AN APPROACH TO EVALUATIVE RESEARCH

IN A CORRECTIONAL SETTING

An Examination of the Research Resources Available for the Study of the New Haven Open Borstal Program in British Columbia

by

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard required for the degree of Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

1956

The University of British Columbia
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ABSTRACT

This thesis involves a dual consideration of the applicability of prediction and follow-up studies to the New Haven Open Borstal program and the adequacy of officially recorded data for the execution of such studies.

Follow-up studies would indicate the rate of successful rehabilitation obtained from the New Haven program. The development of prediction tables would facilitate the granting of parole on a more rational basis and would also provide a working prognosis for supervision on parole.

An historical survey of selected American and European prediction and follow-up studies was conducted to indicate their methodology, their increasing utility, and their applicability to the Borstal program in British Columbia.

The information available within the files of New Haven and other related agencies was evaluated in order to determine its adequacy for prediction and follow-up studies. Data relating to criminality, vocational and economic status, family relationships, leisure time pursuits, and mental and physical health were considered in relation to the pre-institutional, institutional, parole and post-parole periods.

The findings indicated that, while prediction and follow-up studies are desirable within the New Haven setting, the available data may only be adequate for a specific and limited type of prediction study. The available data would have to be supplemented by information obtained directly from the ex-inmate if more comprehensive studies are to be conducted.

A research unit that is an integral part of the correctional system and possesses an intimate knowledge of the total program could best execute these and other prospective studies.

Through the initiation of prediction and follow-up studies, New Haven can best maintain its position in the vanguard of penal progress in British Columbia.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to extend my sincere appreciation to all those who, through their interest, encouragement, and support, have enabled me to complete this thesis.

Especially, I wish to thank Mr. E. G. B. Stevens, Inspector of Gaols, for his permission to initiate this project. Mr. S. Rocksborough Smith, Director of New Haven, and his staff are to be thanked for their interest and cooperation. I am also indebted to Mr. John D. Rickaby, Executive Director of the British Columbia Borstal Association for his interested help.

Finally, I wish to thank Dr. Leonard C. Harsh, Professor W. G. Dixon and Mr. Adrian Marriage of the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, for their support and direction throughout the various phases of this study.
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CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

OF THE NEW HAVEN OPEN BORSTAL PROGRAM

New Haven is established, under the jurisdiction of the Attorney-General's department of British Columbia, as a minimum security correctional training institution to provide an open Borstal program for selected young offenders aged 16 to 23 years.

In the terse language of the New Haven Act, it is described in the following manner:

"The institution known as 'New Haven', situated on Lot 164, Group 1, New Westminster District, shall exist and continue as a lawful place of confinement under the name New Haven and shall be for the custody and detention, with the view to their education, training and reclamation, of such offenders as are lawfully committed thereto." 1

The object of New Haven is to provide a training institution for those youthful offenders appearing before the adult courts of British Columbia who upon examination are found to be in need of institutional care and are likely to prove amenable to treatment and training under conditions closely approximating those of the outer community.

1 Statutes of British Columbia, 1949, Chapter 45. An Act respecting the Institution known as New Haven.
Historically, New Haven has its roots in the English Borstal System inaugurated by Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise and modified and developed by Sir Alexander Patterson.

**History of Borstal in England**

In 1894, the British Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, appointed a committee to report on the English Penal System and the problem of the youthful offender. Sir E. Du Cane, then director of English prisons, had reported that on March the 31st, 1884, there were 3226 youths between the ages of 16 and 21 incarcerated in London prisons. Such was the gravity of the problem of the youthful offender that had plagued British penal authorities for years.

In 1895, this committee presented its report which remains the foundation of the contemporary English Prison System. The committee were much concerned with the age group 16 to 21. They recommended that the age of admission to reformatories should be raised from 16 to 18 years but this proposal was not acted upon. Their next proposal, however, was more fruitful, since it developed directly into the Borstal System as it is today. This recommendation called for the establishment of a reformatory under government management on a design which would allow for expansion if the results proved satisfactory.

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"The courts would have the power to commit to these establishments offenders under the age of 23, for periods of not less than one year and up to three years with a system of licenses graduated according to sentence which should be freely exercised. These institutions should be amply provided with a staff capable of giving sound education, training the inmates in various kinds of industrial work, and qualified generally to exercise the best . . . kind of moral influence." 1

This proposal reflected an increasing opinion that up to a certain age every criminal may be regarded as potentially a good citizen and that it is the duty of the state to try to rehabilitate him.

Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, the founder of the Borstal System, was sent to the United States to study the Elmira Reformatory. This institution had gained renown for its attempts to rehabilitate young offenders and annual reports of the authorities at Elmira had begun to attract considerable attention in Europe. While in America, Sir Ruggles-Brise was impressed by the elaborate system of moral, physical, and industrial training of prisoners and the legal machinery for supervision of parole. 2

It was on his return that, with the authority of the Secretary of State the first experiments were begun in a special attempt to rehabilitate the young prisoners 16 to 21, in London prisons.

The experiment began in a wing of Bedford Prison where young men were segregated from the older and "... a special programme of trade, instruction, drill, and a scheme of . . . encouragements to industry and good conduct was

1 Ibid., p. 330
2 Ibid., p. 332
Results were so impressive that a wing of the prison at Borstal, Kent, was set aside for extending this program. The system grew by leaps and bounds, extending to Dartmoor and Lincoln, and in 1908, what had been a hopeful experiment was incorporated into the British Penal System. Borstal training was placed on a firm basis.

This was partially achieved through the passing of the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, which provided for commitment for correctional training of those persons, aged 16 to 20, who had been convicted of indictable offenses for which they might be sentenced to imprisonment and who appeared to the courts to require "detention under penal discipline". A subsequent amendment provided for a term of not less than two years nor more than three years, to be followed by a year under post institutional supervision. A sentence was indeterminate in practice as the Prison Commissioners had power to release a boy on conditional licence after six months.

Contribution of Sir Alexander Patterson

Shades of the prison house still hung about what was conceived as appropriate Borstal training. Indeed, of the three Borstals first used, two were old convict prisons and one was an industrial school.

Sir Alexander Patterson was appointed a Prison

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1 Ibid., p. 333
Commissioner in 1910 and for the next 25 years he was the inspiration of the revitalized Borstal System. He substituted self-discipline for penal discipline, introduced the house system, and made the house master the center of his staff. "It is men," he said, "not buildings, that will change the hearts and ways of misguided lads."

Patterson believed that each person should be regarded as an individual with a character of his own. The task was not to force a young offender to change but to stimulate forces within him to make him change himself. Within the framework of the revised system the maximum opportunity would be given to staff of fine character to influence boys of weaker character. To enable them to do this, regimentation was to be avoided and institutionalization broken down. The lads were to learn to assume responsibility and self determination. Self discipline was to be acquired by finding that punishment is something one brings upon oneself and not merely something that is inflicted upon oneself by an exterior authority.

Among the interesting departures brought about by Patterson were: the installation of the house plan patterned after the preparatory schools; the substitution


of civilian clothes rather than uniforms for staff members; and the development of intimate personal relationships between staff members and the boys.

Under Patterson's guidance, the system expanded so that in 1922, a diagnostic depot was set up at Wormwood Scrubs. In 1923, with the conviction that Borstal must avoid all features of the prison, steps were taken to develop individual units with their own unique programs, completely divorced from adult penitentiaries.

A new Borstal, at Lowdham Grange, embodied Patterson's view that "you cannot train men for freedom in a condition of captivity". Lowdham was the first and last Borstal to be built for its purpose, utilizing only inmate labor. With two minor exceptions, all those to come were established in huddied camps or large estates.

By 1952, there were 13 Borstals for boys, of which 4 were generally described as "closed", since they were situated in buildings with security walls, locks and bars. One of these "closed" units, in the former prison at Hull, took inmates who were thought unlikely to cooperate in or profit by the normal training system and also a considerable number of those serving their second sentence of Borstal training.

**Classification Within the Borstal System**

Because of the number of Borstal units available it became possible to establish a system of classification with its base in two Reception Centers, the original diagnostic depot at Wormwood Scrubs Prison and Latchmere House, near
Richmond, Surrey.

Under the Governor of each reception center there is a team composed of the housemasters, a psychologist, an educational guidance officer, a vocational guidance officer and two or three lady social workers. The latter compile the necessary case histories and conduct home visits. The period of observation and testing takes some six weeks. At the end of this period an institution Board considers each case.

The possibilities for allocation are fairly extensive as each Borstal has distinct characteristics and each is suited to a slightly different type of boy. Generally, however, there is one group of Borstals for the mature and another for the less mature. Within these two broad categories, some units take those inmates with better records and some those with worse records.

The individual boy's own wishes receive some consideration. This consideration usually centers about the inmate's expressed vocational goals, however. With particular cases, the institutional Board will allocate a boy to a unit where they feel that a particular staff member is likely to have a salutary effect upon the boy.

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The Statutory Framework of Contemporary English Borstal

The statutory framework governing the use of Borstal today is not unlike that of 1908, but several new features were incorporated in the Criminal Justice Act of 1943. The qualifications for a Borstal sentence have been changed to give prominence to the offender's need for training. It is required that the court shall be satisfied that it is expedient for an offender's reformation that he undergo training in a Borstal institution. The qualification by age remains the same and the individual must have been convicted for an offense punishable by imprisonment. The only exception to the latter qualification is for those who have absconded from Approved Schools. They are eligible for a sentence to Borstal.

As in the earlier Act of 1908, the power to pass a Borstal sentence is the monopoly of the higher courts of jurisdiction. Also as in 1908, a court of summary jurisdiction before committing to a higher court for sentence, or a higher court before passing Borstal sentence, must consider a report of the Prison Commissioners on the offender's physical and mental condition and suitability for the sentence. Here again, those who have absconded from Approved Schools are granted an exception as they may be sentenced by a court of summary jurisdiction.

The sentence is now one of Borstal training rather than detention which emphasizes the therapeutic rather than the custodial aspects of the program. Under the 1948 Act, the court no longer prescribes a definite period but passes
a sentence of Borstal training. Such a sentence provides for an institutional period of not less than nine months nor more than three years. The period on licence is never more than four years after the date of the original sentence. This emphasizes the indeterminate nature of the detention period and the unity of the total sentence, one part training under detention and one part training in supervised liberty on licence.

The Borstal Association

Concomitant with the development of the Borstal institutions and Reception Centers was the rise of the Borstal Association. After his visit to Elmira and the Massachusetts Reformatory, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise

"... convened an informal gathering of some of his friends... he told them of the objects which he had in view. He explained that the (Borstal) system could not succeed unless he could enlist the services of... sympathetic people, who would visit and befriend these young prisoners during their sentence and try to help them after they were discharged. Out of this group... grew the Borstal Association, today consisting of more than a thousand associates, who undertake the after care of all boys who have undergone Borstal training. ..." 1

The functions of the two bodies, institutional and after care, are closely integrated. Today the local associates of the after care Association are members of the Probation Service and now have an official capacity.

"The Borstal Association represents one half of the Borstal system. Its methods of after care start to discover the lad and plans his future from the date of his conviction, following him through the institution, finding him employment and guiding him for some years after his discharge."

A recall procedure is available, but it is not intended to be used arbitrarily on a mere technical infringement of the conditions of licence. The only exception to this is in cases of reconviction. The Probation Officer, the supervisory agent, makes his report recommending recall to the After Care Association. This agency, in turn, makes a recommendation to the Prison Commissioners who consider, on the merits of each case, whether recall is indicated.

Those who are recalled from licence are placed in a Recall Center. The purpose of this center is to detain and to attempt to discover whatever problem resulted in the boy's failure on licence. A person recalled is liable to be detained until the expiration of three years from the date of his original sentence or the expiration of six months from the date of his being returned to custody, whichever is the longer.

