walter Reckless is of the opinion that Western civilization, being a male-dominated society, reflects in its mores a protective attitude towards women that extends to delinquents\(^2\). In general, women remain at home and their crimes are often kept under cover. There is a general, protective attitude of man towards woman: men hate to accuse women, police officers dislike arresting them, district attorneys dislike prosecuting them, judges and juries dislike finding them guilty or imposing severe penalties.

Another social scientist, Otto Pollak, feels that our culture has given women "a different evaluation of deceit... thus for biological as well as cultural reasons, woman seems to possess greater powers of concealment than does man."\(^3\) The housewife, who supplements her spending money by some form of prostitution is seldom prosecuted unless she stoops to the culturally less-acceptable street walking.

Women are usually less aggressive than men and communities do not fear women offenders as they do men offenders. Although women generally suffer


\(^2\) Loc cit.

greater losses in reputation than do men, if known to be connected with delinquency and crime, their punishment is likely to be much less severe.

Arrests for certain crimes are often dependent on current public opinion. For example, prostitution, especially in its 'higher class forms' such as 'call-girl' schemes, may be virtually disregarded by the police unless there is a public outcry.

2. The Nature of Offenses Committed by Women

Culturally and biologically, women seem inclined to passivity, whereas men, because of their greater aggressiveness, run the greater risk of detection of their crimes. The frequency of notification of crime is usually in direct proportion to the severity or violence of the committed act. Women are more often involved in the less serious offenses, such as "Theft Under $50" and "Vagrancy," and if apprehended on such charges are frequently let off with a warning the first or second time, and if a formal arrest is made, are likely to be given a Suspended Sentence or Probation. Certain crimes, in which women have a very great participation (e.g., induced abortion), are rarely reported to the authorities. And others (e.g., theft, blackmail, fraud) committed along with prostitution, are very infrequently reported by the man involved because of the adverse publicity in which he may be subsequently involved.

Women are often in the role of instigators and accomplices rather than the direct perpetrators of the crime, and their participation may be extremely difficult to prove. The female companion can be found described as "innocently involved" and "the mother of two" with the inference that the sole responsibility for the crime rests on the man.

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1Additon, op. cit., p. 298.
Pollak, op. cit., pp. 56-161.
The preceding paragraphs have given some of the reasons why a large proportion of women offenders do not go to gaol and, looking at the question from the other side, the group of women sentenced to prison appear to be, in a very general way, those whom society and men no longer feel responsible to protect - those who commit crimes of such an aggressive nature that they cannot remain undetected or have committed less serious crimes so frequently that they can no longer be disregarded. Various studies have been made of the background causal factors that seem characteristic of the woman offender and we can get the following composite picture that appears fairly typical of a large percentage of women in prison.¹

3. Previous General Record

Although virtually impossible to set out statistically, a great proportion of women first being sentenced to prison have a long history of undetected crimes, warnings from police, acquittals from court, probation, Juvenile Court and detention, fines, etc. This means that under the so-called 'protection' of society a woman may have had months and years of experience of 'getting away' with unlawful behaviour, of 'beating' arrests, of bargaining with authority, of not facing consequences, and, as a result, when a sentence is imposed, the patterns of anti-social and delinquent behaviour are well established, her acquaintance with other delinquents is extensive and there is little respect for law and justice.²


The above is not meant to be an indictment of the use of probation, warnings, etc. For many women who already have some sort of a socially acceptable code of values and behaviour such 'chances' are all that is needed. Discrimination, such as through pre-sentence reports which are being used more and more, is necessary to distinguish between the women who can benefit from probation and the women who need the controls of an institution.
Often, at this point, the woman feels that her conviction is due to an avoidable slip-up in plans, or is the result of another party informing the police; she is not prepared to recognize that her behaviour has set a pattern which is incompatible with social standards and which would eventually result in some action on the part of the law.

4. Environmental Factors

The environment usually reflects poverty and dependency in an overcrowded or slum area. She comes from what is referred to by sociologists as a 'low resource area'. There has been a sparsity of healthy recreational outlets. Her free-time activities are considered in terms of going to the movies, sitting in restaurants and beer parlours and attending public dances. Her family and friends are lacking, as well as she, in education and in occupational skills. When she comes to gaol we find a woman whose interests extend to little more than gossiping about other delinquents and to relating her past delinquencies and contacts with police.

She has probably come from a home where there has been immorality or alcoholism and she has been familiar, from an early age, with delinquents and delinquency. There is a strong likelihood that either she, or her family, has had some contact with a social agency for family service or for social assistance.

5. Physical Factors

Most women reach their fullest sexual development between the ages of 16 and 21, although many are promiscuous at an earlier age. In the teens and early twenties there seems to be an increased tension demanding relief. Many women suffer chemical and glandular upheavals, for example, at menstruation, which may be a factor in certain aberrations of behaviour.

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1Barman, op. cit., p. 112.
Sexual promiscuity has probably become the woman's openly accepted standard and it has only been a question of time until she has learned the ways and means of prostitution. The significance of the sexual act becomes the giving for something received, namely, money and material goods.

She may have had an illegitimate child when 16 or 17 years of age and this child may have been either adopted at birth or else placed in a foster home under the wardship of a social agency.

6. Family Background

The family background is generally found to be inadequate in providing an atmosphere conducive to the physical and emotional maturing of the children. The parents are divorced, or separated, or there may be a common-law relationship. There is a lack of parental control and guidance and a lack of love and understanding. Sometimes there is encouragement of wrong-doing, or delinquency among other members of the family.

The father has been frequently absent from the home for various periods of time and his employment record has been unsteady.

Discipline has been erratic, varying between punitive and over-permissive, with no effective use towards the building of a socially acceptable standard of values.

7. Personality Development

Because of the inadequate family background and lack of contact with other instrumental persons, the woman is emotionally immature. She is unstable, lacks a sense of responsibility, lacks ideals and standards, lacks judgment and sense. Delinquency and crime are legal terms used to describe specific unlawful acts, but they are most often found committed by persons who, through lack of love, understanding and control during their years of

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development, have not had their personal and emotional needs met or satisfied. The woman is operating at a very immature level, demanding immediate gratification of her wishes, having little understanding or realization of the problems of others, and is unable to accept responsibility for her own behaviour. She has not had the opportunity to develop feelings of self-worth and, because of this lack of personal regard, we find her constantly testing others.

Other people seem to have meaning for her only in terms of giving something or taking something away. Because of a lack of constructive use of authority, she has early learned to manipulate others. She smiles and flatters when she wants something, but if refused, retaliates with charges of meanness and personal inadequacy on the part of the person approached. As an extension of this reaction, she thinks of laws only as "shackles on her personal will". ¹

From childhood, her first retributive weapon against society has been a form of behaviour difficult to control and the ensuing circumstances have not shown her sufficient reason for changing her ways. Unhappy and bitter, with a feeling of worthlessness, she frequently presents a bold "don't care" attitude and is suspicious of any overtures of friendship from persons in authority.

She is acquisitive, having learned to substitute for the warmth of human friendship and respect the value of material possession. She will glibly profess undying love in order to get five dollars for tobacco money and then unrealistically plan a lifetime of marriage and happiness based on a similar statement from a boy friend.

¹Rappaport, op. cit., p. 9.
Love affairs are frequent and impermanent and are differentiated from relationships in which her purpose is purely mercenary.

8. Kinds of Offences

Most crimes committed by women, either directly or indirectly, involve men. This has quite a definite significance in the consideration of the woman's plans for release.

According to Government of Canada Statistics, 1951, concerning the occurrence of indictable offenses of female offenders, 15 per cent were charged with Assault, 45 per cent with Theft and Receiving of Stolen Goods, 7 per cent with Vagrancy and Keeping a Bawdy House, and 6 per cent with charges against the Narcotic Drug Act. Forgery and Obtaining Goods and Money by False Pretences are other offences committed by a large number of women.

These statistics do not take into account non-indictable offences—that is, offenses punishable by summary conviction, such as State of Intoxication in a Public Place and offences under the Indian Act—by which many persons are sentenced to the Provincial Gaol in British Columbia.

C. The Treatment of Female Offenders

The operation of a women's prison, if it will adequately meet its functions, that of assisting delinquents to achieve social responsibility and of protecting society, must therefore take into consideration the needs of the women incarcerated and the custodial requirements as determined by law and public opinion. Literature concerning women delinquents, or women in prison, is scarce, and what is available seems more to be reports of current situations or detailed descriptions of physical plants and work programs.

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1. Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p. 569
without elaborating on the aims and purposes of the total operation and the principles involved. However, an attempt will be made here to set out some essentials of a treatment program that will allow for local institutional variations.

1. **Clarification of Purpose**

There should be official recognition by the administration and constant interpretation to members of staff of the basic needs of the women with whom the program must cope; of the fact that society has deemed these women incapable of functioning without causing harm to themselves or to others, and of the responsibility of the institution to provide the structure to help these women modify their behaviour. The belief in the worth of every individual and in her potential for growth and change becomes effective when accompanied by the skill in knowing what to expect of each individual, how much to expect and when to expect it.\(^1\)

The staff must be prepared to accept the fact that they are dealing with people most of whom are behaving at a rather immature level, who have not learned to respect the rights of others, who have not developed good work habits, who have not acquired healthy interests and outlets for their energies. But an institution can be said to be offering 'treatment' when all members of staff and all facets of program are coordinated to the purpose of helping the individuals move towards a more satisfactory adjustment.

2. **A Full and Adequate Program**

The institution operates through its program. The term program refers to all the activities of the day, the work and recreational projects and the routine of daily living. The program should be full enough so that the women are occupied during most of the day and have a purposefulness that

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\(^1\)Rappaport, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
can be understood to some degree by both staff and inmates. Although there is a need for variations in the program in order to maintain interest in activity, elaborate schemes for either vocational or leisure time projects are not necessary. "We find that the simple, everyday requirements of living ...can provide the structure which helps these girls modify their behaviour." However, educational and vocational programs should be carried out under qualified instructors and should be set up with a realistic reference to job opportunities.

Leisure time activities are considered as part of social education. Whereas the emphasis during working hours has been on developing good work habits and the proper learning of some skill, effort here is placed on helping the girls enjoy activities that require the cooperation of others, including those in authority, on widening interests and on providing experience in planning and initiating activities.

Religious activities and observances can also become part of a treatment scheme, with some individual participation, to the end that each individual may gain a personal faith and a realization of its meaning beyond the religious service alone.

3. A Qualified Staff

Here is probably the keystone of a successful treatment institution. Personnel should be adequate in numbers and qualifications and selected on the basis of merit. There should be an understanding of the requirements of custody and the aims of treatment by all staff members. There is a need for qualified and certificated instructors and for trained group workers. Rehabilitation needs the atmosphere that can be provided only when both the warmth

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1Rappaport, op. cit., p. 10.
and the controls are present. The warmth of relationship that is built of "steadiness, consistency and belief in (the woman's) capacity to change"\(^1\) develops only when there is sufficient contact between the staff and the individual. It has been found that one person, either from a custodial or a treatment point of view, cannot adequately handle more than twelve persons.

4. **The Small Group Theory**

As was previously noted, recent building programs for women's institutions in the United States have been generally on the "cottage plan". This step has been taken because of the recognition of the importance of an atmosphere conducive to rehabilitation in the treatment of women. Culturally, this can be explained in that the arrangements simulate the woman's socially-defined proper habitat - the home. However, another point of view would also lead to the desirability of the use of small groups for living, work and leisure time activities.

The inmate population is made up of people who have had difficulty getting along in society, at least to the extent that they have broken the law. Many of the women have personal difficulties in adjusting to authority, in getting along with others, in understanding the meaning of privilege and responsibility, in respecting the rights of others. We understand these characteristics as being found in the mature person. Normally a person develops and matures within the family group. If an individual comes from a broken or disturbed family group, that person may never fully mature. It is believed that some of the personality development that takes place within the family, may also occur within other groups.\(^2\) The individual first learns to function

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1Rappaport, *Loc. cit.*

within her own small group, then takes on the responsibility of her group functioning within the larger institution. This can be a step towards adjusting to community life after release.

The scientifically enlightened correctional program equipped with empirically-derived small group theory will be better able to set into motion the variables that can correct, re-integrate, and redirect the offender. In the group, the offender can be taught to re-learn, re-define, to gain insight into his problems and his needs, and to be imbued with new motivation that will push him on to socially approved goals.¹

The effectiveness of a group system depends to some degree on adequate classification. There should be a regular admission procedure for all inmates and classification and assignment to cottage and work placements based on all information available, such as medical, psychological reports, social histories and pre-sentence reports, work records, etc. As the staff of the work group and cottage to which the particular individual has been assigned come to know her and she them, new aspects of her problems will become apparent and these can be taken into consideration for future planning within the institution and in making referrals to outside social agencies.

One of the important things to remember is that if the administration of an institution does not set up small groups, they will form of themselves, and it is in these sub-groups, whose membership is determined with no rehabilitative purpose in mind, that undesirable ideas, acts and feelings are the contagious elements with the group. Group formation is much more than just segregation.