The Success of English Borstal

For a criterion of success, it is necessary to rely upon statistics of reconviction even though it is recognized that these are not ideal as they consider only one

1 Ibid., p. 359.

2 See Appendix A for conditions of such a licence.
area of subsequent adjustment.

In 1949, the Annual Report of the Prison Commission for England and Wales, indicated that 47.3% of all boys released during 1942 were not reconvicted some seven years later. Of those who had been reconvicted, 22.1% had been reconvicted once and 30.6% had been reconvicted twice or more. These figures are for all types of Borstals. A significant difference in the rate of recidivism should appear in considering only those discharged from open Borstals, similar to New Haven, as only the more promising are selected for these institutions.

History of Borstal in British Columbia

The history of Borstal in British Columbia is divided into two periods, 1938 to 1942, and 1946 to the present.

The Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, 1938, and the unsatisfactory results it brought to light prompted certain influential citizens such as the Reverend J. D. Hobden, Mrs. Paul Smith, member of the provincial legislature, Attorney-General Gordon Sloan, and the Honorable G. M. Weir, Minister of Health and Education, to contemplate the possibility of an institution apart from Oakalla Prison Farm, modelled along the lines of the English Open Borstal, Lowdham Grange.

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Prior to this, an Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency had been set up. Doctor C. W. Topping and Reverend J. D. Hobden in an appendix to the Committee's report, recommended the establishment of an open Borstal on Piers Island.

At this time, Mr. Angus McLeod, a guard at Oakalla Prison Farm, had under his special charge a group of young men known as the "star class prisoners". McLeod recognized the social danger of these youths associating with the older criminals. It was with a good deal of satisfaction and justifiable pride that Mr. McLeod and a group of his "star class prisoners" were granted permission through Order-in-Council to move onto an abandoned estate at 4150 S.E. Marine Drive, for the purpose of establishing British Columbia's first Borstal unit. Like similar experiences in England, the estate was completely renovated by the lads working under the direction of skilled staff.

The major criterion for selection of New Haven boys was whether or not it was felt that the specific youth could benefit from such an experience. The program although rudimentary, was based on a marked degree of personal contact between the lads and Mr. McLeod. The spirit of this first venture is illustrated in the following statement by Mr. McLeod:

"Give them (New Haven inmates) legitimate outlets for their energy, opportunities to cultivate their natural interests, a chance to learn
something for themselves, and a very few of them would get into trouble." 1

The real significance of this first attempt was that it set a precedent by demonstrating that a minimum security unit could be used with good results. Unfortunately, owing to the war, New Haven was closed but the tradition and hope which it symbolized remained alive in the thoughts of many throughout B. C.

In 1946, the Attorney-General, Gordon Wismer, led the movement to reopen New Haven. Mr. Rocksborough-Smith, holder of a Diploma of Social Science from the University of Toronto, was appointed Director. Mr. Smith had gained invaluable experience as a Borstal housemaster at North Sea Camp and Portland, and as Deputy-Governor of Huntercombe Place. As a result, he came fully prepared to apply the basic principles of the English Borstal System to British Columbia.

New Haven was officially reopened by Attorney-General Wismer on the 25th of November, 1947. On that bleak, wintry day in November, eleven lads between the ages of 16 and 23 who had been carefully screened and found suitable for training in an "open" institution, came to be transferred to New Haven. It was a strange scene; eleven lads who but 24 hours before and been behind bars in the overcrowded

1 Wallocott, A.P., "Jail Without Locks", Maclean's, June 15, 1939, Toronto, p. 16.

provincial gaol suddenly transplanted to an "open" community staffed by keen young men many of whom were entirely new to the job.

As new faces began to swell the number of this nucleus, a tradition and a program based on a spirit of friendship, cheerfulness and cooperation, began to evolve.

The Borstal Program in British Columbia

The three essentials of a Borstal program include:

1. Proper selection,

2. Institutional training over an indefinite period, and

3. Release on licence or parole under supervision.

A legal framework developed to provide these. The New Haven Act states:

"Every court in the province before which any male person apparently over the age of 16 years and under the age of 23 years, is convicted of an offense against any law enacted by the province, punishable by imprisonment, in the common gaol for a term of three months or for any longer term, may sentence such person to imprisonment for a term of three months or for an indeterminate period thereafter of not more than two years less one day in New Haven . . . and such persons shall thereupon be imprisoned in New Haven until he is lawfully discharged or paroled." 2

At the same time, the Criminal Code of Canada was amended so that the legislation would provide for offenses against Federal laws.

Legislation was also provided under these regu-

1 Ibid., p. 2.

2 Statutes of British Columbia, 1949, Chapter 45. An Act respecting the Institution known as New Haven.
lations for the transfer of prisoners to or from the Provincial Gaol and the Young Offender's Unit. (The latter is a closed Borstal Unit designed to deal with the less tractable offender within the age group 16 to 23.)

These transferring powers made it possible for the courts to sentence those whom they considered suitable candidates for New Haven to the Provincial Gaol or the Young Offender's Unit where a screening process could be used to determine the offender's eligibility for New Haven.

In this way, those most suitable for the New Haven program are selected. The individual offender must meet certain criteria. Obviously, he must be a male, aged 16 to 23. It is felt that his sentence should be at least six months in duration in order for him to benefit from the New Haven program. As New Haven is an "open" Borstal, that is, an institution without locks, bars, and guards, it is necessary that he have sufficient stability of character to use this comparative freedom to good advantage. This immediately eliminates the more sophisticated, experienced delinquent. The candidate must also have sufficient intelligence to benefit from the vocational and educational training. The average intelligence of New Haven boys in 1954, as defined by the Wechsler-Bhellevue Scales, was 100. The majority of offenses are Breaking and Entering and Auto Theft but the offense, per se, is not a limiting factor. The type of offender requiring constant supervision is considered ineligible. The drug addict and the aggressive homosexual are the two most common examples of this type. Originally, New Haven
was declined for the less pronounced delinquent—the more immature offender without extreme personality disorders. With the growth of probation services, fewer boys of this type are being incarcerated. The result is that the institution has been receiving some of the more seriously disturbed such as the pre-psychotic and the psychopathic personality types. However, these are still very much in the minority.

The average annual intake during the period January 1, 1960 to December 31, 1966 was 59.2. The average monthly population is approximately 36 inmates and this is felt to be the optimum number in terms of program resources and number of staff.

The System of Training

Hav Haven is unique in Canada in that it provides a training community with facilities for individual study, treatment and training for selected young adults who otherwise would be committed to jail. This is done through the example, influence, close association, and interplay of staff and boys sharing a common life, to attempt to build up a standard of social behavior which will prove lasting; through vocational training to inculcate habits of industry and application; through education to stimulate the intelligence and develop new interests; through sport and athletics to instill ideas of sportsmanship and to encourage positive recreational outlets and to place increasing trust and responsibility on each individual as he progresses in his training.

Training and treatment of this kind calls for a highly trained staff, men of sound character, high ideals and competent leadership, well versed in the principles of human behavior and capable of forming constructive relationships with the lads.

"The Borstal System has no merit apart from the Borstal staff... The foundations of the Borstal System are first the recruitment of the right men, then their proper training, and finally their full cooperation with one another in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual understanding." 1

The framework of the New Haven day is eight hours solid work. Each reception is given vocational tests and on the basis of these, it is decided into which of the four trade training groups he should go—woodwork, metal work, cooking or farming. Once assigned to a trade, he remains with it till his release. As his proficiency increases, his small weekly pay increases. While the lads are not at the institution long enough to master more than the fundamentals of a trade, they have an opportunity to develop good work habits, application and persistence.

Enrollment in an educational course is supplementary to the work program. This course is decided upon after psychological testing and discussion with the case worker. Courses are provided by the Correspondence Division of the Department of Education and range from Grade Three to University level. Course work is done at night after supper as part of the evening program. This program also includes an evening of hobbies, an evening of physical education, and

an evening of popular films.

During leisure time, various sports are promoted. Softball and basketball teams have been entered in community leagues.

Another interesting departure is camp. Two ten-day camps are arranged in the spring and fall for a group of selected boys at Camp Artaban, on Gambier Island. Here their mornings are spent at work, and their evenings in organized recreation. Short weekend camps are also used to good effect, a small party of lads and a supervisor going off for a weekend in the country. More recently, selected boys have been used in the construction of roads about the site of the new Haney Gaol. Such program items as these help the Borstal community approximate as far as possible the normal community and provide a system of rewards and incentives.

Some Elements of Social Group Work Within the Program

There are no trained group workers on the staff of New Haven. However, within the institutional program certain fundamental concepts of group work are operative on an intuitive basis.

Like all youth, juveniles within institutions have an elemental desire for friendship, recognition, adventure, and creative expression. In addition, because they are separated from family and neighborhood groupings, they have an increased need for informal relationships with others their own age as well as understanding adults.

Within New Haven, an attempt is made to meet these needs through some acceptance of the individual's feelings;
through providing a setting in which individual recognition and group achievement is used for socially desirable ends; and through the provision of staff leadership which strives to be sensitive to the individual differences and needs of each boy. Unfortunately, the conscious use of group associations to further individual development is not cultivated to the extent that it might. All these attempts to meet needs are within the province of social group work.

Furthermore, the group living process is, in itself, an important therapeutic device. When it is offered in combination with casework service, educational and medical care, it represents a channel through which the juvenile can develop into a stronger personality.

Casework Services Within the Program

A full time caseworker, Mr. Goad, was appointed to the staff in 1953 to increase the individualization of training and make possible professional contact with the delinquent's family. The caseworker interviews each lad. This is done in order to help the lad take a positive and realistic attitude towards his incarceration and to obtain information concerning his past history, emotional maturity, sociability and aptitudes. The overall goal is to gain a better understanding of the individual and appraise his special needs for training.

Thereafter, each boy is seen once a month in order

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to discuss his progress. The basis for this interview is a monthly report compiled by all the staff concerned with the program in relation to the individual boy. This monthly evaluation serves as a device for pointing out individual shortcomings and supporting specific strengths.

In addition to a general review of the lad's institutional life, his relationships with family and friends are also explored. It frequently happens that situations outside the controlled environment of the institution are affecting a lad's progress. In such cases, visits are made to parents and relatives living in the Greater Vancouver area. The purpose of these visits is often to interpret the institutional experience with a view to obtaining parental cooperation, to gain additional information for the social history, and, where necessary, to try to effect a reconciliation between the lad and his family. By such methods, an attempt is made to individualize treatment and maintain the family focus in proffering casework help. Because the caseworker is devoted to gaining a fuller understanding of the individual lad it is logical that he should present the total picture of the inmate to the Board of Parole for their consideration. This responsibility is the focal point of all the personal contacts made by the caseworker.

1 As stated by Kenneth Pray, the function of the

Caseworker within the correctional institution is to individualize the impact of the institutional program upon the inmate, by helping him to find a satisfactory social adjustment within the institution and to discover in himself, through this experience, the will and the power to make a satisfying social adjustment outside when his opportunity comes.

Only by the development of a casework program, whose objective and method is geared to this problem of helping the inmate muster his resources for successful living outside the institution, can the institution's responsibility for parole be properly discharged.

Parole in British Columbia

Parole is a release procedure whereby after the offender has served part of his sentence within the institution, he becomes eligible under law for release, is found by the paroling authority to be parolable, is released from the institution, and remains in the community under restricted liberty during good conduct.

The New Haven regulations and Section 154 of the Criminal Code of Canada provide for a three man Board of Parole, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council,

"to inquire from time to time into the cases of prisoners sentenced to New Haven . . . and where as a result of such inquiry the Board thinks proper, it may permit prisoners serving indeterminate

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sentences to be paroled under conditions approved
by the Minister of Justice."

The Board, composed of Colonel O. L. Erickson,
chairman, Mr. H. C. Grant, and Mr. P. C. Boyes, meets monthly
at New Haven. Each boy who appears before the Board must
have previously qualified as a "Senior".

At its monthly meeting the Parole Board listens
to each case presented, hear of the lad's progress, his assets
and liabilities, and his plans for the future. Following this,
the boy is introduced to the members for a personal interview,
where they have the opportunity of asking him whatever ques-
tions they feel necessary and of gaining their own impressions
of him. On the basis of these impressions and the recommendations
of the New Haven staff, a decision is made for or against parole.
Those whose discharges are approved then know that in two months
time they will be released on licence. This two months waiting
period is intended to give the lad and those responsible for
his future, time to make their final preparations.

1 Criminal Code of Canada, Chapter 11, Section 154.

2 At the end of the boy's first three months within
the institution, a Board consisting of the whole staff, dis-
cusses and rules upon the lad's progress. If he may be trusted
to exercise a good influence within the institution and is
 capable of setting a good example to others, he may be pro-
moted to "Senior" status. This system of promotion, and, if
the situation warrants, relegation, is the backbone of
discipline and incentive at New Haven.
After Care: The British Columbia Borstal Association

Lads released on licence come under the care and supervision of a volunteer association known as the British Columbia Borstal Association. This Association was formed in 1948, and now has approximately 125 sponsors, situated in 39 centers throughout the province. Although the Association is made up of volunteers, it has also an official capacity, for it has the authority to recommend a youth's return to confinement should he fail to cooperate, or break the conditions of his licence. Mr. John Rickaby, Executive Director of the British Columbia Borstal Association, maintains a close contact with New Haven and acts as a liaison between the institution and the various Borstal Association units. When a youth has been approved for release, special attention is given to constructing a discharge plan during his final two months in the institution. The Association unit in the boy's home locality is informed of his impending release and suggestions are made as to the type of work he desires. At the same time, a sponsor is chosen for him. Where possible, sponsor and lad meet at New Haven several times before the release date in order to build up a good relationship prior to parole. Should problems arise, the sponsor can look to the Executive Director for assistance and advice.

In summary, the After Care Association is concerned with:


2 See Appendix B.
1. Providing each dischargee with a sponsor.
2. Providing suitable employment which is a prerequisite to release.
3. Providing housing accommodation for those without homes or families.
4. Making money available to those requiring such items as subsistence allowance until the first paycheck; room and board payments in advance; union fees; clothing and other items.
5. Providing entertainment at New Haven for the purpose of acquainting the boys with the Association and the sponsors before being placed in their care.
6. Providing counselling service in their office for those on licence; also for those still in the institution with regard to their future plans.

This constitutes a brief resume of Borstal in British Columbia, its history and program.

The Need for Research

New Haven has been operating continuously for some eight years while The Borstal Association has been operating for seven years. Throughout this period, there has never been completed an entirely objective study of the results of this seemingly constructive program.

Borstal Association includes their latest estimate of the success of the total Borstal program. The claim is made that 120 or 88% of the 136 lads released during the period 1952 to 1954, inclusive, kept within the law. This figure must be accepted with caution as no actual follow-up of offenders released from parole has ever been conducted. Estimates of success are based entirely upon known results. If no information indicating a subsequent reconviction has come to the attention of the British Columbia Borstal Association, it is presumed by them that the individual has remained law abiding. Furthermore, the single criterion of subsequent conviction is not, in itself, sufficiently extensive to indicate the degree of adjustment attained by New Haven graduates.

For these reasons, an objective follow-up study of the results of the Borstal program in British Columbia would seem to be desirable. Moreover, the extended use of the indefinite sentence places considerable responsibility upon both the institutional staff and the British Columbia Parole Board to release on parole those inmates most likely to benefit from such/treatment program. Because of the need to base the choice of inmates for parole upon as rational a basis as possible, the future development of prediction tables might prove profitable.

The Purpose of This Study

The purpose of this thesis is to facilitate possible follow-up and prediction studies of New Haven graduates. To achieve this end, an historical review of follow-up and prediction studies will be presented and the adequacy of available official records for the carrying out of similar studies within the New Haven setting will be considered.
CHAPTER 2

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF SELECTED FOLLOW-UP AND PREDICTION STUDIES

Introduction

While the foregoing chapter was devoted to a description of New Haven and its program in the light of Borstal history, the present chapter will concern itself with an historical review of selected follow-up and prediction studies. These studies have been conducted in order to evaluate and increase the effectiveness of correctional programs in both North America and Europe. A discussion of the estimated success rates various correctional programs claim will not come within the scope of this chapter as the majority of these estimates are not based upon adequate follow-up procedures.

The immediate concern of a study of New Haven graduates may not primarily be to develop a prediction table. However, follow-up studies lend themselves to such an adaptation and are often a prerequisite step to achieving prediction tables. Indeed, the two types of project are so interrelated that it is most difficult to divorce them in an historical review. Thus, they are both included in the following survey.

Social Work Research in this Field

In the past, social work has left the problem of determining or predetermining the degree of effectiveness
attained in peno-correctional programs to other disciplines, notably sociology and psychology. While social work, as a field of practice, has been quick to incorporate the appropriate findings of such studies into its daily practice, there is a need for social work to make its own peculiar contribution to this area of research.

Need for Social Work Research in this Specific Area

"The body of knowledge at the disposal of social work for conscious application, and for the building up of the practitioner's skills, is derived in part from the social and biological sciences and, in part, from the actual carrying out of social work operations. Insofar as the facts derived are organized and systemized, we have a science of social work. Insofar as they are arranged by conscious and deliberate inquiry and converted into generalizations, we have research in social work."

Conscious and deliberate inquiry into the actual carrying out of social work operations is suggested in the above quotation. Moreover, the primary goal of social work research, the understanding of social life in order to gain a greater measure of control over social behavior, indicates our obligation for research into this area of delinquency and the results of incarceration.

The Correctional field has long been considered a traditional component of Public Welfare, and as such, should receive fuller attention from the research branch of social work. Social work research is required to help answer basic questions common to present correctional programs. We need

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to know whether or not existing programs do rehabilitate the offender and thereby protect society. While it is almost trite to express the view that human nature is too complicated a phenomenon to dissect and analyze with certainty, it is nevertheless essential that we attempt to understand in what manner imprisonment affects the personalities it holds. One of the chief aims of all correctional programs is the reduction of crime and yet we have not been sufficiently concerned with determining the efficiency of the methods commonly used, in the hope of achieving that result.

Furthermore, correctional administrators, especially in this province at the present time, are expanding and modifying existing facilities and developing new ones. All this activity is indicative of at least some desire to achieve more successful rehabilitation. New services will not necessarily produce this effect unless certain fundamentals are met. One of these is that these new services be based upon sound, logically coherent principles. It would seem almost essential that the social work study of those human beings who commit crimes should precede programs concerned with the redesign and extension of our correctional establishments and rehabilitative programs.

The follow-up study is one method of providing both a pragmatic test of existing programs and sound evidence for the provision of new programs.
Follow-up and Prediction Studies Defined

Both Follow-up and Prediction Studies are research projects devised to determine and/or predict, with some degree of precision, the impact of correctional training upon those who experience it.

The attempt to determine the subsequent results of a specific treatment experience is the common ground of all follow-up studies, regardless of whether the treatment experience is probation, institutionalization, or parole. The analysis of these results may be quantitative, in terms of the number of subsequent offenders within the total study group; or qualitative, in terms of the type and degree of personality growth or development occurring within the individual members of the study group; or a combination of both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

For our usage, a follow-up study may be defined as a research project designed to inquire into the subsequent results of institutionalization upon delinquents and a presentation of these results in a quantitative and/or qualitative form for further analysis.

Follow-up studies have two primary purposes. The first is to provide information which will indicate the degree of effectiveness attained by a specific program. A further purpose is to provide information which may be used to develop prediction tables capable of indicating, within limits, the future behavior of inmates.

Follow-up studies which have as their ultimate goal the formulation of experience tables are more accurately known as prediction studies.
Prediction tables derived from these studies are used to facilitate administrative decisions about the transfer, allocation and release of inmates. Offenders are allocated to a certain service when the accumulated evidence suggests that they possess that pattern of attributes which tends to insure a favorable response to that type of treatment.

In this respect, all prediction studies are based upon a similar rationale. All these investigations assume that delinquents, as well as other human beings, can be made the object of scientific studies and that the resultant data can be classified according to the emotional, psychological and social characteristics of the persons studied. It is further assumed that other individuals who possess a similar pattern of such characteristics will tend to react with a significant degree of similarity to like situations. The need for such decision-making aids has grown with the increasing tendency of the law to permit some discretion, both to the Courts and to correctional agencies, as to the disposal of individual offenders. Thus, certain bodies of men, such as Parole Boards and Classification Boards, must make decisions previously resolved by legal process. These men undoubtedly feel the need for some more objective means of reaching their decisions than a mere reliance upon clinical judgment.

Common Difficulties Inherent in Follow-up and Prediction Studies

Obviously, certain impressive obstacles must be surmounted or circumvented in studies capable of evaluating or predicting the future conduct of inmates. These obstacles
should be recognized before an examination is made of specific studies within this field. A resume of these problems follows.

1. Incompleteness and Inaccuracy of Official records.

This problem was brought to light rather dramatically by the Gluecks in their study, *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*. Intensive checking of the actual experience of ex-inmates against the recording of official files disclosed numerous prosecutions brought against the offender in other jurisdictions, or crimes committed without apprehension. Further complicating factors are the widespread use of aliases and the characteristic mobility of the criminal population. All these difficulties tend to make of official records something less than the absolute criteria of recidivism that they are often supposed to be.

2. Brevity of Period Under Study

All too often research is based on the careers of ex-prisoners during a period too brief to afford a reliable basis of conclusion as to the genuineness and probable permanence of the "reformation". An interim period of five years since incarceration would seem to be the most popular standard, but some studies, notably those of the Gluecks, use periods up to fifteen years in order to validate their original conclusions. Other, more recent studies, have employed shorter follow-up periods with considerable success but five years remains the most common follow-up period.
3. Limitations of Official Records

The practice of basing research on official records alone without due consideration of the human being who is the subject of the record is a further shortcoming of some studies. Often, a further delinquent act does not represent total "failure" on the part of a given individual but actually some degree of progress if viewed in the light of his personality and his environment.

4. Attribution of Responsibility for Recidivism

Not only is it extremely difficult to isolate the elements of improvement or deterioration in a given delinquent but the difficulty is increased immeasurably when one attempts to attribute these selectively to the correctional institution involved and to other forces. It can be said here that any research study of this nature should at least recognize the phenomenon of spontaneous recovery. That is, until satisfactory controls can be established, the possibility of what appears as success may result from the natural healing effect of time quite apart from the planned application of a therapeutic program. With these general problems in mind, we can more profitably examine individual studies.

The bulk of existing prediction and follow-up studies have been produced in the United States. To facilitate presentation, the more important American studies will be considered first, and

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then the more significant European studies will be reviewed. In the following material, the main emphasis is on the presentation of the methods involved and not on the findings. The latter are cited only as they illustrate the former.

American Follow-up and Prediction Studies

Studies of this nature originated some thirty years ago and were primarily concerned with an evaluation and/or prediction of the post-release conduct of adult and juvenile offenders discharged from various forms of peno-correctional programs. A few studies have been devoted to the future conduct of probationers rather than that of ex-inmates and where appropriate, these studies are included in the following survey.

The Pre-Glueck Period

A study conducted by S. B. Warner, the results of which were published in 1923, is generally accepted as being the forerunner of follow-up and prediction studies. Professor Warner's paper is of importance primarily as a result of the stimulating effect it had on future studies.