The pioneer of group work in institutions was probably August Aichhorn and according to his understanding of the term he spoke of the older institutions as composed of a group of delinquents of varying pathological

conditions which aggravate the individual condition, and control can be maintained only by force; and the modern institution which has the smallest possible groups and each group so composed that group life will favourably influence behaviour difficulties. The current problem is to determine "which types of dissocial behaviour are most favourably influenced by living together in such a group?"

D. The Purpose of the Study

At the Women's Division, Oakalla Prison Farm, British Columbia, a program has been set up with the aim of helping the inmates committed there and of meeting some of those typical needs referred to above. The program is in process of change and only to a slight degree has it been articulated as a purposeful treatment plan. Many of its aspects are still operating only in response to administrative needs and some conflict with treatment goals.

However, this study is an effort to examine the program in process to show how the treatment plan can be implemented in an institution which has most of the problems that are present in other women's institutions.

The study includes detailed descriptions of the physical facilities and buildings, the characteristics of the inmate population as taken from the face sheets of their files and the qualifications and experience of the personnel employed. There will be a description of the daily routines of work and recreation and their specific meaning in terms of the current treatment philosophy of the administration. We shall examine a few case records in order to see something of what happens to the individual under the program. The cases have been selected as typical of particular behaviour problems.

1Aichhorn, August, Wayward Youth, Viking Press, New York, 1935, pp. 143-144.
2Aichhorn, op. cit., p. 167.
We will also include a discussion of the possibilities for the program, suggestions for improvements under the present facilities and changes which would be desirable in future large-scale planning.
CHAPTER II

THE WOMEN'S GAOL IN OPERATION

In British Columbia, the Women's Division is part of the Provincial Gaol at Oakalla Prison Farm, South Burnaby. The Provincial Gaol Service is administered by the Department of the Attorney-General and since 1957 through the Corrections Branch. Within the prison the Warden has the final authority in administration. Certain duties are delegated by him to the Deputies of Custody and Treatment.

The Women's Division functions as a separate unit under this administration, in that the daily program within the Women's Building is managed by its own staff. However, official records pertaining to admission, discharge, and movements of inmates to court and hospital, and all money and valuables of the inmates, are kept and controlled at the Main Building. All movements of the inmates, outside the immediate area surrounding the Women's Building and within the grounds of the Prison, have to be directly authorized by the Senior Officer in charge of the Prison.

Up to the year 1952, the Women's Division had to be operated strictly as a custodial institution because of the small number of staff. Adequate supervision for either vocational training or socialization purposes was not possible; two staff members per shift in charge of 70 women could do little more than count bodies and lock doors. However, in 1952, the Attorney-General's Department gave the order for an increase in staff in order that the suggestions for a treatment program of the newly appointed Warden Hugh G. Christie could be put into effect. This study is a record of the operation of the Women's Division
at the present time.

There are few laid-down or tested directions for the successful operation of a treatment program and many of the activities of the last four and five years have been experimental, albeit governed by recognized principles of human behaviour. The theories of social scientists have had to be synthesized with the requirements of custodians and often the surprising result has been that the conclusions of both are identical. The change-over from a custodial program to a program that fully implements the treatment possibilities has been gradual, as it should be. Acceptance by staff and inmates - a very necessary factor as they are the operating ingredients of the program - has been slow; but there is a recognizable difference in atmosphere that does reflect an acceptance of the value of changes in program.

A. The Structure and Facilities of the Women's Building

The Women's Division contains one main building and four cottages referred to as the "Huts". In addition, there is a cottage built by a special Government grant as part of a program for the study and treatment of narcotic drug users. This unit is under the direct administration of the Women's Building (see diagram).

The original part of the Women's Building was erected in 1942 and is long and three-storied. Prior to 1942 the women prisoners were housed in sections of the main Men's Building at Oakalla. There are thirty-one rooms on the first and second floors all opening off a central corridor. Although most of the rooms were designed for single occupancy, over-crowding necessitates doubling up in the majority of cases. Eight of the rooms accommodate from four to six girls. The windows of each room are steel-framed and apart from two rooms which have outside bars and can be used as security units for Penitentiary prisoners, there has been an architectural effort to avoid some of the grim
Fig. 1

Diagram of the Buildings (Main Floor) of the Women's Division, Oakalla Prison Farm.
and forbidding aspects of prison while still having a secure unit.

There is a toilet and washbasin in each room - a feature which has immense value both for custodial and sanitary reasons. There is usually a table, chair and dresser in each room besides the bed. The girls in active groups are allowed to add individual touches to their rooms and have choice in colour schemes. Most of the rooms are painted about once a year and a variety of colours are used throughout the building, thus overcoming much of the drabness usually associated with institutions.

A bath and shower room is located at one end of each of the two main floors and it is possible for every girl to have a bath or shower three or four times a week. There is a sitting room on each corridor which is used by different groups in non-working hours.

An addition to the building was opened in September, 1957. On one side is a gymnasium and recreation room, and underneath, a similar space, which is planned for use as a laundry. On the other side, there are two units, each with six rooms opening off an activity space and with a kitchen area containing sink, cupboards and hotplate. In the basement are single isolation cells, many of which are presently being used as storage rooms.

The working areas are in the main building. The kitchen and dining room are located on the main floor. The kitchen is fairly well equipped, although it suffers from lack of space. The dining room is not large enough for the whole population, but several groups eat in their own units. Groups eat with their matron at separate tables; the food is served in dishes from which the girls help themselves.

On the second floor there is a large room, one-half of which is used as a Sewing Room, and the other for Occupational Therapy. Power machines, similar to those used in factories, have been set up in another room and as
the beginning of a power sewing course which is planned to meet the standards of the Vancouver Vocational Institute. Also in a state of development is a hairdressing school which has to operate in a very small room, but within a year will probably be expanding. At the present time, the laundry and linen room are in the basement and this work section is constantly hampered by lack of space.

A short wing houses the administrative offices and admitting unit. Here a great lack of space is evident. One of the offices is frequently required for visiting purposes, consultations with lawyers and social workers. The main office is extremely small. There is a visiting room which has facilities for screen visiting and table visits. (The girl may either have to sit behind the screen or may be allowed to sit across a table from her visitor.) Above the offices are the Matrons' quarters and the library. The library is fairly well stocked and has about 2000 books. It is used in the evening by the inmates and often becomes a visiting room for social workers or a conference room.

The four Huts were cheaply built along Army construction lines. The four are placed in front of the main building and are visible from the administration office. Two Huts are used as living units, a third as a combination carpenter shop and pottery unit, and the other as a school.

In Huts I and II there are five bunks at one end (that is, a possible total accommodation of 10 in each Hut), with a night table for each bed and a few other pieces of furniture. At the other is a stove, sink and cupboards, and a long dining table. In a separate room there is a bath, toilet and sinks. The girls sleep and eat all their meals in the Huts. Because of the work program, it often happens that only breakfast and supper can be actually cooked out there; otherwise, supplies are sent
over from the main kitchen.

The Huts permit a certain degree of segregation and younger girls can be kept from the undesirable contacts with older offenders. The program in the Huts can be less rigid than in the main building and there is greater opportunity for development of group feeling and for the establishment of a strong positive relationship with the matron.

For those girls for whom the Huts offer too great a custodial risk, the privacy of the new units allows for a similar development of group feeling.

For recreational purposes there is an enclosed rock garden at the back of the building. Between the Huts and the main building is a badminton court and grass area. During the summer a ball field is available, and in the winter use can be made of the large prison gymnasium for basketball. The new recreation room gives space for games, folk dancing, and exercises, and will be used for assembly of the girls, for church services, for concerts, films, etc.

B. Staff: Their Backgrounds and Functions

At present, the Women's Division employs 42 full-time matrons, one part-time social worker, and 6 matrons for the Narcotic Drug Treatment Unit. The 42 matrons gives a ratio of about two inmates per staff member. This is the factor that has made possible the establishment of some sort of a treatment program in both work and recreational time, that has made it possible to attempt vocational training and that has allowed a "group system" to function in a building with inadequate facilities for segregation.

Each matron is required to work on all shifts before being taken on permanent staff. There are no actual positions available, apart from the Matron-in-charge, such as teacher, group worker, or nurse, and although each matron can be expected to work in any department, they are generally placed
according to interests and capabilities. However, in practice, there is an
administrative hierarchy (See diagram). The distribution is roughly:
morning shift (7 a.m. - 3 p.m.) - 13 matrons; afternoon shift (3 p.m. -
11 p.m.) - 10 matrons; night shift (11 p.m. - 7 a.m.) - 15 matrons. Staff
changes of shift occur monthly, although certain matrons, especially those
in administrative positions, work in the same positions for periods of
months and years.

During the morning program there is emphasis on industry and the
promotion of good work habits with, of course, a recognition of individual
abilities and limitations. Afternoon matrons need to be able to permit a
more relaxed program, to promote interest in activities, and to work towards
individual growth, while at the same time to set generally accepted standards
of social behaviour. The chief purpose of the night shift is custodial,
with some nursing care involved.

The backgrounds of the staff vary considerably in education and
experience. The minimum education required is Grade X, but the salary
offered, which is fairly high for women's positions, makes it possible in
practice to select employees from a large number of applicants. About a
third of the present staff have had psychiatric nurses training; three are
Registered Nurses; two are trained school teachers; four are University
graduates with degrees in Sociology, Anthropology, Home Economics and
Social Work, respectively. One has a teacher's certificate in hairdressing;
another has completed a power sewing course. Others have had experience in
hairdressing, practical nursing, recreational work, sewing and housework.

Each staff member is required to attend Staff Training lectures
in the first few months of employment. These lectures are concerned mainly
with general custodial procedures and prison policies and are given to all
Fig. 2
Diagram of the Staff Organization of the Women's Division, Oakalla Prison Farm.
Oakalla staff. From time to time courses are offered to staff members on such subjects as the use of sewing machines, movie projectors, first aid.

Since the summer of 1956, a social worker has been employed on a part-time basis to take part in staff meetings for group matrons. These are held weekly from 9:30 to 11:00 p.m. and have included discussions on group work, recording, discipline problems, etc.

Several members of staff have taken University courses, vocational training and adult education courses on their own time and at their own expense. Encouragement is given to staff to make use of any particular skill they have and new ideas are welcomed.

C. The Routines of Program

1. The Morning Work Program

There are several aims for the morning program: institutional maintenance, employment of the inmates, the learning of skills, vocational training and segregation. Although an attempt is made to keep the needs of individuals in focus, as regards training and segregation, at times these needs have to be sacrificed to the requirements of the operating institution. Usually a woman will remain in a department from three to four months and within some departments there is a hierarchy of duties through which she will progress as positions become vacant. In each department is a matron.

The work departments include the kitchen, laundry, sewing room, occupational therapy, maintenance (cleaning and odd jobs), carpentry, and outside maintenance (gardening, painting, etc.). Vocational courses are still in a state of development but through the school Department of Education certificates can be obtained for correspondence courses completed, and negotiations are presently under way for recognition by the Vancouver Vocational School for hours of training in the Hairdressing and Power Sewing departments.

In order to give the reader some idea of a work department, the
following is a description of the kitchen work program. The kitchen generally employs eight women. Many first offenders work here, some of the younger girls and girls who have shown a positive attitude towards rehabilitation. The kitchen workers prepare and serve breakfast and the noon meal and do certain initial preparations for the evening meal. The kitchen is generally considered by the inmates as a good place to work, because although they work hard, and standards are high, "your time goes so fast". The progression of duties goes from vegetable girl, dish girl, tray girl, dining room girl to pastry cook and meat cook. By prison tradition, the meat cook is one of the top positions in the gaol, but a conscious effort is now made to have some of the younger women take on the responsibility.

The women assigned to the laundry are often addicts, women with long records, and women who it is felt would not suffer from association with addicts. The sewing and mending department is also concerned with institutional maintenance and here are made all the dresses, shirts and blue jeans worn by the women. There is mending to occupy some of the older women sentenced for very short periods of time. The Occupational Therapy department is supervised by a trained person. It is used as a work department for certain women convalescing from tuberculosis and other serious illnesses, and for women awaiting transfer to Kingston Penetentiary when close supervision is necessary. The carpentry and outside maintenance gangs are currently favourite places to work, probably because of the popularity

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1 The thought here is not that the kitchen department is especially helpful in the treatment process, but rather that the first offenders may have a work placement which does not bring them in daily contact with older, more experienced inmates.
of staff in charge of these departments and because of the interesting work involved. The carpenter is an older man, the only guard exclusively assigned to the Women's Building.

Most women when first admitted, unless physically incapable, are required to work on maintenance. Here it is possible to make some observation of work habits, of the supervision and control probably needed by the individual woman, of the ability to follow directions and understand them.

The vocational training program is generally limited to women with sentences of six months or longer. The training is part of the work program, and if it is felt that a woman is continually wasting her time or is unable to keep up to a certain standard, she can be moved to another department. Sometimes the placement is made on request, but younger women with long sentences are encouraged. In some cases, before placement in school, tests are administered by the gaol psychologist to determine ability.

The school, which operates through the Correspondence Division of the Department of Education, has been the most successful part of the vocational training program to date. Commercial courses, including typing, are those most generally taken, and an extremely high standard of work is expected.