On the basis of follow-up results, he divided a select group of 680 ex-prisoners of the Massachusetts State Reformatory into three groups of 300 parole successes, 300 parole violators and 80 not paroled. He then attempted to show that the criteria of eligibility used for the granting of parole appeared to be largely unrelated to the actual behavior of parolees. The

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criteria employed by the Board of Parole were:

1. Whether a man had profited by his stay in the institution and was so far reformed as to be unlikely to commit another offense.
2. Whether his conduct in the institution was satisfactory.
3. Whether suitable employment was awaiting him upon release.
4. Whether he had a home or other proper surroundings to go to.
5. A man's ability to tell the exact truth when interviewed by the Board.
6. The seriousness of his offense and the circumstances surrounding it.
7. His previous record in Court or otherwise.
8. The appearance a man made before the Board in applying for his parole.
9. Earlier behavior on parole.

The Board felt that, for example, a sex crime did not warrant the granting of release on parole. Yet 66.6% of paroled sex offenders proved successful against an overall rate of 50%.

Warner also criticized the fact that most of the Parole Board's data about the inmate's background was derived from the inmate himself. He concluded that none of the information available to the Parole Board showed any real significance as a criterion of success or failure. The responsibility for the failure of the Parole Board to formulate better criteria for parole was ascribed to the then underdeveloped state of scientific knowledge in this field.
Hornell Hart criticized Professor Warner for his failure to apply accurate statistical tests to the data he obtained. Hart felt that the Massachusetts Parole Board could greatly improve its parole results by a more proper use of the information it already had at its disposal. Of the 64 factors already utilized by the Parole Board, Hart indicated that 15 items were statistically significant while another 20 items were very probably significant on the basis of differences between violators and non-violators greater than might be expected purely from the operations of chance. Presenting a table of these factors, where the probability that the observed contrast due to chance was less than one in 100, he showed that there was a considerable number of factors where prisoners in the favorable sub class of the factor would have a very high chance of success on parole. Of equal, if not greater importance, was Hart's suggestion that all the significant factors could be combined into a prognostic score for each inmate. Such a system, he felt, would enable the Parole Board to make reliable forecasts of parole violations.

However, Hart, himself, was criticized. He had merely indicated the possibility of devising a statistically weighted scoring system capable of some predictive efficiency but had not actually constructed one. Nevertheless, he established the direction of further study.

Ernest Burgess is credited with completing the first important prediction study. He, along with Judge Andrew A. Bruce and Dean Albert J. Harno, studied some factors contributing to success or failure on parole. Twenty-one factors were selected for analysis. The study group was composed of three thousand men paroled at least two and a half years previously from three major Illinois State correctional institutions.

When the general rate of parole violation was determined it was then compared to the rate for each of the twenty-one selected factors. It was found that for certain factors the rate was higher and for others lower than the general rate. Among one thousand offenders from one institution, for example, 28.4 percent violated parole yet only 12.2 percent of those with a previous record of regular work were violators, while 44 percent violated if they had virtually no previous work record. The type of work record, therefore, differentiated offenders from the general average.

Burgess now coped with the problem of making these differences usable for practical administrative purposes. He attached an arbitrary weight of one point to each factor. A parolee was awarded one point for the possession of each favorable factor and a total score was obtained by simple addition. Only 3.7 percent of those with a total of 14 points or over were found to violate parole, but 76 percent of those with only two to four points were parole violators.

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Burgess did not make extensive claims for his table. He felt that it was illustrative of the possibilities of the method and not in any sense a form available for immediate use. He warned that although prediction now appeared feasible, it should not be granted a monopoly at the expense of the intensive case study method.

The Burgess method was the first prediction method and it remains the most popular one. Its popularity is attributed to its simple direct approach which requires no great amount of statistical manipulation. However, its very simplicity does raise questions. The giving of equal weights to each factor regardless of the degree to which any single factor was related to non-violation was a primary focus of critical attention. It was also felt by many that a good number of the predictive factors were simply a further manifestation of some basic underlying characteristic. Furthermore, a great number of the categories, such as "hobo", "ne'er do well", and "mean citizen", used to differentiate violators and non-violators were too subjective. George Vold further criticized the method for the reliance upon material contained in official files, the consideration of conduct only when on parole, and the failure to provide a further check upon the reliability and validity of the findings by further studies.

The Glueck Studies

The work of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck warrants considerable mention as they made two major contributions within this area of research. They introduced what is now the most popular method of prediction. This method used a variable weighting system. The Gluecks were also original in basing their assessment of success or failure upon the result of personal investigations of each offender rather than on official files alone. They were thus concerned with future criminal activity in general and not only with conformity during parole or some other fixed period. However, for use in relation to some fixed period, such as probation or parole, or in relation to a legalistic definition of criminality, it is often more convenient to use the same criteria of success as those of administrators.

(a) Five Hundred Criminal Careers

Five Hundred Criminal Careers is the first large scale follow-up and prediction research in the long series of the Glueck studies. The Gluecks studied the life histories of 610 male prisoners released during 1921 and 1922 from the Massachusetts Reformatory. A five year follow-up period was used.

To date, this study stands as an almost ideal model of follow-up procedures. That these procedures approached the

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ideal is a tribute both to the sagacity of the Gluecks and to the considerable financial resources at their command. The investigation itself took three years to complete and cost $11,000. Unfortunately, these resources are not always available to researchers and, therefore, it is not always possible to attain the same degree of perfection.

The exhaustive nature of the study was demanded by the authors' conviction that to obtain a fair estimate of the work of an institution it is not enough to ascertain the post-discharge history regarding further criminality. The basic aim of the correctional institution is to make men less criminal than before. However, the work of rehabilitation involves the teaching of trades, the inculcation of the habits of industry and the introduction of the offender to wholesome means of self-expression and other processes designed to facilitate a law-abiding life upon discharge. As a result, and as a definite innovation in such studies to that time, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck felt compelled to do more than merely ascertain the criminal record. In this study, Five Hundred Criminal Careers, and in subsequent investigations at the end of each five year period for a total of fifteen years, every effort was made to obtain reliable information regarding the personal and economic history of each inmate. This was prerequisite to ascertaining the degree of success these men had achieved in areas other than that of criminal behavior. Other factors considered by the authors were the offender's industrial records and economic conditions, his family relationships, and his constructive
use of leisure time.

To assure a greater degree of reliability than previous efforts, the Gluecks had field investigators interview 73 percent of the ex-prisoners or their near relatives. The resulting data verified and supplemented whatever information was available on the official records.

The collected data were related to the criteria of success, partial failure and total failure as defined by criminal records. Then the relation of pre-Reformatory factors and, after that, the relation of Reformatory, parole and post-parole factors to post-parole criminality were analyzed. To do this the authors used the technique of the mean square contingency coefficient.

They stressed that the correlations established were not to be construed as pointing out causes of recidivism and that some of the factors having a low correlation with recidivism might have been responsible for initial delinquency. The factors were divided into three categories on the basis of the degree of correlation. Those factors having a coefficient of .20 to .40 were considered to be appreciably related to the criterion and those having a coefficient of .40 to .60 were considered to be markedly related to the criterion of subsequent criminality.

Prognostic tables were then constructed using as a basis the six most important pre-reformatory factors. These were:

1. Pre-reformatory work habits.
2. Seriouness and frequency of pre-reformatory crime.
3. Arrest for crimes preceding the present offence.
4. Penal experience preceding reformatory incarceration.
5. Economic responsibility preceding sentence to reformatory.
6. Mental abnormality on admission to reformatory.

The tables were prepared. One such table for the use of judges was based on the above mentioned six factors. Tables devised for parole boards included ten more factors: the frequency of the offenses in the reformatory and criminal conduct during parole. Factors with a coefficient of less than .90 were excluded from consideration. It should be noted however that the total score yielded a correlation of .40 and was only very slightly above the correlation of .43 for the single factor of Pre-Reformatory Work Habits. Each offender was classified within certain score classes.

(b) Further Studies by Mr. Clasen

*Later Criminal Careers* was published in 1937 and was a sequel to *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*. The remaining 454 members of the study group were followed up over a further five year period. The primary object of this study was to examine later biological and psychological development and the degree and type of continued criminality some ten years after release. The basic method employed in the follow-up aspects of this study was a repetition of that used in their earlier study. That is, official files were scrutinized and

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eventually corrected and supplemented as a result of field investigations.

The range of predictability was extended to cover the ten year period since release. On the whole, it was found that the same factors as in the previous study were again related to success or failure, although the coefficient of correlation was now somewhat lower than before for the factor "Work Habits" and considerably higher for the factor "Mental Condition". The authors saw mental abnormality as the strongest continuing impediment to reformation while what they termed "the benign process of maturation" emerged as the principal contributing factor to success.

In 1943, *Criminal Careers in Retrospect*, extended the follow-up period to a total of fifteen years after release. In all three studies, no general validation of the prediction tables was attempted and this constituted a major criticism of the total series.

(c) Glueck Studies Concerned with Juvenile Delinquency

The second series of Glueck studies began with the study of one thousand juvenile delinquents, the main object of which was to examine the procedure followed by, and the operating relations between, the Boston Juvenile Court and the Judge Baker Guidance Center, a renowned Child Guidance Clinic.

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A follow-up study of one thousand boys referred to the Clinic by the court for clinical examination was used to determine whether or not the implementation of the Clinic's recommendations had any influence upon the future conduct of these boys. A follow-up procedure similar to that of earlier studies was employed and it was found that those cases where the Clinic's recommendation had been acted upon had only a slightly more favorable outcome than the other cases. Prediction tables were developed, using the six factors bearing the highest correlation with success. These were discipline of juvenile by father, discipline of juvenile by mother, school retardation, school misconduct, age at first known behavior disorder, and the length of time between onset of delinquency and the child's examination by the Clinic. The correlations were only moderately high. The resulting correlation of all six factors to the criterion of success was .28.

Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up was the second follow-up study in the Gluecks delinquency series. The follow-up period was extended to a further ten years, the average age of a study group member now being twenty-nine years.

This study preceded Criminal Careers in Retrospect, and thus, was the first attempt to use a follow-up period of fifteen years. While our interest is not centered on the findings of these studies, it may be noted that one of the major findings was the improvement in conduct with advancing

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age. While this is a phenomenon that applies to criminals of all ages, it probably is more active within the adolescent group. At any rate, the maturation process cannot be overlooked in follow-up studies.

Prediction tables were constructed using the same basic formula as in previous studies. Out of sixty factors originally considered, five factors showing the highest correlation with success or failure, were selected. These five factors and their correlation coefficients were birthplace of father (.26), birthplace of mother (.22), time parents were in United States (.20), religion of parents (.20), and age of offender at first misbehavior (.22).

Although these tables were applied to a small number of cases, no thorough validation study was attempted. None of the predictive factors had a correlation of more than .26. Furthermore, three of the five factors were specifically designed for American conditions. The limitations imposed by culture or socio-economic structure should always be recognized in any attempt to apply the criteria or prediction devices of a given study to a different setting.

Five Hundred Delinquent Women, the first extensive follow-up study of female offenders was published in the same year as One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents. The investigation

was even more detailed than that employed in Five Hundred Criminal Careers. Two hundred and eighty-five factors were examined but sixty-five of these had to be abandoned because of inadequate information.

The authors attempted to simplify their prediction technique first used in Five Hundred Criminal Careers. Discarding the computation of the mean square contingency, the degree of association between any specific factor and success was established by the "determination of the maximum percentage difference between any sub class of a particular factor and the expectancy of recidivism for the entire group of cases involved."  

For example, the total rate of non-recidivism for the group was 23.5 and that for those with regular church attendance 28.4, for those with irregular church attendance 14.9 and with no attendance 40.0. The degree of association was taken to be 40.0 - 23.5 = 16.5. The five factors employed in the subsequent table were retardation in school, neighborhood influences within a year of commitment, steadiness of employment, economic responsibility and mental abnormality. Again no validation study of any considerable importance was attempted.

Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency, published in 1950, made certain departures from the research design used previously by the Gluecks. This was primarily a control group study and

1 Ibid., p. 9.

no actual follow-up was attempted. Five hundred delinquent boys committed to Massachusetts State Correctional Schools and five hundred non-delinquent boys from Boston public schools were compared. The matching was effected on the basis of four factors: age, ethnic derivation, residence in underprivileged areas and general intelligence. In all, 402 factors were studied. The more striking differences between the two groups were used to construct tables to predict, at age six, the likelihood of future delinquency.

Enquiries were carried out on four levels. Testing and examining on these levels was done by professional practitioners who were familiar with the material encountered in these categories. Examinations on the somatic level were conducted by a medical doctor and were similar to those used in typical physical tests. The intellectual level was examined through the psychologists' use of the Wechsler-Bellevue and Stanford Achievement Tests in Reading and Arithmetic. The emotional-temperamental level was examined through the use of Rorschach Tests and psychiatric interviews. The socio-cultural level was examined by the perusal of official records and home interviews conducted by an experienced social worker.

For prediction purposes, three tables were constructed based respectively on:

(a) Traits of character structure diagnosed through the Rorschach Test;

(b) Personality traits derived from psychiatric interview, and;

(c) Social background.
In accordance with the technique used in previous studies, each table was made up of five factors; i.e., for the first table: assertiveness, defiance, suspicion, destructiveness and emotional lability; for the second table: adventurousness, extroversion in action, suggestibility, stubbornness and emotional instability; for the third table: discipline of the child by the father, supervision of the child by the mother, affection of the father for the child, affection of the mother for the child and cohesiveness of the family group. The authors explain that as it was the object of these tables to identify potential delinquents already at school entrance age, the predictive factors had to be selected from those operative in boys of that age. The tables were then constructed by comparing the incidence of three sub classes of each factor for the delinquent and non-delinquent groups and by establishing score classes.

(d) Criticisms of Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency

This work of the Gluecks differed from their previous studies in both the scope and the complexity of the problems they attempted to resolve. They were trying to predict future criminality in boys not yet legally delinquent. To do this, they were trying to use the characteristics some boys manifest at the age of 14 to predict the future delinquency of six year old children. Naturally enough, Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency created considerable controversy.

The most common and major criticisms levelled against the work were:
1. One sided interpretation of the findings. Adherence to a theory of individual psychology, and a rejection of explanations in terms of influence on conduct through such media as association and group participation, represented too narrow an approach to achieve an understanding of how delinquents come into being.

2. Lack of information on non-delinquents. Institutionalization affords an opportunity for detailed and objective study; the home does not. The Gluecks compounded this difficulty by telling the parents that their sons were "good boys" who would be compared with "bad boys". Undoubtedly, this influenced what the parents reported to the investigators.

(e) General Assessment of the Glueck Technique

Briefly stated, the Gluecks' greatest contribution was in formulating a prediction method that used only some six factors and "weighted" them according to their relatedness to further criminality. Of comparable importance was their original approach of basing their work on extensive personal investigations carried out five, ten, or fifteen years after release. Thus, they were concerned with criminality in general and not mere conformity while on parole.

The Gluecks recognized that only a sample of all the possible factors implicated in shaping the careers of offenders

could be studied. As a result, they studied those factors which were felt to be operable and about which sufficient information could be obtained.

However, a certain amount of overlapping is noticeable between some factors. For example, the factors, "industrial habits" and "economic responsibility" are not very distinctive. The Gluecks' defense was that interrelated factors would produce fewer errors of classification in collecting data, than would the use of fewer, yet mutually independent, factors.

The Gluecks were also of the opinion that, in selecting predictive factors, objective factors on which information is easily obtained and verified should be preferred to factors involving difficult subjective evaluations.

While the Gluecks did not arrive at ultimate answers to the issues raised by crime, they supplanted a good deal of speculation by facts and stimulated effort by other workers.

Other American Studies

In 1931, following the publication of Burgess' work and the Gluecks' Five Hundred Criminal Careers, Professor George E. Vold's book, Prediction Methods and Parole, appeared. Vold

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used the official records of 1192 men discharged from Minnesota Correctional Institutions during the period 1922 to 1927. Information was collected on 34 pre-parole factors and 15 other factors. The sample group was larger than any previously used but fewer factors were considered and no personal contact was made with the parolees.

Using the coefficient of mean square contingency, correlations between 44 factors and parole outcome were established. The highest correlation was for "previous work record", 0.283, while the lowest was for "aid given to dependents while the inmate was in prison", 0.030. Vold concluded that while no single factor was of outstanding performance, few were without some significance.

One notable variance arose between his figures and those of prior studies. The incidence of parole violations did not display a tendency to be more frequent during the earlier part of the parole period but occurred fairly uniformly throughout the entire first year. This finding was used as an argument against the prevailing Minnesota practice of limiting parole to one year.

Vold compared the efficiency of the Burgess technique, using all available factors without weighting them, with the Glueck method of using only the more significant factors. Very little difference was discovered between the results obtained by these methods and because of the greater labor involved in its use, the Glueck technique was abandoned by Vold.

In 1932, Professor Elio D. Monachesi, published
Prediction Factors in Probation, the first prediction study using probation material. One thousand five hundred and fifteen probation cases, under the jurisdiction of a Minnesota Probation Office during the years 1923 to 1925, were examined. Fifty factors were studied for the juveniles and thirty-four factors were studied for the adults. Again, comparisons were made between prediction by the Burgess and Glueck methods. In so doing, Monachesi, as Vold before him, found that the two techniques furnished approximately the same results.

At this time, Clark Tibbits published two articles which presented the results of a study of three thousand youths paroled between 1920 and 1927 from the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac. The object of this study was to validate Burgess' findings by applying his technique to the largest sample yet used. Contrary to Vold's study, it was found that most


violations of parole occurred during the first year. With regard to the predictive value of the type of offense for which the parolee had been convicted, Tibbits' figures confirmed Burgess' findings that those guilty of the more "shocking" crimes, such as murder and rape, are the least likely to violate parole. On the other hand, the type of neighborhood where the offender lived and his work record were of even greater predictive value than Burgess had indicated.

In 1934, E. Sampson completed "A Study of the After Careers of Four Hundred and Twenty-four Paroled Wisconsin Offenders". Sampson devoted a good deal of attention to devising what he felt was an adequate criterion. Ideal success was felt to be the case in which the paroled man never again commits a crime. All other successes are gratifying to the degree with which they approach the ideal. At the same time he recognized that to establish a continuum of success ranging from absolute failure to ideal success would require very detailed information not only of criminal activity but also of the development of potential abilities, the degree of happiness, the economic security attained and many other things.

To solve this dilemma, the author decided on a rigid categorization into two groups—success and failure, and then a middle category of partial success. The latter category represented an attempt to classify the men who had achieved

a relative degree of success as other than complete failures.

In 1935, Walter Argow devised the first prediction scheme that was not based upon a follow-up study. Argow devised a Criminal Liability Index by analysing 37 factors in a group of 563 Connecticut jail inmates and contrasting the percentage of first offenders and of recidivists from each factor. For example, the percentage of first offenders among men between 36 and 40 years of age was eight and that of recidivists fourteen. The ratio between the two groups, using the recidivist figure as base, was .87 or, translated to the scale of ten, it was six. In this way, each individual's score was established by adding the values for 31 factors, dividing the total by the number of factors and by the mean for the group. The result was called the CLI.

Other predictive studies not based upon follow-up research include those conducted by Ferris Laune and H. Ashley Weeks. Laune's approach emphasized the study of prisoners' attitudes. These he tried to determine by using the subjective "hunches" or opinions of well-qualified fellow-prisoners. These "hunches" were discussed with Laune and commonly agreed on factors were produced which presumably had formed the basis of the hunches.


H. Ashley Weeks compared 420 delinquents and 421 non-delinquents, picked at random from Spokane, Washington, high-schools and produced prediction tables from what he elicited as the critically differentiating factors.

In 1939, the Attorney-General's Survey of Release Procedures, was published by the United States Department of Justice. Part of the six volumes was devoted to an analysis of some factors associated with parole selection and outcome. A case was considered a success if the official records revealed no violations of parole or further offenses while on parole. One hundred thousand parolees were studied. As a result, the study could be considered extensive but certainly not intensive. Despite the limited criteria of success, this study is notable because of the numbers involved and the discernment of some easily determined predictive factors.

The six most important predictive findings were:

1. That Negroes had, generally, poorer parole records. However, the significant difference was confined to certain areas and might have reflected public sentiment or the individual parole officer's bias.

2. That the married men in the study were the better parole risk. Only 10% of the married men violated their parole.
parole while 31% of the unmarried men eventually violated
their parole.

3. That first offenders had a better parole prognosis
than recidivists. Eighteen per cent of the first offenders
and 37% of recidivists became parole violators.

4. If the first arrest occurred prior to the age of
16 years, the individual was a decidedly poorer risk for
parole.

5. That the type of community affected parole results
to the extent that 37% of those in areas with a population
over 100,000 and 17% of those in areas with a population under
2,500 violated their parole.

6. That the most significant difference was in relation
to employment status. Fifty-three per cent of those who were
unemployed while on parole violated whereas only 17 per cent of the
employed parolees became violators.

A further analysis was made of the case histories
of 22,935 persons released from Federal institutions between
1930 and 1935 to determine whether the use of prediction tables
would increase the "common sense" selection made by the
Federal Parole Board.

The factors used were divided into five categories;
parental, social, criminal, institutional, and post-institutional.
A great many of these factors were questionable. For example,
congeniality of parents included such practically immeasurable

1 Ibid., pp. 245-246.
items as "frequent bickerings", "sexual promiscuity", and "congeniality of marriage".

The final conclusion was that while it was possible to construct prediction tables on the basis of this analysis, there was no indication that their use would produce any substantial improvement in Federal practice.

Unlike the Federal Government, Illinois authorities had used prediction tables routinely since 1933. Thus great interest was aroused when in 1951, the research sociologist of the Division of Correction of the State of Illinois, Dr. Ohlin, completed his book, Selection For Parole.

Dr. Ohlin chose a sample of one thousand cases having a post-discharge period of five years. Predictive items were chosen from factors likely to be significant in view of the results of previous research projects. Each factor was divided into sub classes and the violation rate for each of these was obtained by dividing the number of violators by the total number of persons in the sub class. For the factor "family interest", for example, the violation rates ranged from five per cent in the sub class "very active" to forty per cent in the sub class "none". Each sub class was marked as a favorable, neutral or unfavorable predictive item. Each parolee was given a point for each favorable sub class, zero for every neutral sub class and minus one point for every unfavorable sub class into which he fell. The final score was obtained by

subtracting the number unfavorable from that of favorable points. The final prediction table showed a range in violation rates from three per cent for those having five to ten favorable points to seventy-five per cent for those with five to six unfavorable points.

Ohlin differed from both the Gluecks and Burgess in two critical areas. He did not prefer complicated scoring and weighting procedures as he felt they added little real value to the table. Neither did he endorse the Glueck practice of follow-up through personal interviews. He felt that in view of its high cost, it was impractical. However, Ohlin did stress the need for some field investigation to supplement the classification and prediction reports. The most important difference between Ohlin and Burgess was that the former was in favor of using only a small number of highly predictive factors. Finally, Ohlin recommended routine periodic adjustments to keep prediction tables abreast of changes that occur cultural within the framework in which they exist.