2. The Afternoon Program

Every woman is placed in one of eight groups and the full force of the "group system" becomes evident in the afternoon and after-working hours. It is the compulsory aspect of the recreation and socialization program that is most difficult for the women to accept, and yet it is only through that factor of compulsion that many women will participate. It is up to the skill of the matron to develop a warm group atmosphere and to promote interest in
activities so that the compulsory activity will become the desirable activity.

On admission, each woman is automatically placed in Group VI with others newly admitted, waiting trial or awaiting transfer to Kingston Penitentiary. This group, which also includes sick women and those on punishment involving restricted activity, has a limited program and its members are locked in their rooms at 6:30 p.m. instead of the usual 8:30 p.m.

The other groups, to the extent that the total count makes it possible, are kept to under twelve members each. A matron is in charge of each group.

Group membership is determined by the administration and generally on the following basis: Group I - non-addict, first offenders, younger women and women who do not have an established pattern of delinquency; Group II - young women who have had some experience with drugs but not to the extent that they could be termed true addicts; Group III - young addicts who have generally had several previous convictions. (This is frequently one of the most troublesome groups - active and institutionalized to the extent that they are aware of most of the 'angles' that can be work against the administration, the girls can be difficult to control.); Group IV - older addicts, many of whom have penitentiary records, women who have a long history of delinquency and those who would not be adversely influenced by association with such as described; Group V - non-addicts, alcoholics and habitual drinkers, women with a history of delinquency other than drug charges; Group VI - the newly admitted - those waiting trial or transfer to another institution, the sick; Group VII - older recidivists, women whose health restricts their activities (e.g., arrested T.B. cases); Group VIII - young women who present a custodial problem, some young recidivists.

In the daily routine, the women have returned to their own rooms
from work when the afternoon group matrons come on duty. Each group with its matron then assembles for tea in a room according to a posted schedule - their own unit activity space, one of the sitting rooms or the sewing room. The groups in the main building (Group VI - the admission group, excluded) take turns preparing supper and night nourishment. It is up to the matron to foster and develop projects, although suggestions are made by the matron in charge of the afternoon program. Sometimes a group is given a choice of activity - going for a walk or staying in, etc. - at other times the program has been previously determined. Group projects include a quiet evening of reading and playing cards, hobbies and handicrafts in the Occupational Therapy room, the use of the records and player, square dancing, exercises and games in the gymnasium, gardening projects, library, athletics (volley-ball, badminton, basketball, baseball, swimming), walks, redecoration of rooms, pottery, carpentry, and others. Sometimes a special concert or party will be planned and each group will have to present a number, or one prepare the food, another the decorations, etc.

Although the group projects are valuable as instruments for broadening the interests of the women - for example, for many, leisure time activities may have previously been limited to beer-drinking - they also provide learning situations in terms of development of personality. This is recognized by the administration and it is the policy that matrons encourage the women to discuss, to participate, to make suggestions and to come to a decision as a whole group. It is not a straightforward business but a learning process for both inmates and matrons, and it is difficult to measure its effectiveness. One of the characteristics that can be recognized and does form a workable basis for future treatment programs is the "we-feeling" of a group. Individuals become proud of their group, and of being a member, and of their group having special characteristics different
from those of another group. It is believed that this sense of belonging, even though it may begin in an institutional setting, is one of the essentials for personality growth.1

The program in the Huts (Groups I and II) is somewhat similar to that of the groups in the main building. It can be more flexible and must adjust to the necessities of housekeeping. There is a real group living situation and there are some women who cannot fit into circumstances where almost all privacy is lacking. This lack of privacy is recognized as a drawback by the administration, and yet there is a closeness that develops among Hut members and with their matron that often compensates for this. The Hut routine involves a sharing of duties and there is opportunity for each girl to learn to cook and to manage for a small number of people.

At irregular intervals, a meeting is held between the matron in charge of the afternoon program and inmate representatives from each group. This informal committee is referred to as the Program Planning Committee. A president, secretary and treasurer are elected by the whole inmate body. The Committee is responsible for planning special activities, such as parties, inmate concerts, for discussing group complaints and requests, and as a workable means of contact with the administration. A fund, made up from money received for services to matrons and from goods made and sold by the women, is designated for spending by the Committee. The value of this Committee lies in providing the girls with areas of activity for which they can have some personal responsibility.

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1Wilson and Ryland, op. cit., p. 43.
CHAPTER III.
THE POPULATION OF THE WOMEN'S DIVISION

Although the inmate population during the year 1956 varied between 63 and 94, the average number in the Women's Division at one time was about 80. The women come from all over British Columbia: from the cities of Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster, from the Interior towns such as Kamloops and Cranbrook, from Prince Rupert and Dawson Creek in the north, from fishing villages and from Indian reservations. From 20 to 30 per cent are native Indians.

As a Provincial Gaol, the Women's Division was built to accommodate those women in British Columbia who receive sentences up to 2 years less 1 day. Women with sentences of 2 years or more are transferred to the Federal Penitentiary at Kingston, Ontario. However, women waiting trial and waiting transfer to the Penitentiary are held at Oakalla. Thus, the Women's Division frequently has at one time women with 5 day committals for Intoxication and women waiting transfer to Kingston Penitentiary with sentences of years on such serious offenses as Trafficking in Narcotics and Murder. There may be as many as 15 or 20 women waiting trial at one time.

A. Description of the Inmate Population According to Face Sheet Information

It is difficult to obtain a precise description of the inmates of the Women's Division - just what are their backgrounds, where they come from, and the extent of their records. Much of the information of records and face sheets is inaccurate; education, religion, marital status and
occupation in many cases are unverified. However, in this study, an attempt has been made to give a conception of the range in offense, sentence, age and background without emphasizing the reliability of individual records.

Information was obtained from the face sheets of the total inmate population on two separate dates - January 1, 1956 and July 1, 1956 - and marked on index cards. The two dates were arbitrarily selected and their significance lies only in that they show the population at dates in the winter and summer. This information was tabulated in order to show statistically certain factors which require consideration in the operating of a program at the Women's Division.

1. Distribution of Charges among the Inmate Population of the Women's Division

The extremes in charges range from the less serious offenses, such as being in a "State of Intoxication in a Public Place" to Murder. As previously mentioned, this is due to the temporary housing of persons waiting trial and of Penitentiary prisoners. Their presence makes for increased custodial problems and, at times, hampers the program.

On January 1, 1956, the total count of the Women's Division was 70; on July 1, 1956, it was 69. In January, 18 per cent were sentenced for Intoxication, and 32 per cent were charged under the Narcotic Act for illegal possession of drugs. On July 1, 23 per cent were sentenced for Intoxication, 45 per cent for Possession of Drugs. By the single fact of charge, it is evident that a large proportion of the population are involved with drugs or the excessive use of alcohol.

The distribution of charges among the inmate population on two selected dates can be seen in the following table:-
TABLE 1
Distribution of Charges Among the Inmate Population of the Women's Division, Oakalla Prison Farm, on January 1, 1956, and July 1, 1956.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>January 1, 1956</th>
<th>July 1, 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intoxication</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilful Damage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing Disturbance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorderly Conduct</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft under $50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect of Children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagrancy &quot;A&quot; (no visible means of support)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagrancy &quot;C&quot; (prostitution)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perjury</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributing to Juvenile Delinquency</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bootlegging</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent Act</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft over $50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtaining Goods by False Pretences</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession of Drugs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking and Entering</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafficking in Narcotics</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above classification, "Intoxication" is taken to include charges under the "Indian Act". Although there is, of course, a legal difference between being found in a "State of Intoxication in a Public Place" and being charged under the "Indian Act", for the purposes of this study, most persons charged under the "Indian Act" are so charged because they are intoxicated.
The difference in distribution of charges at the two dates is not sufficient to warrant much speculation. Certain girls could be arrested under a variety of charges: thus a girl who at one time is charged with Possession of Drugs could quite likely, at a future date, be charged with Vagrancy. Therefore, it is possible to have the same group of persons at two different dates but with a re-distribution of charges.

2. The Distribution According to Sentence

The range in sentence is another factor which merits consideration in a description of the inmate population. The problems involved in setting up a program which will have some value for women serving sentences of only days or weeks and which at the same time will provide enough stimulus and long-range interests for those who know they have to stay fifteen or twenty months are enormous. Custodial risks are not the least among the conditions to be weighed.
TABLE 2

The Distribution of Length of Sentence Among the Inmate Population of the Women's Division, Oakalla Prison Farm on January 1, 1956 and July 1, 1956.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Sentence</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 1, 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10 days</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 2 months</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 5 months</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 8 months</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 12 months</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 18 months</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 months - 2 years less 1 day</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite (transferred from G.I.S.)(^1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penitentiary (appealing or waiting Transfer)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penitentiary (Sentence being served in O.P.F.)(^2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total:</strong> 69(^3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noticeable increase in sentences ranging from 20 months to 2 years less one day (from 4 on January 1st to 16 on July 1st) can probably be attributed to the expectation of the opening at Oakalla of a unit for the treatment of narcotic addicts with the idea that such a length of sentence was necessary for participation in a specialized treatment program. However, on July 1, 1956, the project was only in its initial stage, and even in full operation the building provided would

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\(^1\)Girls' Industrial School.

\(^2\)Oakalla Prison Farm.

\(^3\)One woman charged was later released and therefore had no sentence.
not accommodate more than 12 persons. As a result, there was an added custodial problem with which the program had to cope: not only was there an increase in longer sentences (which brings an increase in the incentive to escape) but also there was an increase in dissatisfaction among women who found that a 20-month sentence did not automatically mean eligibility for the program.

3. Previous Convictions

Criminal record may also provide some indications of problems found in the incarcerated group. Previous record, although not giving a conclusive picture in regard to the individual's present condition, does give clues in regard to segregation, and to the length of time the individual has been involved in a delinquent way of life. The following table was prepared, again, only to give indication of the backgrounds of the total group and to show the background against which the program was set up. It is not completely accurate, as only in a very few cases are convictions in provinces outside of British Columbia recorded on the face sheets; nor are shown the convictions which have resulted in fines or suspended sentences (which in the case of Intoxication may be extremely numerous).

There is no legal term which simply indicates the rather complex distinction between less serious and more serious crimes. Such a distinction is necessary if any attention is going to be paid to record as there is considerable difference between a record of 10 convictions for Intoxication and a record of 10 convictions for Possession of Drugs. Therefore, two categories have been defined. "Less Serious Offenses" will include Intoxication, Disorderly Conduct, Wilful Damage, Causing a Disturbance, Vagrancy, Theft Under $50, Bootlegging and Perjury. All others (Theft Over $50, False
Pretences, Robbery, Forgery, Possession of Drugs, etc.) will be considered "Serious Offenses".

TABLE 3
Incidence of Previous Conviction among Inmate Population of the Women's Division, O.P.F., on January 1, 1956 and July 1, 1956.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>January 1, 1956</th>
<th>July 1, 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less Serious Offenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5 convictions</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 convictions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 or more</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious Offenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 conviction</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5 convictions</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile record</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penitentiary record</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No previous record</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously noted, the claim is not made that the above statistics are accurate. However, the change that would result if records were complete would be an increase in the number of convictions and probably a decrease in the number of first offenders. It is likely that for every sentence served in gaol for Intoxication there are two or three suspended sentences and fines paid.

1The above table shows a duplicated count for the total population. An individual could have a record of Serious Offenses, Less Serious Offenses as well as a Juvenile and Penitentiary Record.
4. Age Distribution

Eighteen is the usual minimum age for girls admitted to Oakalla. However, there are instances where a juvenile is transferred to Adult Court because of the seriousness of the charge. The range on January 1st was from 16 years to 76 years; the median age 32. On July 1st, the range was from 16 to 68; the median age 31.

**TABLE 4**

Age Distribution of the Inmate Population of the Women's Division, O.P.F., on January 1, 1956 and July 1, 1956.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 1, 1956</td>
<td>July 1, 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 19 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24 years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 years or more</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Education Level

Educationally speaking, most of the girls are at about Grade 7 or 8 level. There are a number of girls who have never attended school of any sort, and are illiterate. Frequently these are Indian girls from remote villages who have not had the opportunity to attend residential schools.
TABLE 5

Education Level of Inmate Population of the Women's Division, O.P.F., on January 1, 1956 and July 1, 1956.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>January 1, 1956</th>
<th>July 1, 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 1 - 4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5 - 6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 7 - 8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 9 -10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 11 -12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 13 or more</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Distribution According to Religion

It seems that during the year 1956 the inmate population rather evenly originated from Protestant and Roman Catholic backgrounds. The Doukhobour quota can of course be attributed to a peculiar B.C. problem.

TABLE 6


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>January 1, 1956</th>
<th>July 1, 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doukhobour</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Occupational Background

The stated occupation on the face sheet is frequently misleading.
Although very few girls would report that they had no occupation, a large percentage of them have almost no steady work experience but perhaps have worked intermittently at restaurant or house work. A few will list their occupation as "Prostitute", which, while no doubt true, is not a lawful means of employment as we wish to refer to here. Therefore this group has been included under the heading "No occupation". A large number of the girls report their occupation as "Housewife", and this has been found admissible as a category.

The significant information that can be learned from the following table, because of its unreliability if considered as a work record, is the degree to which the group is occupationally skilled. As perhaps might be expected, the majority name unskilled occupations.