In 1951, Professor Morris G. Caldwell of the University of Alabama compiled another large follow-up study of probationers. His sample contained 1,862 Federal probationers whose period of probation terminated between July 1, 1937 and December 31, 1942.

After the completion of follow-up investigations by

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checking the official records, the following factors were found to be conducive to non-recidivism:

1. High occupational skill
2. Full employment
3. Adequate income
4. Home ownership
5. Marriage
6. Children

On the basis of this, a typical violator was visualized as being a young, single man of low educational achievement who had more than one previous offense. However, no prediction tables were formulated.

No mention is made in the study of the number of Negroes included yet one cannot help but feel that an undue proportion of them would affect the results, especially in considering such factors as "full employment", "high occupational skill" and "home ownership". One feels that a sample group should approximate the distribution of various racial groups in the community.

Dr. R. W. England conducted a very similar study in Pennsylvania in 1955. Interestingly enough, his considerably smaller sample of 500 reflected findings similar to the larger Alabama study conducted by Caldwell. Dr.

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England was more careful in his attempts to have the sample group reflect the composition of the larger community in terms of age distribution, race, marital status, occupational grouping, education and religion. Furthermore, each year from which sample members were drawn was given a proportionate representation.

Albert L. Reiss, Jr., developed prognostic instruments to predict the recidivism rates of a sample of 736 Juvenile Delinquents placed on probation during 1943 and 1944 by the Juvenile Court of Cook County, Illinois. A follow-up sample of 374 cases was used to test the validity of the prediction devices.

Reiss was concerned with the hypothesis that a small number of stable predictors is likely to be the more accurate and efficient. He classified stable predictors as those which were significantly correlated with the criterion and had shown their association in at least two previous studies. The following were chosen as stable predictors: economic status of the family, deportment record in school, adequacy of personality controls, and recommendations for treatment.

Reiss also drew attention to the fact that predictions are likely to be more efficient for homogeneous samples than for a heterogeneous population, such as one including Negroes.

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and Whites or reformatory inmates and prison inmates.

In the Cambridge-Sumerville Youth Study the social development of 650 boys between six and twelve years and resident in these two Massachusetts cities was studied. Three hundred and twenty-five boys were given the benefit of selected counsellors and three hundred and twenty-five were left to the usual social service resources within their communities.

Each of the boys was given a careful prognosis as to his likely future delinquency by a psychiatrist and two penal administrators. These predictions were based upon 21 factors relating to the mental and physical condition of the boys, progress in school, family conditions and the boys' adjustment to their environment in general. In 1945, these predictions were adjudicated. Delinquency had been predicted in many cases in which it had failed to occur. The correlation between prediction and outcome was .44 for those boys with counsellors and .54 for those boys without counsellors. The difference—an expected difference in view of the special treatment given the boys with counsellors—was not regarded as numerically significant.

One of the criticisms of the total study was that the experimental conditions were not rigid enough. Too many variables existed apart from the provision of counsellors.

and these were not sufficiently taken into account.

Honachesi has recently advanced the view that personality is the central problem involved in crime. Thus, he feels that attempts should be made to predict on the basis of personality. He strongly suggests the use of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. Unfortunately, while the M.M.P.I. can be objectively scored, its powers of differentiation between personalities which are not very abnormal is limited. At any rate, the suggestion requires a further test prior to any general acceptance.

Need For Validation Studies

Paul Horst made the criticism that most prediction studies end without ever attempting to predict. Too many workers are satisfied if the formula works when applied to the original sample. It is felt that the applicability of a formula to other samples should be demonstrated. Horst could find only three such validation attempts in the field of penology.

Since Horst's writing in 1941, only three further validation studies have been made and these have all been concerned with the Glueck method. Undoubtedly, no prediction

1 Honachesi, Elio D., and Hathaway, Starke R., Analyzing and Predicting with the M.M.P.I., University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1953.

table can be considered valid until it has been proved so.

**European Studies**

Prediction Studies in Europe originated in Germany under the direction of Professor Franz Exner. Exner visited the United States in the early thirties and was greatly impressed by the work of the Gluecks.

A student of Exner's, Robert Schiedt, in 1935, examined the records of an unselected sample of 500 prisoners discharged from Bavarian prisons in 1931. Schiedt compared the prognoses made for these men by prison doctors upon discharge with their actual record some four years later. These prognoses proved wrong in 26.5%, a proportion felt to be unduly high.

Schiedt found that cases in which one of the following factors was present had a rate of recidivism considerably above the average. These factors were: bad heredity, serious criminality of ascendants, unfavorable educational conditions, bad scholastic attainment and school conduct, premature breaking off of an apprenticeship.

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irregular working habits, beginning of criminal activities before the age of 18, more than four previous convictions, particularly short intervals between discharge from a penal institution and subsequent conviction, criminal record in several district courts, psychopathy, drunken habits, bad general conduct in prison, discharge from prison before the age of 36, and bad social and family conditions after discharge.

Using the Burgess technique, Schiedt allotted to each case one "bad point" for each of the above factors. Offenders with nil to three "bad points" he regarded as "corrigible"; those with ten or more as "incorrigible"; and those with four to nine as "doubtful". Of 131 corrigibles only 16, or 12.2 per cent, were failures while 288 composing the doubtful category had 52.9 per cent failures. Of the 81 incorrigibles, 96.3 per cent failed. The criterion of failure was a subsequent conviction for a criminal offense.

Schiedt's technique was criticized by subsequent German workers. Hans Trunk applied the same technique to a sample group of 100 convicts with a sentence not exceeding three years. All of these convicts had been discharged from Straubing Prison not later than 1932. Trunk, as prison medical officer, had made prognoses for these men. Using the same procedure and statistical techniques as Schiedt,

he found that 71 per cent of his prognoses had been correct, while with Schiedt's method only 51 per cent would have been correct.

Trunk concluded that the point system was inferior to the intuitive prognoses of the total personality of each offender. Gerecke, in 1939, criticized the Schiedt system for the absence of any weighting of factors and attempted to heighten its efficiency by attaching proportionate rather than equal point values to the factors. One consideration overlooked by both Trunk and Gerecke, and, possibly even by Schiedt, was that Burgess never intended it to be used independently of "intuitive prognoses of each individual", but only as an adjunct to the latter.

However, Schiedt's table was successfully applied by other German researchers, Wilhelm Heywerk and F. Schwaab.

Heywerk, head of the Crimino-biological service in Hamburg, in 1938 applied the system to a sample of 200 prisoners examined by that service between 1929 and 1933. Each examination included a prognosis as to the ultimate adjustment of the offender. He found that the favorable prognoses

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made by the service had been wrong in 61.6 per cent of the cases.

Schwaab applied Schiedt's table to a sample of 400 ex-inmates and found that none of the offenders possessing no bad points had become failures, while all those with 14 bad points had failed.

E. F. Kohnle examined the files of 203 boys discharged from German reformatories between 1926 and 1932 of whom 67 per cent had subsequently been reconvicted. In view of the lower ages of his cases, some modification of Schiedt's factors was indicated, but a number of the original factors proved to be of predictive value.

A Swiss criminologist, Dr. Erwin Frey, produced, in 1951, a most determined criticism of American prediction studies and offered a substitute scheme of his own.


He felt that all American studies to that time suffered from inadequate data about early childhood and hereditary factors. He felt that the lack of psychiatric reports, when added to these other inadequacies, produced an undue stress upon social factors. Dr. Frey rejected the idea that a correct prognosis could be made by using a few isolated factors. He particularly criticized the work of the Gluecks in their book, *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*, and their prediction tables for six year olds. Frey felt that prognosis was impossible prior to six years of age.

He devised a highly complicated predictive table which, when applied to 75 cases, proved to be only 9.4 per cent more accurate.

Also in 1951, Dr. Erkki Saari, Director of the Observation and Classification Center at the Jarvilinna State Reformatory in Finland, presented his findings regarding a follow-up study of 465 boys referred to the Center between 1921 and 1927. The average follow-up period was 15 years and five months. Information on file was supplemented by personal interviews. It was found that 53.3 per cent had had no further convictions, while 17.6 per cent had become habitual offenders.

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The total group was divided into recidivists, non-offenders and those having only one subsequent correction. Correlations were then worked out between 21 background factors and subsequent criminal history. Eventually, only three factors were regarded as showing clear correlation with the criterion and these were intelligence level, length of time in the Reformatory and elementary schooling in the Institution.

Hermann Mannheim, in a study of delinquency in Cambridge, England, presented figures indicating a fairly close correlation between pre-probation history and future conduct. An approximate forecast of conduct on probation was felt to be obtainable from a study of Juvenile Court case histories.

Using a scheme of bad and good points, he found that 65 per cent of the eventual probation successes had either no bad points or not more than ten out of a possible 86. The author stressed that in view of the small number of cases, the construction of actual prediction tables was impossible.

Later, Mannheim, with the help of Leslie T. Wilkins, constructed prediction tables for Borstal inmates. This study, published in 1955, was the first research project published under the auspices of the Home Office, in accordance


with Section 77 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. This section gave authority to the Secretary of State to sanction the expenditure of public funds for criminological research.

The authors decided to see how well the information available in official files could be used to predict success after discharge. Thus, they were limited to the official files as sources of data. As a result, their findings can be reproduced by others without special interviewing skills or other resources.

A random sample of one in every three entrants to Borstal Institutions during the period of August 1, 1946 to August 31, 1947 was obtained. An average follow-up period of three and one-half years was employed and "success" was defined as the lack of subsequent convictions, other than a simple fine, up to August 31, 1951. The total sample was divided into a dichotomy of 326 successes and 394 failures. Sixty factors were then considered in relation to success or failure.

The prediction table was based on seven factors and a validation test on 338 other Borstal boys was conducted.

The prediction table itself, its weighting, and method of obtaining the "score" is given in the following tables.
Table 1. Prediction Table for Parole Discharges

For every factor which applies, count the number shown against the item. Result is the basic score.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Add</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If evidence of drunkenness</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If any prior offense(s) result in fine</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If any other offense(s) resulted in committal to prison or Approved School</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If any other offense(s) resulted to term on probation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If not living with parent or parents</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If home is in industrial area</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If longest period in any one job was:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 month</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 4 weeks up to 6 weeks</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 6 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot;</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2 months &quot; &quot; 3 months</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3 &quot; &quot; 1 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot;</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot;</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 6 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot;</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 9 &quot; &quot; 0 &quot; &quot; 12 &quot;</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1 year &quot; &quot; 0 &quot; &quot; 18 &quot;</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 16 months</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the sample it was found that score groups based on the above factors resulted in the following risk categories:

Table 2. Prediction Table Scores Interpreted In Risk Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Risk Category</th>
<th>Number Of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 9.9</td>
<td>7 out of 8 cases successful</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14.9</td>
<td>2 out of 3 cases successful</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 23.9</td>
<td>About an equal chance of success</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 - 30.9</td>
<td>1 out of 3 cases successful</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and over</td>
<td>1 out of 8 cases successful</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Himhein, et al., *op. cit.*., p. 159
The authors stressed that they did not consider this table to be ready for administrative use until further validation studies were completed. Moreover, they emphasized that prediction tables could never totally supplant the individual assessment of the offender by the trained case-worker. The only claim made for the table was that it might provide a framework for a more rational decision or guide to the individual worker's thinking.

Summary

This survey covers the principal follow-up and prediction studies conducted over the past ten years in both the United States and Europe. While American workers originated these studies and have made the larger contribution, recent work in Europe has partially tested the applicability of such studies in other cultural settings.

Two basic prediction techniques are dominant. The Burgess method uses a large number of predictive factors without any weighting, while the Glueck technique uses a few factors in conjunction with a weighting system.

Various problems and findings have been indicated. At this point, it may well be of value to summarize the majority opinion regarding these. The prevailing view, endorsed by the Gluecks, Ohlin, Riess and Mannheim, favors prediction tables based upon a few factors. It also favors the avoidance of subjective factors although they have been successfully used by a number of workers. At the same time, majority opinion would indicate a preference for individual interviews to
supplement data contained in official files. The almost universally accepted view that most relapses occur during the first months after discharge has been disputed by Vold, at least. Most important, the basic controversy between statistical and intuitive individual prediction has not been completely resolved. A compromise position has been taken that neither one alone is sufficient and that an experience table plus an individual prognosis is probably the most reliable judgment.

At the moment, prediction studies are emphasizing three factors. Briefly stated, these are the establishment of more dependable statistical standards, the obtaining of more efficient factors on which to base research and the use of more validation studies to verify present and future tables.

On the basis of the findings of follow-up and prediction studies, some generally accepted predictive factors have been derived. They are:

1. **Age at Time of Consideration for Release.**

   This factor is said to be highly important. Youthfulness, per se, is an indication of possible maladjustment and turmoil. When allied with the destructive elements arising from past criminal acts, it often results in recidivism.

2. **Onset of Delinquency.**

   This factor is even more significant than that of age alone, for on the basis of numerous studies, it has been

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found that the individual who begins his criminal career as a mature adult is more likely to be rehabilitated than the offender who began his criminal career early in life.

3. Marital Status.

Practically every study has established the fact that the married man on parole does much better than the single, widowed or divorced offender.

4. Recidivism.

In relation to recidivism, it has been determined that the first, and the occasional offenders offer the best hopes for rehabilitation.

5. Conduct While Incarcerated.

While most studies indicate that those with no institutional punishment record are the most hopeful, an objective study of the individual is probably necessitated to evaluate this factor in a given case.


Good industrial habits are a highly favorable and significant factor in the assessment of probable parole success.

7. Nativity.

Statistics indicate that crime is a phenomenon not of the foreign born, but of the native born and, more generally, the native born of foreign born parents.

8. Type of Offense.

In view of the conflicting findings, the best that can be said is that the importance of this factor as an actuarial indicator of possible success is not yet clearly determined.
Because of the few universally accepted findings, administrative bodies have not generally adopted the use of prediction instruments. However there would seem to be a beginning trend towards their greater use. The State of Illinois has given official endorsement to the use of prediction tables. Moreover, the State of Washington has, for the past few years, been using prediction techniques on an experimental basis, and in the future hopes to adopt them as routine policy.

Finally, it should be re-emphasized that majority opinion indicates a preference for individual interviews with members of a sample group in order to supplement officially recorded data.

The desirability and need of such an approach in future studies within the New Haven setting will be discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 3

AN EVALUATION OF THE ADEQUACY OF RECORDED DATA FOR PROSPECTIVE STUDIES OF NEW HAVEN GRADUATES

This chapter will be devoted to an appraisal of the research resources available for prospective follow-up and prediction studies of New Haven inmates. Some emphasis will be placed upon problems of methodology as these relate to the data required for possible future studies. However, our main concern will be with the presence, type and quality of information available for, and adaptable to, such research projects.

Focus of Future Studies in the New Haven Setting

The material required for a research project is primarily determined by the nature and focus of the proposed investigation. Within the New Haven setting, two broad categories of studies are possible. The first general category would include those studies concerned with delinquency and delinquents apart from any consideration of rehabilitative programs. Studies of this nature would confine their interests to such typical problems as the etiology, prevention and early diagnosis of delinquency. Research approaches of this nature could utilize New Haven as one possible source of legally defined delinquents.

The second category of possible research would concern itself with studies of New Haven delinquents in relation to the treatment program operative in that institution. While
this type of study would produce a more limited contribution to our total field of knowledge, it might well be the more valid type of study and less liable to certain fundamental criticisms of sampling procedures. It is an axiom of criminological research that incarcerated offenders are not necessarily a true sampling of all criminals. Moreover, the New Haven population is not even representative of incarcerated delinquents. It was previously indicated that, to a considerable degree, eligibility for New Haven is dependent in part upon normal intelligence and a relatively favorable prognosis. These selective factors prevent this inmate group from being a representative sample of the total institutionalized criminal element. At best, the New Haven group is a valid sample of some of the more intelligent, more promising incarcerated offenders.

Because of these limitations, future research efforts might best be expended in attempts to determine or predict the after effects of the Borstal program upon ex-inmates. This particular approach is the paramount concern of follow-up and prediction studies.

Nature of the Criteria Possible for Prospective Studies

If future studies are to evaluate or predict the influence of confinement upon discharged inmates, certain appropriate criteria need to be established. While our present objective is not to define specific criteria in particular terms, an effort will be made to indicate the nature of such

1 See Chapter 1
criteria. Various standards can be used to adjudge the success or failure of persons subjected to peno-correctional treatment. The criteria selected will reflect the interests and requirements of those doing the study. However, there are generally accepted standards against which success or failure can be measured.

The common criterion of all follow-up studies related to correctional programs is the incidence of subsequent criminality. This can be fairly easily determined in terms of convictions for indictable offenses within this province and subsequent sentences of incarceration within either the Oakalla or Prince George Provincial Gaols. Non-indictable offenses and offenses committed in other provinces present certain problems of information gathering. These will be discussed in a later section.

The criterion of subsequent convictions may be used singly or in combinations with other criteria designed to determine adjustment in other areas of behavior. The use of this criterion reduces problems of measurement. It also has the decided advantage of being entirely objective and unequivocal. An ex-inmate has either been reconvicted or he has not. The most obvious rationale for the use of this criterion is that the reconvicted dischargee is adjudged a failure by due process of law and is recognized by the community as such an offender.

Such a criterion is unassailable on legal grounds. For, technically, at least, the administrators of the criminal
law are concerned only with violators thereof, not with near violators nor with the types of personal or social adjustment which might conceivably lead to violations.

From a social viewpoint, this criterion is unsatisfactory. An individual who has experienced frequent arrests, has no visible means of support, associates with known criminals, bears an unsavory reputation, or manifests a high degree of social instability certainly has not made a satisfactory adjustment to society. For this reason some attempt to overcome this restrictive evaluation should be made.

Other criteria have been established and can be adapted to the New Haven setting. These further criteria have been devised to estimate adjustment within the economic, social, physical and mental spheres and have already been discussed in some detail. However, it should be recognized here that such broadening of criteria does not necessarily produce an increased accuracy of evaluation. Frequently, these further standards are dependent upon measurements of adjustment which cannot be generally accepted. If further standards are necessary to heighten the validity of a future study of New Haven releases, the ideal approach would be to formulate these standards in terms of certain objective facts rather than subjective value judgements within the specific sphere. At the same time, of course, the standard of measurement should be both reliable and valid. The ideal is difficult to attain. Nevertheless, it is felt that the problems involved are not insoluble and possible solutions can be obtained.
Length of Release Period Prior to Application of Criteria

No matter what criteria are employed, it is felt that their most valid application is during the post-parole period. Borstal is an integrated program of institutional treatment and supervised parole. Therefore, the ultimate value of the total program for the individual offender can only be assessed at some time following the completion of his parole. Anything short of this is an evaluation of adjustment prior to the termination of the individual's total treatment. However, if follow-up studies are to be used as a basis for prediction, these ideal conditions of criterion application must be sacrificed in favor of determining the number and nature of those who fail while on parole as well as those who are subsequently convicted after the parole. Otherwise, a prediction table loses a good deal of its operational value.

The actual length of a follow-up period is dependent upon further practical considerations as well. Two demands must be met. The first is that the follow-up period be of sufficient length to afford an adequate testing period. The second requirement is that the base year chosen must be sufficiently recent to represent the typical institutional program as it now exists. New Haven was reopened in November, 1947, and the present program was evolved by 1952 when a full-time Director of the After Care Association had been active for about one year. As a result, it would be best to use some year after 1952, possibly 1953, as the base year.

For example, if a study is initiated by 1956, a
minimum post-parole follow-up period of more than one year is impossible if all the discharges occurring in 1955 are included in the study. The reason for this is that a number of these discharged offenders may have indefinite sentences of two years which must be served on parole. At the same time, a considerable number of these discharges would have had individual post parole periods well over this minimum due to their shorter parole period. It would be possible to achieve a post institutional period of at least three years. It has been indicated that the latest English follow-up study used an average period of release from the institution of three and one-half years. The authors felt that this was quite adequate in view of the fact that the monthly rate of failure at the end of three years was less than 0.5 percent. The utilization of November, 1952, to November, 1953, as the base year would approximate a similar testing period to that used in the prior English project.

Applicability of These Approaches to the New Haven Setting in Terms of the Availability of the Necessary Data

No matter how good the research design may be in terms of the criteria employed, the period under investigation or the nature of the sample group, its excellence will be of little value unless the raw material of research, sufficient and reliable information, is available.

What data are required depends upon the factors chosen for analysis. This in turn is dependent upon the interests and training of the individual or group conducting

the investigation. The factors that are finally included in a follow-up study cannot be more than a sample of all the factors involved in the shaping of the individual offender's adjustment following his discharge. As a result, the inclusion of a factor is usually determined by the availability of information related to the factor and the known/conjectural relevance of the factor to subsequent adjustment.

A reasonably comprehensive inventory of factors would include subsequent criminality, industrial status, family relationships, leisure time activities and habits, economic obligations and health. Their inclusion would depend upon suspicions that these factors have some bearing on whether or not a given individual becomes a recidivist. On the basis of this, they would be considered for incorporation in a study of New Haven graduates. However, it is at this point that the second standard for selectivity of factors comes into operation. There must be sufficient adaptable information available relating to each factor if its inclusion is to increase the total value of the proposed study.

Sources of Information Related to the Included Factors

There are two main sources of information relating to an individual New Haven inmate. The individual, himself, can be consulted and/or the files of the institution, the After Care Association, and other interested agencies can be examined. While both these approaches together are not always possible, it is understandable that the ultimate value of the
research is enhanced if both methods can be adopted.

If an intensive follow-up study of New Haven graduates is to be produced, some information must be obtained directly from the ex-inmate. An adequate study should be interested in the offender's conduct beyond the expiration of parole and should also make some effort to measure adjustment by more than the simple criterion of subsequent criminality. The only source of information about post-parole behavior, apart from criminal behavior, is the offender, himself. Unless the offender is reconvicted, there is not likely to be any official record of his subsequent behavior. For purposes of prediction, it may also be essential to learn more about pre-institutional behavior. Here, again, the inmate may have to be consulted.

**Difficulties in the Use of Direct Contact as a Source of Information**

Undoubtedly, the need to contact the ex-offender presents certain philosophical and methodological difficulties. Probably the most common, if not the most valid, objection to this method is that it is an imposition or unwarranted disturbance to the individual to pursue him after he has terminated treatment. This objection is probably grossly over exaggerated. A good many inmates would be most cooperative if their help was sought to point the way, through research, to better services for future offenders. Even on such a delicate subject as unmarried motherhood, one research worker found little difficulty in securing cooperation once it was explained that the agency's
purpose was to give better help to other clients in a similar predicament. Moreover, a good many people are pleased to talk of themselves and are flattered and gratified that their own experiences are considered worthy of scientific exploration. A further objection to this method is the fear that it will open old wounds and endanger the individual's present adjustment. In relation to this, one can only point out that if a client's adjustment is so tenuous and unstable that a mere recollection of former difficulties is likely to do harm then one would certainly want to know if it as it cannot have been much of an adjustment in the first place.

Finally, this method has been objected to as a betrayal of the individual's right to confidentiality. This cannot be seen as a major objection if the manner of locating the person and any search for information through collateral resources is conducted in such a way that the client's wishes are respected and confidential information is protected. It is presumed that these precautions would be taken by those conducting a future study of the New Haven setting.