**TABLE 7**

Distribution According to Occupation of the Inmate Population of the Women's Division, O.P.F., on January 1, 1956, and July 1, 1956.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>January 1, 1956</th>
<th>July 1, 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishwasher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory Worker</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Hand</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauffeur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses Aide</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental Nurse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typist, Stenographer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstress</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Occupation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Marital Status

Although marital status is an item recorded on the face sheets, the statement given is virtually meaningless. Even though the majority state they are 'Married', in very few cases does this imply a stable marriage, the setting up of a home, the raising of children, the mutual respect of husband and wife. Often the inmate fails to distinguish between legal marriage and common-law marriage and designates the latter simply as 'Marriage'. Not too infrequently a legal marriage has been one of convenience, as a marriage licence is a requirement for visiting privileges should either or both be arrested.

**TABLE 8**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>January 1, 1956</th>
<th>July 1, 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common-law</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Some Problems Frequently Found Among the Inmate Population

Certain problems appear typically among the group at the Women's Gaol. They are worth considering for the purposes of this study as they again represent needs which the program of the institution should be meeting. The recognition of areas of difficulty within the group as background for program planning does not negate the individual approach in the matter of
treatment.

1. The Indian Problem

As a rule, Indians do not commit crimes - they commit misdemeanors: they misuse intoxicants, they are law-breakers and accidental offenders, but they do come to gaol. The problem of the Indian woman in Oakalla Prison Farm stems from the large problem of acculturation within our Western civilization. Our society has not equipped itself to deal positively with the difficulties, and, as a very unfortunate consequence, often the only answer to irresponsible behaviour on the part of the Indian is found in a gaol sentence.

Indian women have problems thrust on them merely because they are born Indian in this Western civilization. Frequently through the schooling system they are introduced to, and forced to live within, a different culture from that which they came on the reservation and yet are not provided with the means to make the transition when they return to the reservation. The older members do not wish to change their way of living; the outside world of the white man does not accept them as equals. Partially trained for two civilizations, they belong in neither.

The story of the Indian woman in gaol is all too similar in many cases. Frequent arrests for drinking by the police in the small town near her native reservation have resulted in her being kept in the local lockup for short sentences. Finally the harassed magistrate sentences her to Oakalla for about 20 or 30 days. She finds the experience not as frightening as threatened or expected, the prison authorities arrange her transportation home and there are no real deterrents to prevent her from getting drunk again and sent back to Oakalla. This time she is not so shy,
she has friends to greet and hears about the exciting things to do and
the money that can be made in Vancouver. Although transportation would
once more be provided, the woman stays in town (the prison has authority
over her only up to her release at the gate). In the city, the Indian
woman is 'accepted' only in the East End, and then usually abused and
treated as a prostitute. About the only places that would hire her are
disreputable restaurants, even if she wanted work. She returns again
and again to Oakalla on Intoxication charges; if adventuresome, she may
get involved with drugs.

A similar situation may occur when a woman has been educated to
the extent that she is dissatisfied with life on the reservation but not
sufficiently so that she can fit in within the community to which she moves.

This social inferiority carries over into the gaol situation.
It used to be that they did the "dirty work" in the prison - the scrubbing,
the dishes, the peeling of vegetables - and were probably not even considered
as capable of anything else. Although the flagrant discrimination against
them has now virtually disappeared, there is still a noticeable tendency to
think of them and refer to them as "poor little Indian kids", rather than
helping them grow towards adult responsibility. This factor of responsibility
is one that should be kept constantly in mind in the operating of a treatment
program. Most of the women have attended residential schools and the gaol
can become little more than a continuation of the same situation, where they
are told what to do, to wear, to eat, and take on none of the decisions.

2. The Habitual Drinker

The problem of the habitual drinker and the alcoholic often fails
to receive the attention that it warrants. Although in January, 1956,
there were 17 persons out of the 70 (or 24 per cent) and in July, 16 out of 69 (34 per cent) who were known to have a drinking problem, out of the total admissions for the fiscal year 1955-56 there were over 300 arrests for charges under the Liquor Act. This discrepancy arises because of the shorter sentences given for Intoxication charges as compared with other offences, and one person may have served several sentences in a relatively short period of time. In the last year there has been a great increase in the number of persons sentenced to 5 days as a result of a change in court procedure whereby suspended sentences are no longer imposed for intoxication.

Frequently five days is an insufficient period for a person to recover physically from a prolonged drinking bout. It is completely useless in any sort of terms for treatment of a drinking problem.

Occasionally women with a long drinking record will be sentenced to three months. Then it is possible for them to participate in the program, to become part of a group, to establish some sort of a relationship with a matron and to make contact with some organization, such as the Alcoholism Foundation, with whom they may be able to work out post-release plans.

For the women who are constantly in and out of gaol on drinking charges—often there are only two or three days between charges—an effort has been made to make their involvement in the program a continuing process. Once they have recovered from the physical effects of drinking, they are returned to the group and probably work placement where they were on their previous admission. Thus they are able to renew contacts with their matron and their group members and thus many of the factors that make for individual growth and progress are maintained.
3. The Problems of Drug Addicts

In both January and July of 1956 there were 34 women who were known to be drug addicts or to have used drugs at one time. This constitutes about 48 per cent of the population at a given time. What this high percentage indicates, in effect, is that the majority of persons in the Women's Division (in British Columbia), who have a fairly well-established pattern of delinquency, use drugs. These are the habitual offenders. Most of them have a history of delinquency which pre-dates the use of drugs. This means that the use of drugs is in most cases an outgrowth of a delinquency pattern.

Sedation is medically prescribed during the period of withdrawal when addicts are first admitted. Within about a week, they are ready to take active part in the program.

Many of the custodial requirements of the gaol are imposed because of the addict problem. In particular, visiting and contacts with the community have to be closely watched because of the danger of drugs being passed to the women.

The minimum sentence for a conviction of Drug Possession is six months, although many receive longer terms. Since the addicts know they are going to be in gaol for some period, the program becomes of vital interest to them. As a group, compared to those sentenced for drinking charges, they appear to be aggressive and outgoing and generally sociable. Most of them have known each other for some length of time - the procuring of drugs involves contact with some illegal source - and there is an expressed feeling of "We're on one side of the fence, you're on the other" and a code of delinquency which looks with suspicion on a positive relationship with an authority figure. Also, there is what has
been termed a "con attitude" or approach by which situations are manipulated and exploited for personal benefit with little thought for the effects on others or for the long-term results. What we find in the addict group is a predominance of psychopathic tendencies which must be recognized in the planning of the program. The skill lies in making the necessary controls a part of the treatment scheme.

A cottage has been set up as a Narcotic Drug Treatment Unit next to the Women's Building and here a specialized program will operate. It has a maximum accommodation of twelve and the women are chosen from the population at the Women's Division. Its program will not be discussed in this study, but its very presence is a factor to be considered in the planning of program in the women's gaol. A move to the Unit is regarded by the inmates as recognition by the administration of their genuine desire to stop using drugs.

4. The Problem of Homosexuality

The problem of homosexuals in gaols and of homosexual tendencies never seems to be dealt with adequately. There are probably six or eight women at any given time in the Women's Division who are known to have openly had homosexual living arrangements in the community. The homosexual tendency is present in some degree in every individual and the gaol may provide the situation which precipitates homosexual activity that would not occur in a normal social setting. As a group, the women in gaol are emotionally immature and sexually promiscuous. They need attention and gain considerable satisfaction from physical contact.

Talk about homosexual activity and displays of affection embarrass and arouse feelings of guilt in many girls. It is a problem which frightens many of the younger ones, and often upsets staff. If undue focus is given to
the problem, false interpretation can be placed on friendship and on relationships between staff and girls. Certain control can be maintained by the program in several ways. Aggressive homosexuals are often placed in different groups from those who would be readily attracted. A full and interesting program that gives scope for using up energy, for physical exercise, for creative work, and that is closely supervised will allow less time for anti-social means of satisfaction to develop. For the aggressive homosexual, treatment probably requires psychiatric care; a good therapeutic atmosphere is the best preventive of a situational problem.
CHAPTER IV.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PROGRAM

A. The Beginnings of Classification

Classification is the method by which the diagnostic, training and treatment programs can be directed efficiently toward the treatment of the individual.  Hugh Christie describes classification as a responsibility which begins with the reception and orientation of the individual to the institution, includes a short, intensive diagnosis process and carries on continuously throughout the whole sentence.

In the Women's Division at Oakalla, the classification procedures are still elementary and a little haphazard in implementation. Admissions include persons both sentenced and waiting trial. There is a regular admitting routine which entails a bath, listing of all clothing and effects, and issue of prison clothing—dress, shoes, socks, and nightgown. Most of the paper work for the official records, including fingerprints and photograph, when necessary, is completed at the Main Gaol by the Record Staff. When known drug addicts, or those charged with drug offences, are admitted there are additional admitting procedures designed as precautionary measures to prevent drugs being smuggled into the building.

The new admissions are then taken to their rooms and, when possible, first offenders are placed in single rooms, although shortage of space sometimes prevents this. Generally, during the first day, each girl is seen by

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the prison doctor who can then prescribe any necessary medication and treatment.

Admitting routines are never very pleasant. Frequently, as in the cases of addicts and habitual drinkers, the first few days require intensive medical attention. One of the main drawbacks to the present admitting system is the lack of privacy which results when four or five girls are admitted in the one admitting room in the building.

Certain data are recorded on the face sheet: name, address, birth date and birth place, marital status, occupation and education, next of kin and parents' names, and the charge with sentence or date of remand. This information, recorded on a standard form is, of course, necessary and useful. However, in addition, during the evening of the first day some attempt is made to gain additional background information on why the inmate got into trouble, and to help her with some immediate problems. Gaol procedures and rules are explained to new admissions. Such interviews are usually undertaken by the matron responsible for program on the afternoon shift. This procedure of interviewing with the subsequent initial recording is most effectively and thoroughly carried out with new admissions. However, records are often sparse on information concerning repeaters, particularly in the cases of habitual drinkers with short sentences. With persons who have had numerous sentences of 5 days, 10 days, 1 month, etc., little more may be recorded of that period other than that they were admitted and discharged.

Since 1953, there has been at the Women's Division, a file on each person admitted. Prior to that date, individual face sheet information was kept at the Records Office of the Men's Building and there was no system
for recording individual adjustment or progress. Each file now contains a face sheet, classification sheet, work progress reports, group reports and any pertinent correspondence and information.

The Classification sheet is a mimeographed form which provides space on one side for brief recommendations and remarks from matrons of various departments who have had contact with the girl, for a statement of her education, occupation and health, and for a custodial evaluation. On the other side are sections for work history and group history where are listed the placements of the inmate and certain remarks concerning the placement. The one classification sheet is retained if there is more than one admission.

Work progress reports are filled out at the end of each month by the matron of each department. The progress report is a mimeographed form which allows for information concerning personal and work habits under headings which include appearance, cleanliness, speech, walk, attitude towards staff and institution, ability to take instruction, complete jobs, etc. The value of these reports lies in their record of changes over a period of time.

Group reports are kept in the various group books during the woman's incarceration. The report is started on the day the woman is admitted; certain circumstances concerning her arrest and admission are noted and any additional background information that can be obtained. These reports are made to enable an evaluation of the individual and her needs and problems before she is placed in an active group. At that time, the record is transferred to the relevant group book and the group matron keeps up a record of her adjustment in the group, her approach to various situations, and the methods that are used in helping her with problems,
necessary disciplinary measures, etc.

As soon as physically able, the woman goes to work and within three or four days after being sentenced is placed in an active group, unless health or other conditions prohibit this. Group and steady work placements are made after discussions between the matron-in-charge, the matron supervising the work program and the matron supervising the afternoon program. Sometimes, because of lack of space, of shortage or overcrowding in work teams, a woman may be placed without much discussion as to her needs. The "classification" discussions are held irregularly, about once or twice a week and are often informal pooling of opinions. However, there is rarely a woman, with a sentence of a month or longer, who does not have her individual needs and situation considered, at least to some degree, in relation to the institutional program. The relatively good standard of "classification" that comes out of a rather casual routine is probably the result of the low numbers of people in the institution. Because the population rarely exceeds one hundred, it is possible for each matron to be acquainted with each woman, and because of the number of matrons, for each woman to be known quite well by one or two matrons. Staff are encouraged to take an interest in the inmates and to give their opinions on custodial and treatment needs.

B. Case Studies

In order to give a picture of how the individual inmate becomes involved in the institutional program, the following five cases have been selected from the files at the Women's Division. The five were selected because each exemplifies a certain behaviour syndrome that is typical of a number of other women. The cases chosen do not necessarily show good
treatment. They were selected because sufficient information was available that some effect of the program on the individual could be noted. The effect in some instances is that this program has helped the individual to progress and change her behaviour; in other instances the program may have only strengthened a delinquency pattern; at times it may have had no effect at all.

1. An Unmanageable Teenager

The following is a record of a 16-year-old girl who was transferred to Oakalla from the Girls Industrial School because of behaviour problems and because she was known to have used drugs. As a Juvenile, she was on indefinite sentence. Since that date, the policy has changed so that girls are no longer transferred to the adult institution. However, this case has been included in the study because her behaviour exemplifies some of the problems encountered with young addicts, from about 18 to 21 years of age and with juveniles who have been transferred to Adult Court prior to sentencing. Many of these have been previously committed to the Industrial School. Clinically speaking, the problem here is that of the individual whose anti-social behaviour became evident in her early teens, who has had two or three years of contact with the "underworld" and whose unstable behaviour reflects the circumstances of her development and the drives and restless energy of adolescence.

Face Sheet Information

Name: Esther E.

Charge: Incorrigibility

Sentence: Indefinite. Transferred from Girls Industrial School to Oakalla Prison Farm about 1 month after committal.
Previous Record: 1 previous committal to G.I.S. 1 charge of Illegal Possession of Drugs at which time she was transferred from Juvenile to Adult Court and sentenced to 6 months. This sentence was served in a small provincial gaol.

Mother: Anna E., never married. Died of T.B. when subject 12 years old.

Father: Unknown

Social History (Because of early and frequent contacts with Social Service agencies, considerable information regarding background and development was available).

Esther was the illegitimate daughter and only child of Anna E. who never married. At 2$\frac{1}{2}$ years she was placed, on a non-ward basis, in her first foster home. Reports indicate a good adjustment, but within a year the foster parents moved. In her second placement, she was described as "hard to manage". Two other placements proved unsatisfactory, and Esther (now 4 years old) returned for the next 3 years to her mother until the latter contracted T.B. and went to the Sanitarium where she died a few years later. In her next foster home, Esther seemed "happy" until the foster mother also contracted T.B., and it was noted that from this time "she was unable to form any deep relationship with anyone". However, she remained at her next foster home which was very "accepting and understanding" until she was 13 years old, when she ran away. Since then, she has run away from every home in which she was placed.

At 13, it was felt she needed custodial care and she was placed in a convent. She remained 3 months, then ran away but returned to the C.A.S worker on her own. However, "they would not let me live the life I wanted". At 14, she was committed to the Girls Industrial School and was released in 7 months after having run away numerous times.

From about the age of 12, Esther was ostracized by various groups of conforming youngsters because of her unconventional behaviour. She
began staying out all night, drinking and having sexual relations with men. Several times she stayed on an Indian Reservation, and gave the explanation that they were "my kind of people". (She was French in national origin.)

From a psychiatric examination came the report that: she was unable to postpone immediate desires for future gratification; she seemed to remain anxious only in direct response to a stress; she was confused about masculine and feminine roles; she craved acceptance from her peers; and, though afraid of emotional contacts, she was eager to "relate".

**Diagnosis and Treatment**

It would seem that from infancy Esther grew up without ever fully having any of her basic needs met. She has lived in situations which can appear only rejecting to her. Every time she has formed any sort of relationship with anyone, that person was removed. Every time she liked a person or situation, that person or situation was removed. Her cravings for love, affection, security and a place where she belongs, which were never met, prevented her from developing normally in other areas. She never had the security to develop controls within herself, never had enough given to her to be able to give to others. She grew up unable to adjust to adult authority or to conformity demanded by peers.

Adolescence, with its sex drives, brought with it new possibilities of seeming love and acceptance, and she ran away from the life which had given her no satisfaction. But Esther did not have the control or capacity to achieve the conformity that even delinquent adolescent groups demand. Although at 15 years she had made headlines as "The Youngest Drug Addict in B.C.", other delinquents were making real threats because she had given testimony on which a man was committed to prison.
The first month of her current admission, Esther appeared extremely apathetic to everything and everybody. She was placed in O.T. as she was known to have some artistic abilities and more supervision was possible in that department than had she been placed on Maintenance. She took no interest in any phase of the department, had no patience to learn a new skill, would not listen to instruction, and if she did not obtain immediate success would throw down the article saying she had done the best she could. She wandered constantly from her task and attached herself to older girls.

She was placed in Hut II with other young addicts but the threats of reprisal because of her having given testimony were so disturbing to her that it was recognized she would probably never become part of the group. In the Hut she was very much on the defensive towards both staff and other girls - her most frequent remark was "Why do you always pick on me?" - would not do her share of work, and constantly broke rules by such acts as running to the building without asking and passing articles through the windows. About four weeks after admission, she was transferred to Hut I where at that time there were no addicts and there was one young Italian girl also on indefinite sentence. This girl was the first friendly contact that Esther made among the girls.

However, her temper was very easily aroused, which constantly brought disapproval from both staff and other girls. The other girls gave up talking to her because she was so rarely agreeable.

She was moved to the kitchen during work hours where she was required to do certain jobs a certain way and within a specified time.
This brought almost too much pressure on her and, at one point where she was told to re-do a floor she had supposedly washed, she tried to choke the matron. Esther laid the blame for this incident on the poor state of her "nerves". She was charged in Warden's court, where it was pointed out to her that she had shown some control in that she had not really hurt the matron, and therefore, in the future, more self-control would be expected of her. She was placed in isolation for three days.

Although she was somewhat subdued after this, her defiance towards the demands of society took another form. She got her hair cut like a boy's, plastered it back, and took every opportunity to associate with girls generally remarked as having overt homosexual tendencies. Fortunately, little emphasis was placed on this behaviour, except where it involved already existing gaol rules. She was a child, thrust into an adult world, and such feelings would not be considered too abnormal in other settings. The homosexual group was another rejected group where Esther might find acceptance. But she had enough problems without an additional label of "lesbian".

However, it was felt that some progress could be made within the group of Hut I. Once she had moved, it was decided she should remain there, if possible, the whole time. The group was a slowly changing one, some coming, others going, and thus somewhat a counterpart of society at large. Acceptance by the group would therefore be an important factor in her growth. However, the matron would probably be the important figure in the group, accepting her at all times, although showing approval when she behaved and providing the controls when she did not. In regard to the latter, the matron of the Hut tried to correct Esther more often when she
was in company with another girl, thus trying not to make her alone in her non-conformity. For a large part, the disciplining of Esther came from the group, so that she might learn she had to get along with society. Discussions with her on behaviour problems kept away from any deep areas of personality disorders but stressed every-day behaviour. Emphasis was laid on her keeping control and taking responsibility.

Esther needed some form of expression for her likes and dislikes in a physical way. Because of gaol mores, touching another person so as to show affection carried with it the connotation of homosexuality. It was suggested that a kitten be given to Esther and her group. She became extremely fond of this kitten, she could fondle and care for it, could worry about it, and still have the complete approval of the group. And the kitten was something the group shared a liking for with Esther.

After several months, a young girl who had used drugs was moved into the Hut. This girl had been in quite as much trouble as Esther since her committal but in the last two months had settled down considerably. She took quite a responsibility for Esther's behaviour and they became good companions and "partners in crime" (e.g., starting a "home brew"), but the relationship was a good one. Esther now had some acceptance by her peers and a friend who was a "bad" girl but was trying to be "good" and to grow up.

Esther began accepting responsibility herself. It was her own request that she be cook in the Hut for several weeks, and she faithfully performed her duties - did not need to be told to start the meal, did not complain about getting up early in the morning, cooked even when she said she felt sick.
After five months after admission it was noted by her matron that she did not stand out as different from the rest of the group nearly so much as formerly; nor did she have to be encouraged as much. She gained in control of her temper, and though still often cranky, did not have the outbursts. Once, listening to another girl argue, she said, "Well, now I know what it sounds like when I argue. It's pretty awful."

Eight months after admission, it was recorded that although her general behaviour had improved a great deal, she complained constantly of her "nerves" and her eating habits were irregular and she slept for long periods during the afternoon. What seemed to upset her the most was the idea of her unknown release date. Several times she had believed she would be released before certain dates and had been disappointed. She had little idea of where she would be sent when released (she was a ward of the Children's Aid Society) and frequently stated that if placed in a foster home "I will stay half an hour". All her own plans were to join a boy friend and get married, and in this respect she spoke of taking care of the house, having children, and cooking specialties for her boy friend. She formed a great admiration for an attractive girl who came from a stable background and normal home life, and it had become a rare thing to hear Esther talk of the streets and of using drugs and of running around with men.

This was her state of mind at her release after nine months of incarceration. Her attitudes and feelings were much more like what one would expect from an adolescent, whereas formerly they were like those of a little child. When removed from the gaol, she was no longer the horribly maladjusted girl that had entered, but at least had the ability, given a
fair opportunity, to make the adjustment to a normal life.

An Indian Recidivist

The majority of Indians in the gaol come from reservations outside the city. Among the group of older Indian women who come to gaol, most have had little education. Many have a history of T.B. There are times when it is found that this latter problem is either unknown or ignored by them until it is recognized in gaol. Della D. is an Indian, 50 years of age, who has come to gaol numerous times in the past five years for violations under the Indian Liquor Act. Although in most matters she has seemed to have a passive attitude, she has remained adamant in her refusal to accept treatment for her tuberculosis condition, although she knows that she may be spreading the disease among others and will herself get only more sick.

Face Sheet Information

Name: Della D.

Birth: 4-8-06 Chase, B.C.

Charge: Violation under the Indian Liquor Act (Intoxication). Della was arrested in Kamloops when found sitting on the sidewalk of the main street in a state of intoxication.

Sentence: 1 month.

Previous Record: 15 previous charges under the Liquor Act served at Oakalla Prison Farm with sentences ranging from 7 days to 2 months. There have been several sentences, of less than 20 days, which were served in Kamloops Gaol; alternatives of fines which were paid, both in Kamloops and Vancouver; and numerous suspended sentences in Kamloops and Vancouver.

Personal History

Della is a small woman, 4'11" in height and weighing 101 pounds. She has long hair which usually hangs straight to the shoulders. She speaks quietly and politely to staff, and although she enjoys talking to other Indian girls, is never voluble.
Della attended school up to Grade III and can read and write. When in gaol, she likes to read magazines but rarely takes out library books. She gives her occupation as housekeeper but it is doubtful if she has ever been gainfully employed.

Della has been married but her present "old man" is not her legal husband. She has a sixteen-year-old daughter who stays with Della's mother in Chase, and works as a waitress in a café.

During the last five years that Della has been coming to gaol, her medical history shows that sometimes she was isolated for T.B., and at others she was diagnosed as having arrested T.B. Five years ago she was in T.B. hospital for treatment but left after two months because she did not want to stay any longer. Since then, she has refused to return. At the present time it is difficult to determine exactly her condition, except from X-rays, as she refuses to give sputum for sputum tests, or take stomach washes. She also refuses to take any prescribed antibiotics.

The conditions of her arrests are usually similar. She lives with Joe D., at a logging camp outside Kamloops. She states that he works steadily and it is when they come into town on payday to go shopping that she gets drunk. She says this happens every time because there are too many beer parlours and too many friends in Kamloops. Sometimes she goes to visit her mother and daughter in Chase, and the same situation arises. She and Joe have a cabin at the camp and Della says he will not be lonely without her as he has a radio.

Institutional Adjustment

On admission, Della is usually quite dirty and poorly dressed. She cooperates with the admission routine but is generally sulky as she
knows she will be placed in isolation because of her T.B. condition. (Isolation means that she remains in one room, eats off one set of dishes, and her visiting is limited to friends standing at the door). One time Della came in under her sister's name in the hope of avoiding isolation.

On the occasions when her T.B. condition has been diagnosed as arrested, she has worked in the Sewing Room. What work reports there are on her state that she is a "willing worker, quiet and withdrawn, leans on others to see what goes on next." Regarding any work preferences, she seems content with any job given her, usually mending socks, although she has asked to go on maintenance.

While in isolation, Della remains in Group VI - the group for the sick and new admissions. The few times that she has been allowed to mix with the other inmates she has been placed in Group V with other girls having short sentences and records of previous charges. As a group member, she was extremely passive, and her group record shows little other than that she liked to be with other Indians and enjoyed attending the Roman Catholic evening sessions with members of the Legion of Mary.

Her physical condition is not improving. She has been taken to the T.B. Clinic at the General Hospital several times, but about a year ago they requested that she not be sent again as she had refused to cooperate with any routine. In talking of her T.B. problem Della says she does not see why she should go to hospital as she thinks there are lots of others who have it and are not in hospital. She does not like the diagnostic and treatment procedures, and does not think she has any need of them. As far as she is concerned, she is not sick.

Her drinking problem she seems to understand as situational. If it were not for the friends and beer parlours in Kamloops and the shopping
that brings her there, she would not be in gaol. Actually she does not mind gaol too much, except for the isolation.

For the past year, girls arrested outside Vancouver have been given a warrant for a ticket home. Prior to that time, a warrant was given once a year, so that if girls from out of town were sentenced more than once that year, they had to find their own way home, or remain in Vancouver. Since Della was usually unfit for work, she would not have even the pay of ten cents a day and therefore is usually discharged, quite literally, penniless. Thus frequently she drifted into Vancouver where she did little but drink and eventually returned to Oakalla. The present policy of providing transportation every time back to place of arrest is of assistance to those who wish to return, although it has been found that with Della, unless arrangements are made to put her on the bus for Kamloops (a voluntary procedure outside the jurisdiction of the prison), she will still end up on the streets of Vancouver. The main advantage of sending her home seems to be that she remains out of Oakalla for longer periods.

The preceding report could be repeated in many other cases, although, of course, the T.B. factor is not always present. Part of Della's trouble is the same trouble that is affecting many of the North American Indian peoples. Della takes almost no responsibility for her own life nor how it affects the lives of others; she sees no reason why she should. She expects to come to gaol. Whether the program of the Women's Division can have any effect on a factor that is almost a cultural outgrowth, or can be modified to do so, remains to be seen. However, it is at present, quite ineffectual. Della is fifty years old; for her generation
it is probably too late to expect any degree of change.

Nevertheless, it seems quite evident that more could be done for Della within the existing framework of the program. It would probably be possible, with a great deal of continued encouragement, to get Della to cooperate with the routine for treatment of tuberculosis, perhaps even to enter a sanitorium. But beyond that, it is not likely that the program is capable of making her wish to change her way of life.

3. A First Offender

The term "first offender" refers to the inmate who is admitted for the first time to a penal institution. Even when the circumstances of a particular inmate's background have been checked to ensure that the term has been correctly applied, its usage, as was previously stated in Chapter I, gives no real indication as to the type of problem. However, there are occasionally persons who come to gaol who have had almost no connection or acquaintance with other delinquents. The following is a description of a girl who came from a fairly stable family, had a good education and a work history that showed she had held steady jobs for long periods. (This last was one of her distinguishing marks: the majority of the girls have worked for only brief and intermittent periods at unskilled jobs, have either been fired or quit on a moment's notice several times; some have never worked at all.). If her charge had been less serious, she would probably have been released on probation.

Face Sheet Information

Name: Arlene A.
Charge: Theft Over $50.
Sentence: 1 year.
Previous Record: None.
Date of Birth: January 6, 1932, Calgary, Alberta.

Education: Grade XII.

Occupation: Dental nurse.

Religion: United Church.

Next-of-Kin: Mother, Mrs. N.

Circumstances of Admission

Arlene was arrested after her employer discovered she had been taking money from him, to the amount of about three thousand dollars, for the past three years and had been altering the books to correspond. The money had been spent on personal effects and furnishings for her rooms in the house of her mother and step-father.

She was admitted to Oakalla when charged and was a month waiting trial. On admission she was very depressed and tearful and at first refused to have visits with her family but was persuaded to do so by staff members.

Personal History

Arlene was 23 years old when admitted - a tall, attractive, dark-haired girl, very particular about her personal appearance. She had been born in Calgary and had moved to Vancouver when ten years old with her mother and twelve-year-old brother, Edward. At that time, her parents obtained a divorce after having been separated for over a year. Her mother remarried when she was sixteen.

Arlene's mother, Mrs. S., was a good-looking, well-dressed woman of forty-five. She had probably looked very much like Arlene when younger, although she was still youthful in appearance and it was said that she and her daughter were often taken to be sisters. She and her husband had frequently accompanied Arlene and her boy-friend on double dates. Arlene
stated that her mother had spoiled her. At the time of her arrest, although
both were working (the mother employed part-time as a saleswoman in a
clothing store), the mother did all the housework, cooking and washing.
Arlene said that she herself never even washed so much as a pair of
stockings.

Mrs. S. was extremely upset at the arrest and it is believed
she had no inkling of anything wrong prior to that time. She wrote and
visited regularly and made plans and provisions for Arlene's release.

Mr. A., Arlene's father, was an engineer with an oil company
in Calgary. He seemed to be very fond of his daughter and she of him.
He wrote regularly and made two trips from Calgary to visit her. She had
seen him every year since the divorce and he had provided for her and her
brother's support.

Edward A., age twenty-five, was a motor mechanic in Vancouver.
He had been married three years and his year-old daughter was named after
Arlene. With his wife, he frequently visited at the mother's home, and
they too wrote and visited Arlene in gaol.

Institutional Adjustment

September 1 - Admitted Ex Vancouver, waiting trial on charge of
Theft Over $50. Arlene was very tense and obviously upset and took little
notice of her surroundings during admission. When her mother 'phoned
later that day and asked for permission to visit, Arlene said she wanted
to see no one of her family. A staff member spoke to her saying that she
realized how upset Arlene must feel, but that she did owe her family some
sort of explanation and that after the first visit things would be easier.
Arlene agreed, and the visit was to be the following day.
September 15 - Although Arlene had at first stated that she had been taking money from office accounts for three years and there was some implication that her boy-friend had been involved, or had shown her how to fix the books (this friend was never charged as there was no evidence that he had actually participated in the theft), within about four days she started talking as though she were not guilty, had somehow been "framed", and implied that the accountant had defrauded many of his clients.

She took part in all activities open to her as a member of Group VI. During the day she worked on Maintenance and was a willing and reliable worker, although she seemed ignorant of commonplace routines of cleaning.

October 6 - Arlene was sentenced today to 1 year. She spoke calmly about her sentence and said that the judge stated he was sorry to have to give it, but it was necessary because of the amount of money involved.

She was placed in Group V on return and is now working in the Kitchen.

October 15 - She has become very friendly with Ethel, her roommate, a woman of forty. Ethel has been in gaol before and is also sentenced to one year for Theft. Although she has been associated with delinquents for some years, she is not an addict and is generally cooperative towards the gaol program.

Arlene is not popular with the other women, particularly the rest of the kitchen crew. They claim she is too self-righteous in saying she is not guilty. She does not know the ways and vocabulary of "rounders" and they feel she is inclined to put on airs and act as though she were superior to them.
November 10 - Arlene and Ethel, who are still close friends, were transferred to Hut 1. They were taken out prior to moving to look over the Hut and they were quite agreeable about the change.

Arlene has been taking part in all the program and is a willing worker in the kitchen. She enjoys going to Pottery and is presently making a vase. She is getting along with the other girls and it seems to be the general opinion that, when she is known, she is well liked.

December 7 - Arlene was elected editor of the "Blue Cry", a small magazine put out by the women at intervals. This position, like any other elected inmate position, usually comes to a girl who is recognized as being a "rounder", or one of the habitual delinquents. Her superiority of education, plus the fact that she had shown that she would rather identify with them than with the staff, were probably some of the reasons for her being chosen.

Arlene and Ethel were definitely instrumental in promoting unity in the Hut. A young girl, who, because of erratic and babyish behaviour, had been ostracized by the other members of the Hut prior to their arrival, had become their protégée. Arlene helped her curl her hair, gave her cigarettes, lent her some of her own cosmetics, and encouraged her to join in activities with them. At the same time Arlene took some responsibility for correcting the behaviour of this girl, which was occasionally resented.

December 22 - A concert was held with acts from all the groups. Arlene was part of an "Arabian Nights" dance arrangement and was very enthusiastic over making costumes and obtaining properties. Although she
works very well with the younger girls and is usually a nice person to have around the Hut in setting a general tone of conversation, she seems to think that her wishes should have priority over those of the younger ones.

**January 27** - She gets very abused-looking when things are not just her way. She always has a long list of articles she wants her mother to purchase after a visit, and although she makes quite a display of gratitude, she is critical if something is not just as she specified.

**March 10** - There seem to be fewer instances in which Arlene criticizes staff and other women. She had constantly complained of staff being "so petty", or of taking food, etc., supposedly set aside for the girls. Although she may verbally champion the others, it seems doubtful if she would ever get herself in trouble for anyone else.

**April 16** - Ethel was transferred to the Prince George Gaol for Women with ten others when Oakalla was over-crowded. The administration felt that they did not want to take any more responsibility for a continuing association of Arlene and Ethel after their release. Arlene was quite "put out" as she deduced that they had purposely been separated and wanted to go also. She now took over the leadership of the Hut which had formerly been under the guiding hand of Ethel.

**May 22** - A 19-year-old girl, sentenced to one month on a Theft charge which involved two men, was placed in Hut I. She made a rather bad start the first night by demonstrating her various abilities as a dancer and artist and was resented by the others as a "show off". She also spoke of how she had had to testify against the two men in order to get such a light sentence.
The latter was an attitude very much against the social mores of the delinquent and Arlene led the group in ostracism of this girl. After several stormy sessions within the Hut and discussions with their matron, the group, paced by Arlene, agreed to be civil to the girl in question and accept her to a limited degree.

The staff became quite concerned about Arlene at this time because of her attitude, although it was felt that her identification with the anti-social group had arisen partly because of the great effort she had made to adjust to prison life and because of her underlying resentment to authority. A typical remark of hers was, "Next time I'll be smarter". Her matron planned to make a special effort to get to know Arlene on a friendly basis so that she might be able to identify herself with more positive elements in society.

**June** - Arlene seemed to be showing more positive attitudes when her release date (August 15th) began getting closer. She talked with the other girls of jobs, of putting up with unpleasant situations in order to get future satisfactions. She made appointments with the social worker from the John Howard Society and with the representative from the National Employment Service.

**July 1** - Arlene was released on Ticket-of-Leave. The release came quite unexpectedly. She had applied several months previously, but when told at that time she would not be released on parole, she had decided that it was unlikely to come through.

About eight months later, her group matron received a letter from Arlene in which she said she had married and was expecting a baby. She wanted to thank the staff for what they had done, "much of which I did not
appreciate at the time".

The difficulty that arises in dealing with first offenders, such as Arlene, for whom delinquency is not their whole way of life (although probably developing because of some personal or social maladjustment), is that the gaol setting encourages association with other delinquents. It has been said that "bad company can influence (the individual) toward delinquency, but it can be no more than a precipitating cause in a situation where the delinquency is latent." However, there are recognizable situational factors, as the friendship between Ethel and Arlene, for which the institution should take responsibility.

4. An Habitual Drinker

There are a large number of women who are constantly in and out of gaol, charged with misdemeanors. The most frequent charge is that of being in a State of Intoxication in a Public Place (S.I.P.P.). These women may at times be charged with other petty offenses as Disturbing the Peace or Shoplifting, but the cause of the situation is usually the same: the woman is drunk.

The institution does not seem to be providing adequate treatment for these people, except in meeting certain medical and physical needs. The difficulty lies in knowing what can be or should be done. Most of them have been drinking for several years and there are several who have over 50 committals to Oakalla during the past five years.

\[1\] Aichhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
Face Sheet Information

Name: Anne M.

Birth: April 23, 1914, Maillardville, B.C. (Age - 43 years).

Charge: State of Intoxication in a Public Place.

Sentence: 20 days.

Previous Record: 31 previous charges since 1953. All are charges of S.I.P.P. or breaches of the Liquor Act, except one charge of Vagrancy, one of Theft Under $50, and one of Causing a Disturbance. The longest sentence for any of these charges has been 2 months.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Marital Status: Separated from her husband who is living in Prince George.

Personal History

Appearance: Anne is a rather attractive little woman in her forties, 5 feet in height and usually weighing about 125 lbs. She has bleached blonde hair and wears both her gaol and outside clothing with quite an air. Her appearance is somewhat marred by scars on her face and chin. She is French Canadian in racial origin and probably has some Indian blood. When excited, she is voluble and speaks with a heavy French accent.

She is usually in poor physical condition when admitted to Oakalla and requiring treatment for alcoholism and showing evidence of falls and of having been beaten up. Even when only 2 or 3 days have elapsed since her previous release, she still arrives in a very miserable condition.

While in Oakalla, she is frequently involved in quarrels with other inmates. She has been described as a "hot-tempered little French woman who loses her temper very easily and when she does looks very much like a little prize fighter."
Not much is known about the background of this woman as her stories change frequently in the telling. She states she was born in Quebec and has a sister there and yet there is evidence that she was actually born in British Columbia and is part Indian. Anne does speak French. Nothing of her early life has been recorded.

Eight years ago she married John S. who is part Indian. They have been separated for about 5 years. Anne says he treated her terribly and was always living with some other woman. When speaking of him, she gets very excited and accuses him of terrible crimes.

They had a son, now 6 years old, who has been made a ward of the Catholic Children's Aid Society and is now in a foster home. Anne speaks frequently of this boy and realizes that she is unable to care for him in her present condition. On occasions when she has been sober she has visited the boy's home and taken him out, but this probably occurs only about twice a year. She has often spoken of going to Quebec but says she cannot leave the province because of her son.

**Institutional Adjustment**

Work Record: Within a week after admission, Anne is usually well enough to go to work. Her work placements are often in either the sewing room or the laundry. Work reports on this woman are all very alike. She is a thorough and capable worker and will take pride in what she is doing if she can work her own way and by herself. However, she generally requires much supervision because of her difficulty in getting along with the other inmates. Most of her quarrels occur at work from disagreements over use of materials and appliances. Anne becomes very abusive, uses profane language and threatens, but does not resort to physical violence. In dealing with these outbursts, she has been locked in her room for periods
of up to 7 days. On one occasion, she was placed on the "crime sheet" and brought into Warden's Court. This was after there had been several outbreaks of profanity and uncooperative behaviour in the previous few months (albeit on various sentences). She was sentenced to 9 days' loss of remission (the maximum on a two-month sentence) and isolated for 7 days with normal diet, no smoking but reading material allowed. When isolated, she was noisy and profane and frequently banged on the door for attention.

About the fifth day of isolation, Anne usually becomes very tearful and will cry that she feels "the walls are coming in", but if allowed out for a longer period of exercise will calm down.

Group Record: During the past few years, Anne has been in Groups V, IV and VII. Sometimes she is too unsettled to take part in an active group program and will remain in Group VI (the admission group) during her whole sentence. It has been decided that wherever she is placed, she should be in a single room because of certain of her personal habits that upset other girls.

If placed in Group V, a group where the majority are of Indian origin and many are quiet and withdrawn, Anne immediately takes upon herself the leadership. On group kitchen nights, she will attempt to organize and will designate herself cook. She often is involved in heated arguments over card games. The quiet nature of the group does give Anne opportunity to pursue her own interests, such as doll-making and other handicrafts at which she is quite skilled and very ingenious, and out of which she gets considerable satisfaction for her achievements. However, a definite resentment towards her is felt, particularly by the Indian women, especially as they believe she is part Indian but will not admit it.
When there is an Indian woman within the group who will act as spokesman for these feelings, trouble usually occurs.

If in Group IV, Anne stays out of entanglements, but an unhappy feeling about the placement is registered by both the other members of the group and by Anne herself. Anne has no opportunity to plan group activities here, and any slight asocial behaviour on her part is severely criticized by the others. For example, they will not accept her arguing during card games and so will not play with her.

To date, Group VII has seemed the most satisfactory placement. In general, the members are older and more settled, and although would not be "managed" by Anne, would tolerate to some degree her uncertain temper and can appreciate her various skills.

Referrals

Anne has been in contact with the social worker from the John Howard Society for several years and more recently with workers from the Alcoholism Foundation. However, she seems lacking in the strength and stability to carry out any plan or program, even to the extent of keeping appointments.

On at least two occasions she has made arrangements through referrals from the prison doctor to receive medication, such as antabuse, to prevent the further use of alcohol. The second time she stayed out of gaol eight weeks.

About four years ago she signed herself in as a voluntary patient at Crease Clinic, but her "cure" was not lasting.

Anne speaks of herself: "Some use drugs, some people steal, I'm just a drunk and good for anything. The only place I belong is Essondale."
I've had eight chances in the last two weeks (meaning she had been warned or arrested for drinking eight times and let off) but I'm no good on my own).

5. An Old-time Drug Addict

The following is a record of a drug addict whose aimless drifting and asocial behaviour during the past twenty years are very typically a pattern of behaviour of an habitual delinquent. In the Vancouver area, habitual delinquents are very frequently involved with drugs. This woman is now aged 34 years and has a Penitentiary record: these characteristics mark her as an "old-timer".

Face Sheet Information (January, 1957)

Name: Betty C.

Charge: 1. Possession of Drugs - case later dismissed.
2. Possession of Drugs - while out on bail on first charge, Betty was arrested and charged a second time.

Sentence: 1 year.

Previous Record:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>July 1955</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>Possession of Drugs</td>
<td>15 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1949</td>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>(2) Possession of Drugs</td>
<td>2 1/2 years K.P. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1949</td>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>Possession of Drugs</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1948</td>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>Vagrancy</td>
<td>Both suspended sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1948</td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>Vagrancy</td>
<td>6 months &quot;floater&quot; 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1944</td>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>Charge withdrawn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Birth: November 10, 1923, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Education: Grade X

Occupation: None

Religion: Roman Catholic

1 Kingston Penitentiary.

2 The term refers to a procedure whereby the individual concerned is given 24 or 48 hours to get out of town, and if she does, can avoid committal.
Next of Kin: Albert C. - presently in Oakalla Prison Farm, sentenced to 15 months on charge of Possession of Drugs, received January, 1957.

Circumstances of Admission

In January, 1957, Betty and Albert C. were charged jointly with Possession of Drugs when they were found by police with drugs and drug paraphernalia in their hotel room in downtown Vancouver. Albert C. claimed all responsibility for the drugs. Betty had been released from hospital the previous week following a kidney operation and told police she had not been using drugs. However, she told prison matrons that she had begun using drugs to counteract the pain following the operation. She said she had not used drugs since her release from Oakalla four months before up till the time of the operation. However, stories from other girls indicated she had been "playing around" (i.e., taking drugs occasionally) during the four-month period.

While waiting trial, Betty was released on bail. She was re-admitted a month later with the second charge of Possession of Drugs. Subsequently, Albert C. was sentenced to fifteen months on the first charge, Betty's case was dismissed on that charge but she was sentenced to one year on the second charge.

Personal History

Betty was one of a family of eight children, and was the fourth born. Apparently none of the others have any history of delinquency. The parents were Ukrainian; the father died eight years ago. Betty has very little contact with any members of her family although occasionally, while in gaol, writes and receives letters from a younger sister.

According to Betty, she was truant from school from the age of ten years and she tells stories of rebellious defiant behaviour and
disinterest in school that culminated in her leaving home at age sixteen.

She began associating with known delinquents and gangs from age fourteen and was probably promiscuous from that age. She has been married twice, both times to known addicts. Little is known of the circumstances of the first marriage which occurred when she was eighteen years old. It is not known whether divorce from this man was ever finalized. The second marriage, to Albert C. took place in 1947, but they have seen little of each other in the 10-year period, as both have spent most of that time in gaol.

After Betty's release from Kingston Penitentiary in 1952, she and Albert both decided to make an effort "to go straight". They went to Port Alberni, B.C., to Albert's family. However, according to Betty, the C. family "were always accusing me of getting Al into trouble and even checked my mail to see if there were any drugs". She decided she could not get along with the family and returned to Vancouver and began using drugs again. Albert followed her about three weeks later.

Betty began using drugs when age 21, after her first marriage and before her second. Most of her associates were using drugs and this seems to be the main reason for her beginning.

Institutional Adjustment

In appearance, Betty is of medium height and build, has ash-blonde hair, and generally presents a rather washed-out and droopy appearance. She has poor posture and makes little effort to smarten herself up. She has been described as a "slothful, sullen, whiney girl" and in mood "lethargic and indifferent."
On admission she was very listless and her only remarks were complaints about her aches and pains and descriptions of her recent hospitalization. When re-admitted on her second charge, she was sent to the General Hospital for a thorough check-up. Reports indicated that at that time there was nothing physically wrong with her and apparently the doctor there told her that many of her pains were "imaginary".

However, she still continued to complain and usual remark when asked to do anything was "I would work if I felt better". Prison staff, satisfied that there was nothing physically wrong, insisted she go to work. This involved her being locked in her room for three or four days for refusal to work. She was first placed in the Sewing Room where the work would be fairly light. It was noted at this time, as at previous times, that she could work well if pressure were put on her and if little tolerance were shown for her aches.¹

Her first group placement was with Group VII, a move to which she objected, stating that it was the "old ladies group" and that she would rather go to Group IV where her friends were. She was told that, when she felt well enough to take her part in activities with the more energetic Group IV, she would have a chance to move. Part of her not wanting to move was due to the resulting separation from Mary S., a girl whom she had known in the Penitentiary and who was at that time waiting

¹The above is an example of a behaviour pattern frequently noted in the habitual delinquent at the institution. Asocial and immature behaviour is indulged in to the extent to which it is allowed. The fact that the individual has decided that it is advantageous at the moment to conform, does not necessarily indicate that socially acceptable standards of behaviour will carry over into other situations.
transfer to the Penitentiary on a 3-year sentence. Betty cried and swore she would not move; but within an hour she collected her belongings and with many complaints moved. (There has never been any indication that the friendship between Betty and Mary is of a homosexual nature).

Betty settled down quickly in Group VII and seemed to get along well with her room-mate. After about a week of explaining that she would take part in group activities when she felt better, she joined voluntarily. (This does not mean that Betty ever stopped complaining. She became virtually addicted to aspirin tablets and periodically reported new symptoms. She did work and take part in activities and would frequently take upon herself extra jobs). About two months after the first move she was transferred to Group IV.

Actually Betty's behaviour is affected very little by the particular group setting. Matrons have observed that she has qualities of leadership but is often so wrapped up in her own miseries that she is content to be a follower. She has a reputation of being pleasant for what she can get out of people and often prefaces a request to staff members with "Honey, could you please?"

She likes getting a job or being in a position to circulate throughout the building in order to pick the current news and gossip. She was elected (by inmate vote) President of the Program Planning Committee.¹

¹This is an inmate committee composed of representatives from the groups that meets rather irregularly about twice a month to plan expenditure of the inmate welfare fund, to discuss special events, such as Halloween concert, Christmas decorating, etc., and to register inmate likes and dislikes.
Betty organized the Committee quite well and used her position to its fullest circulating advantage. About four months after her election, several inmates felt that she was working for her own interests rather than theirs and requested her resignation (an unprecedented action). Betty accepted this move with apparent indifference.

Betty expressed interest in the Drug Rehabilitative Services and was given an interview with Dr. T., Director of the Services. In his report he described her as "passively cooperative with covert hostility". She could give no evidence of worthwhile motivation or intention, but simply verbalized a desire to stay away from narcotics. It was felt that her prognosis was poor and she had certain characteristics of a sociopathic personality. A transfer to the Drug Rehabilitation Hut was not recommended. She did not appear too surprised that she would not be transferred. "I don't know if they help you much, actually all I really wanted was a change of scenery."

She did not wish to see any other workers from after-care agencies (e.g., John Howard Society, Narcotic Foundation) or fill in an application form for the National Employment Service. Prior to her release, her husband wrote her from the B.C. Penitentiary saying he wanted her to stay with some friends of his, but she did not seem too interested in contacting them. Plans for her release appeared very vague. She talked of getting a room and hoped to stay out of gaol and off drugs.

She 'phoned back to her group matron twice during the first three weeks after discharge. She wanted to say "Hello", said she had been drinking and was not using drugs. She said everything "is just fine". She mentioned some former inmates she had seen and apparently she is either living in, or frequenting the East End "skid-road" district.
CHAPTER V.
CONTINUING NEEDS

What has been presented in the preceding chapters has been a description of the operation of the Women's Division, Oakalla Prison Farm. The theoretical material discussed in the first chapter regarding the facilities and program of a women's gaol was based on the considered needs of women in prison. The long-range and permanent effectiveness of such use of program is outside the scope of this thesis. An accurate record of what becomes of the women released from gaol is really impossible to obtain. Furthermore, standards would have to be set to determine what constituted improvement in the behaviour of the released person. Mere staying out of the gaol in question is meaningless: the woman may be in another gaol; her behaviour may still be delinquent but she may have avoided arrest; she may have matured considerably in certain areas and yet have returned to gaol. It is unfortunate that there is almost no scientific evaluation of correctional programs in British Columbia. Follow-up studies should be an integral part of treatment programs.

However, there are certain valid observations and criticisms which can be made concerning methods and details of operation, of the use of, and need for, certain facilities, of staff policies and function and of procedures in classification and referrals. When the first measures, defined as part of a "treatment" program were introduced in 1952, there was resistance from both staff and inmates. The inmates resented having their time so organized and having almost continual supervision; the staff had to be educated as to the value of a treatment
program; that is, to the use and sense of group work, of enforced after-
work activities and of the fostering of communication and relationship
between staff and inmates. Furthermore, at that time, neither the Huts
nor the new units were built. The separation into groups was imposed on
women within a building not designed for group living. The group system
was regarded by the inmates as "silliness" and any cooperation at all was
gained by a reward method: "if the group stays together this afternoon,
tomorrow they can have a weiner roast". This method was viewed with
suspicion by many of the older women who considered it proof of the
gullibility and corruptibility of treatment-minded administrators.

But at the present time, five years later, much of that initial
resistance has been overcome. It is possible to operate a work and group
program that the women will participate in without undue coercion. The
staff have shown increased interest in their work and a desire to further
their skills and knowledge. The facilities have improved: the addition
of the Huts and units, the new laundry and gymnasium, and the continual
insistence on cleanliness and care of facilities, have resulted in an
institution which is functional and adaptable to changes in program.

A. Classification System

What is needed now is a proper organization of the total scheme
of treatment that includes all aspects of the institutional operation.
Some of the major difficulties arise in the area that could be generally
referred to as Classification. This term may be a misnomer, but in using
it, the reference is to a system which includes procedures for the consider-
ation, at regular and recognized times, of all inmates, and how each may get
some benefit from the program. It is the conscious articulation of the
treatment program. Conjoined with a classification procedure should be a
clarification of which staff are responsible for classification and some means of communication to inmates and other staff of the thinking of this classification team. The general confusion that surrounds this whole area frequently hampers full use of the program and facilities. Often there is unnecessary opposition by inmates and staff that could be eliminated if they were more involved in planning or if it were clear at what stage they would be involved.

Under a proper classification system, consideration of recording and the preparation of social histories should lead to more accurate and timely referrals to outside social agencies.

The Women's Gaol at Oakalla needs a Classification team that meets regularly, probably twice a week. The meeting should be held at a specific time and attendance should take precedence over all but extreme emergency situations. In practice, the insistence on regularly held and attended meetings becomes most important. Otherwise the tendency would be for the classification team to be used only if convenient and placements and moves would be made because of the necessity of the moment.

The members of the classification team should include the Matron-in-charge plus the supervising matrons of the morning and afternoon shifts. If any major changes are proposed, such as a transfer from one group to another, or placement in a vocational training course, the matrons directly involved should be present also.

A clear definition is needed of the scope and responsibility of the classification team. The team should be the deciding body for group and work placements, both when the inmate is first admitted and when further changes in placement are made.

It should also be possible for the classification team to discuss and make decisions regarding disciplinary problems. There will, of course,
always be emergency situations that require immediate attention from the present supervising matron, but discipline ought to be more a part of the whole treatment scheme than it is now—either for individuals or for the whole group.

The danger in the matter of dealing with discipline problems by the classification team is that the onus of control may be taken away from the work or group matron. Generally speaking, one of the most effective methods of control comes from a good relationship between inmates and their matron. The matrons should be encouraged to set up their own limits and controls and to refer the inmate for direct handling when they feel the situation is beyond them. The supervising matron of the shift would be responsible for assisting the matrons in determining when referral would be indicated.

The classification team could use such disciplinary measures as loss of privilege—for example, loss of mail and visiting privileges, barring of attendance at special events—isoilation for short periods, and other restrictions. The team could also decide when a situation warranted referral to Warden's Court.

The practicality of the classification team will be found in the organization of procedures and through adequate preparation for the meetings. The day before the meeting of the team, each supervising matron of the morning and afternoon shifts should have prepared a list of those inmates who are ready for group and work placements. Such lists can be easily taken from the count sheets prepared daily. Information about each woman to be considered would be noted. The information is gathered from those matrons who have already had contact with the woman, that is,
the clinic matrons, the Group VI matron, the matron preparing the initial record, the matron in charge of the maintenance team. It might be reasonable to suggest that the supervisor of the morning shift would have the facts regarding health and work interests and habits and that the supervisor of the afternoon shift would have the details of social background, previous contacts with other delinquents and some assessment of the individual's capacity for growth and change of behaviour. It is, of course, also necessary to have the age, offence, length of sentence and some notion of the custody problems involved.

Again, it should be stated that the value of a classification team is largely determined by the extent and carefulness of preparation before the meeting. Further, its effectiveness is governed by the degree to which its decisions are administered. A decision of the team, if it appears to be deleterious rather than beneficial in effect, should be reviewed by the team before changes are made. If both staff and inmates can become assured of the reliability of the classification team and of its willingness to consider various points of view, then the team can become the coordination centre for treatment and full use can be made of the potential of the existing staff, facilities and program.

The classification team can become the proper medium of communication with the administration for staff and inmates regarding the place of the individual inmate in the treatment scheme. However, the control of the classification team will remain with the administration and the Matron-in-charge will always retain the power of overruling decisions when she deems it necessary.

B. The Need for Staff Organization

The organization of a classification team points out the necessity for organization and definition of staff positions, a matter which perhaps
should have been considered first. The practice of expecting all staff to be expert in all phases of the institutional program is, in reality, an obstacle to staff development. There has to be recognition of the different capabilities and training required for the various staff positions. It is probably necessary in an institutional setting that all staff have had some practical experience in the various departments and on each shift. But this is a policy for staff training and should not be a permanent procedure for staff organization.

If staff positions were defined, it should be possible to hire more trained persons. The understanding is that the skill and professional training have to be accompanied by an ability to work with all members of the institutional staff, with a realization of the importance of the various aspects of the program. It is no good to have one professional person trying to practise the latest notions of treatment without some method for involving other staff and for official recognition of other skills.

1. The Definition of Staff Positions

The problem is being presently studied in the light of a treatment program, as it has been found that there are areas of duplication and other areas where nothing is done at all because the duties of each staff member are not clearly defined. There needs to be a supervisor or director of work and vocational programs and a director of socialization and group activities. The former would be responsible for promoting and extending work and vocational programs as well as gathering information about individual needs and interests in this area. The director of socialization would be responsible for fostering programs according to the needs of the various groups and for getting an assessment of the individual with
her needs and potential. These persons would be different from those concerned with the actual running of the morning and afternoon shifts as the existing programs are now extensive enough to warrant this separation of duties.

The supervising matrons of each shift would continue with their responsibility for custody regulations, for example, the inmate count, and the checking of locks and doors; and would report any discrepancies and problems in that area to the matron-in-charge, as reporting to the chief custodial officer of the Women's Division. As the custody requirements are the primary requirements of the gaol, and the Matron-in-charge has therefore the final charge in that matter, it seems wise, that while the Women's Division is still in its present small size, to keep the ultimate responsibility with the Matron-in-charge. Perhaps some of the unfortunate dichotomy of treatment and custody that so plagues the larger institutions can be avoided by this means. Division of staff would be made along the lines of jobs done rather than on personality qualifications, particularly when it is hoped that all staff members are able to cope with both the treatment and custody aspects of the institution.

Further staff classification would occur under the two divisions, that of work and vocational training, and of socialization, although the three shifts would probably continue functioning as at present. However, there are certain jobs, such as referral of inmates to outside agencies, and medical and health planning, that have direct reference outside any one particular shift. These duties are handled rather haphazardly, mainly because no one person is definitely assigned to see that they are dealt with at the proper time. Often there are hurried, inadequate referrals made almost at the point of release that are of practically no value whatever.
when a carefully planned referral could have been part of the inmate's own release planning. The matter of referrals could be under the supervision of the director of socialization, as that person would be already in receipt of information concerning the individual inmates. Medical and health planning, clinic routines and the clarification of individual health needs, as being more on the physical side of things, could be under the direction of the work and vocational training supervisor.

2. Staff Training

Although basic training for all staff of Oakalla Prison Farm is provided through the Main Gaol, many times it seems that matrons are expected to have an understanding of treatment programs and a knowledge and skill in handling people without having been given the training. This is part of the problem previously referred to. There is a very real danger in having an administration attempt to organize an advanced treatment program without providing additional training for the general staff.

Several members of the staff expressed a desire for further instruction concerning personality development and discipline problems. Any available books on these topics are widely read, although there is no staff library which the matrons may use. It would be worthwhile for the institution to arrange short courses for matrons at their various stages of experience and training and to conduct them at institution time and expense. Such a plan should be quite feasible if only a few members of staff attended at one time. Adequate reading material should also be distributed.

However, there is no point in furthering the education of the staff if some recognition is not given to their increased knowledge in
situations such as the classification meeting. This is not to suggest that the single opinion of a matron just having completed a course be the sole basis for a decision but rather that with intelligent leadership each matron could feel she had a real contribution to make to the whole treatment scheme.

3. Improvement in Recording

One of the areas that demonstrates the lack of attention to staff qualifications is the matter of recording and files.

Although efforts have been made to improve recording and to instruct the staff with some notion of what they are trying to set down, much of what is written seems to be neither for the edification of those who write it nor for those who may need it. The problem of recording is not peculiar to the Women's Division, but is studied in many other social agencies. People seem to write too much, not enough, or nothing of any significance. A higher degree of professional recording could be attained if the procedure were under the direction of a person who had some knowledge and training in that area.

It is necessary to know the purpose of the record and to recognize the difference between an official record with established facts and a record of a matron's impressions of changes in individual behaviour. The currently used running records on individuals, as noted by the group matrons, are useful in that they keep the matrons aware of their individual group members. What is needed in addition is a periodic consolidation or summary of the record to date and probably the most useful form would be in the nature of a social history. The history could also incorporate the progress reports completed by the work team matrons.
The careful preparation of records would assist in earlier recognition of treatment needs and of the necessity for referral. Furthermore, it would provide a concrete basis for deciding moves within the institution with a reference to past performance and exhibited ability to learn from experience.

More and more the Women's Division is being expected to provide reports—for the National Employment Service, for the Remissions Service, for the Provincial Mental Services—and only as reliable reports are furnished will other social agencies recognize that the Women's Division can offer more than custodial services. An institution seems prone to feelings of isolation from the rest of the community and it frequently happens that when a woman is committed she is forgotten, at least until the time of her release. It is up to the administration of the institution to contact the appropriate community resources at the time they are required and to provide adequate information pertinent to the case.

C. Development of Program

In general, the level and scope of program, both of the morning and afternoon shifts, seems to be very creditable. Imaginative and intelligent use has been made of the facilities and, with the increase in staff interest in planning and expanding activities, one can find a responding willingness and enthusiasm among the inmates to participate both in work and leisure-time projects. There are, of course, times when an apathetic spirit descends on the whole institution group, but this is normal for humanity in general.

The one area where there seems to be a noticeable lack of program planning is the Group VI. In this group are found, almost without supervision at times, the new admissions, those waiting trial and waiting
transfer to Kingston Penitentiary, the sick and those who have been removed from their groups as a disciplinary measure. The current arrangement is to have the Clinic matron of the shift act as the Group VI matron, which is sensible in that these are the inmates requiring the most medical attention. However, these inmates, particularly the young first offenders, are also at the period when they are susceptible to almost any influence, and contacts with old offenders can be very damaging to their rehabilitation. The problem is not an easy one to solve. Various methods have been tried in the past, such as the almost immediate placing of first offenders in active groups. This is not satisfactory either, as too often health conditions have been discovered after the placement which required isolation and limited activity. Furthermore, hasty classification may be virtually the same as no classification.

The problem is actually most acute for those waiting trial, as it is not unusual for that period to extend into months. Occasionally, if it is known that several months will elapse before the trial will take place, a group placement may be a satisfactory move. But usually during the waiting trial period the woman is disturbed, worried about the outcome of her case, and often hoping to be released on bail. She is not in any state to become a settled member of a group within the institution. The use of authority with these people has to be measured carefully also, as by law the institution is required only to house and feed them and allow them half an hour exercise per day. Therefore they do not have to take part in work or other activities, nor do the institutional authorities have to let them do so.

Probably the best solution lies in an increase in individual interviews moving towards a more valid assessment of the inmate's capacities and needs. The present employment of Group VI members in the work program
is about as extensive as possible. But it is asking too much of the Clinic matron on the afternoon shift that she take over the supervision of the Group for half her shift as well as attend to the medical needs of the whole institution. This should be the definite responsibility of some other matron, perhaps one who could assist the director of socialization in the preparation of initial individual records. With some versatility and imagination, activities could be introduced to this group that would keep them more occupied than at present.

It is also recommended that the situation could be improved if Group VI was no longer used for disciplinary purposes. If a person is deemed unable to take the demands of a group, that is one thing; but if removal from the group is considered to be the loss of a privilege, then placement in Group VI is not indicated. Group VI, rather than representing the loss of a privilege, is the group where fewer demands on individual adjustment are made and where there is less supervision than in an active group.

D. The Future Development of the Women's Division

The present site of the Women's Division is not ideal. Many of the disciplinary problems and the restrictions result from the fact that the buildings are on the grounds of the Men's Gaol. For several years there have been discussions and planning committees regarding a Women's Institution on its own grounds. This is probably necessary to any real advancement in a treatment program.

However, before any such extensive changes are made, it should be realized that the most effective use of the institution cannot be made without parallel development of other correctional services within the Province. There will have to come some official recognition that
some problems should not be handled in the Women's Gaol. The senseless admitting and discharging of alcoholics is nothing but a waste of time, money, and facilities. The scandalous complacency with which the public allows large numbers of Indians to be incarcerated may be disturbed only by correctional authorities pointing out the futility of such action. The majority of Indians sentenced to Oakalla benefit in no way from the institutional program. For the most part, their delinquencies are symptomatic of the larger cultural problem with which the Government should be dealing.

Some authorities are of the opinion that drug addiction is not a problem to be treated in a gaol setting. However, in the consideration of the writer, most of the addicts presently in gaol had patterns of delinquency before using narcotics, and therefore the problem should be treated as part of a greater delinquent pattern of behaviour. This seems to be different from the situation with habitual drinkers, where the primary problem involves the misuse of alcohol.

Further, of course, to facilitate the advancement of a treatment program would be the elimination from this institution of persons waiting trial and waiting transfer to the Penitentiary. Such persons derive little benefit from the program as their chief concern is either with the outcome of the case or with an eventual move. Their presence involves additional custodial measures restricting the sentenced inmates.

The treatment program appears to be most successful with first offenders. However, the future of the institutional program need not be as bleak as the past results would suggest. If giving nothing else, the efforts over the last six years have at least indicated some directions or trends for further planning. The young addict needs some impetus
towards getting a desire for a change in her way of life. It has been noticed that the older addict has lost almost all belief in her own capacity for change and frequently understands rehabilitation as some miraculous outside force having little relationship to her own strengths and weaknesses.

On the whole, the population of the Women's Division is an immature group who need training in how to live, which includes a satisfactory relationship with authority, a sense of belonging, a sense of achievement, the development of standards and values, a feeling of self-worth, some degree of conformity, and other characteristics constantly reiterated in this and other essays. The Women's Division has made, and is making, a concerted effort to provide these necessaries for maturation; and if our basic theses of social work are correct, that of providing for individual needs and the inherent capacity of the individual for change, then with time there should be an increasing response in the number of individuals being able to make a satisfactory adjustment to the demands of society.
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The Music by Miss J. Black

To your information, this is a special case of a thesis having been completed (fulfilling Course Sec. 1785) before all other requirements for the 175th degree have been met. The student concerned has one
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Since the course was completed and has been worked, and the work returned to the defense there is no reason why the thesis should not be deposited, and made available for reference as other in. The graduation date can be noted in the Author's Note, however, when this is returned to you.