While numerous practical problems may be involved in contacting inmates for information, we shall restrict our discussion to two of the more common. These are, first, the time, energy and expense involved in locating the individual;

and second, the possibility that the individual, aware that he is the subject of research and wishing to appear in a favorable light, may "structure" his behavior accordingly. A single solution may exist for both these problems.

If an intensive follow-up and prediction study of New Haven Graduates was to be initiated, it would be desirable to request the inmate's cooperation as part of the institutional admission routine. In this way, the inmate, upon discharge, could be requested to notify those conducting the study of his changes of address and, thus, minimize the problem of locating him after release. Furthermore, this technique would provide a sufficient length of time to have elapsed since the initial request for cooperation for the inmate to be more likely to react in his own typical manner than to have maintained a facade of conventionality over a lengthy period.

Such an approach, necessitates a certain waiting period before the actual follow-up can be conducted. If this cannot be tolerated, then the appeal for cooperation must be made at some time closer to either institutional or parole discharge. If there is need for immediate study, then the previously mentioned follow-up period will have to be used. In such an eventuality, the ex-inmate's cooperation will have to be solicited some three years after his discharge.

This approach would represent the ideal if it was employed in conjunction with information contained within official files. There are merits involved in the use of official records. Because much more attention has been given
to their limitations, it is profitable to consider some of the values inherent in the use of such records.

Data for official files are originally obtained for administrative purposes and seldom for the purpose of research. This fact means that those concerned with research are often faced with problems of interpretation and standardization of data. But it also means that whatever conclusions are finally arrived at can be repeated by other researchers with access to the same files, providing the official data and recording methods are relatively standardized. This is of considerable importance with regard to validation studies.

If objective facts can be sorted from the official files and subjective impressions avoided, comparability becomes more precise. If for example, the concept of Industrial Status is defined in terms of the number of jobs over a given period and the average duration of these jobs, a more precise analysis is afforded than if Industrial Status is defined in more subjective terms. When it is possible to obtain facts or objective measures, these should always be obtained and, unless there is evidence to the contrary, regarded as preferable to subjective measurements.

The use of official files has the further considerable advantage of being more economical of both time and money than other approaches.

**Use of Official Files as Sources of Information**

The value of official files for purposes of follow-up and prediction studies of New Haven inmates depends to a great
extent upon what area of subsequent adjustment is being considered. For example, if a follow-up study is concerned with subsequent criminality, the official files become the major, if not the only, source of objective information. However, if other factors or areas of adjustment, are to be considered as well, then official files are more likely to be primarily used as a supplementary source of data.

In this section, some indication of the data available will be given. For convenience of presentation, the recorded data will be considered under the headings of criminality, industrial and economic status, family relationships, leisure time activities and health. These are all possible areas of adjustment that might prove to be of interest to a future study.

**Criminality**

The factor of criminality assumes paramount importance in any follow-up study of ex-inmates. This is a factor about which the offender, if contacted, is most likely to withhold or modify information. While such withholding or modification of information is of considerable interest, a research project would undoubtedly require a less equivocal source of information than the individual's own narrative. As a result, considerable reliance will be placed upon the use of official files.

A prediction or follow-up study will be concerned with criminality occurring within four periods of time. These periods are pre-institutional, institutional, parole and
post-parole. The available data will be considered under these headings.

1. Pre-Institutional

If the inmate has lived in British Columbia all his life then the information relating to previous criminality contained within the New Haven file, under the headings "Previous Record", and "Court Record", is likely to be complete. However, if it is indicated, usually by the Personal History, that the individual has moved to British Columbia from another province, some further check may be necessary. This further check will entail writing to the appropriate authority in the individual's "home" province for the necessary data.

Information relating to previous offenses is originally obtained by the Probation Officer, in compiling his pre-sentence report for the court, or by the court clerk. Such information includes the nature of the offense, the trial date and the resulting institutional sentence, usually to the Boys' Industrial School, period on probation or a fine. This information can be considered to be accurate and complete so far as it goes.

If further information about the circumstances of the offense, the family situation at the time of the offense and other matters are felt to be necessary, certain difficulties arise. In the larger population centers, earlier pre-sentence reports can be obtained from the files of the Provincial Probation Service or the municipal probation service attached
to the local juvenile court. Unfortunately these resources are not available throughout the province and information regarding the possible contributing factors to previous offenses cannot be universally obtained.

In every case, it is possible to obtain the number of previous offenses, when these occurred and how they were dealt with by the court. The greatest contribution of such information is that it indicates the duration and intensity of the criminal career prior to present institutionalization. This data is of considerable importance in establishing prediction tables, evaluating the results of the New Haven program or determining the representativeness of the sample group.

The present offense will also be of interest and recorded data on this matter are quite extensive. A cursory glance at the New Haven file will reveal the date of the offense, the date of the trial, the date of arrival at the institution, the type of offense and the sentence received. The name of the sentencing judge or magistrate is also included.

More detailed information about the offense itself and the circumstances contributing to it can be found on the Discharge Report, prepared for the Parole Board, and the Pre-Sentence Report, prepared for the sentencing court official. The offense is described in some detail from information obtained from the offender, the complainant and/or the arresting officers. The circumstances of the offense are primarily the circumstances described by the offender. Under these headings would be found such information as, for example,
the following:

"Gerry had been drinking with his two friends, Tom and Pat in Pat's father's car. When Tom and Pat left for the dance at the Forrester's Hall, Gerry remained in the car. Another friend, Bill Wi, came by and asked for a ride home. After drinking two or three more bottles of beer, Gerry agreed. The trip to Bill's house was uneventful but on the return trip the car overturned causing some seven hundred dollars worth of damage. Gerry claims to have reported this to Pat's father and arrangements were made to pay for the damages. Later, Pat's father notified the police. Gerry feels he has been punished for 'doing the right thing'. He states that he could have well 'covered up' the fact that he was driving the car and no one would have been the wiser." ¹

Information such as this affords the reader an opportunity to gain some insight into the factors contributing to the offense and some of the offender's feelings about the offense. In a great many instances, the offender will rationalize and project his guilt but this is also of significance to the acute observer.

2. Institutional Record

It is not common for criminality, in the sense of indictable offenses, to persist during confinement. However, the institution is a community, itself, and it possesses its own formal code of law. One rough criterion of an individual's adjustment during his institutionalization is whether or not he openly conflicts with the rules of that smaller community.

Opinion varies as to how accurate a criterion this is. Some claim that conformity is merely a facade which is more easily affected by the experienced offender. While this

¹ An attempt has been made to disguise identifying data in all quotations from files.
may be so in some cases in some institutions; it is less likely to be true of the majority of the New Haven population. This is primarily due to the fact that New Haven inmates are mostly neophytes to incarceration, and the nature of the program itself permits more intimate knowledge of the inmate than in the larger correctional units.

At any rate, this is an area of behavior that should be considered within any parole or follow-up study because it is a factor that often weighs heavily in the determination of eligibility for parole. As noted previously, a New Haven inmate applies for his senior status and eligibility to appear before the Parole Board. One of the determining factors at the time of application is his conformity to the rules of the institution. The same factor is again considered at the parole hearing. For these reasons, therefore, institutional conformity should be considered in any future study whose end product may be the establishment of prediction tables.

Information about breaches of institutional discipline contained within the New Haven file is not extensive. Probably, from an administrative point of view, there is no need for detailed recording of such data. What is recorded is succinct and undoubtedly valid.

Offenses and subsequent punishments are recorded in chronological order. These entries are quite brief. The following samples can be considered typical.
April 9, 1955.

"Gambling with cards in the dormitory—after being warned. Suspended sentence for one month."


"Throwing water at other lads during working hours. To remain a probationary senior for one month."

It will be noted that the offenses are not "serious" in the usual meaning of the word but they do represent breaches of the institutional code as interpreted by the staff. It should also be recognized that the personal feelings of the staff may tend to color what they see as a breach of the institutional code.

This data may be supplemented in certain cases by further information contained within the Discharge Report prepared by the caseworker at the time of the lad's appearance before the Parole Board. Under the sub-title "Personality", there is often a brief summary of the boy's conduct within the institution. For example,

"This lad has been in some trouble for childish mischief, but on the whole, his behavior here has not been out of the ordinary."

The data on the file is not extensive, but, when coupled with the caseworker's summary contained in the Discharge Report, it is sufficient to indicate the inmate's ability to adjust and conform to the rules of the institution.
3. Post Institutional or Parole Period

After the individual is granted his parole, he re-enters the larger community. Here, he is once more a possible offender in the general sense of that term. If he does incur a subsequent conviction while on parole or violates his parole the information is recorded within the files of the British Columbia Borstal Association, the supervising agency.

A revocation of parole usually results from a violation in the conditions laid down in the order for Release on License. These conditions include abstaining from any violation of the law and, thus, a subsequent conviction is technically a violation of parole. The action for revocation is often initiated by the individual sponsor and is finalized by the British Columbia Parole Board. On occasions, a revocation order is often used as a preventative measure to prohibit the parolee from committing a further offense. That is, the sponsor may know that the boy intends or is likely to commit an offense and will request a revocation in order to prevent this occurrence and protect both society and the parolee.

All revocations of parole are recorded within the files of the British Columbia Borstal Association along with the monthly report of the boy's sponsor. The monthly reports, in

1 See Appendix B.
such cases, provide an indication of the boy's relationship to the sponsor and his conformity prior to revocation. For example,

"He was to report to me again but to date I have had no contact with him even after several telephone calls to his home".

The most expedient check as to whether or not a revocation order has been issued to a specific boy is to check his name in the central registry of the British Columbia Borstal Association. Each release from New Haven is entered in this book according to the date of his release. A code letter F is placed alongside the boy's name if he is either reconvicted or violates his parole. If this letter is adjacent to the boy's name, his personal file should be consulted and the exact nature of the violation or reconviction will be indicated.

As each discharged inmate has an individual sponsor, it is virtually impossible not to know of the boy's outcome on parole. This data can be considered as being accurate and adequate in the sense that all revocations of parole, whether for subsequent convictions or other violations of the conditions of license are recorded.

4. Post Parole Criminality

Once the offender has completed his parole period, he resumes the role of a free citizen with all the rights and responsibilities that such a role entails. To put it briefly, he is once more "on his own". His behavior during this period
constitutes the pragmatic test of the prior correctional program he has experienced. As a result, it is of primary importance in gauging adjustment to determine whether or not the offender has returned to his earlier pattern of criminality.

If an absence of subsequent convictions for indictable offenses is taken as a criterion of success in the area of criminality, there are several approaches to obtaining the necessary information.

The first step, of course, is to eliminate those who have been institutionalized as a result of parole revocation. The individuals that remain are those that have successfully completed their parole. Their names can then be cleared through the Records Offices of Oakalla Prison Farm and the Prince George Goal. Such a clearing will disclose whether the individual is now serving or has served a sentence either in the two provincial institutions or within the New Westminster Federal Penitentiary. All those awaiting trial for an indictable offense are held within either the Oakalla or Prince George Goals and, as a result, their ultimate disposal is recorded on the files of these institutions. Even though the offender has been granted bail prior to a court hearing, he will, if found guilty, enter one of the provincial goals either to serve his sentence therein or to await a transfer to the Federal Penitentiary. Because of this, it is possible to determine whether or not he has been convicted of an indictable
offense within the Province of British Columbia since his discharge from parole.

Those members of the sample group who survive this initial sifting process cannot necessarily be considered free from further convictions for indictable offenses however. A boy may have completed his parole and incurred a conviction in some other province. To eliminate any doubt resulting from this possibility it is then necessary to check the individual through the central fingerprint files of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Ottawa. It may be thought to be more efficient to have cleared all the sample group through this agency at the outset. However, considerable time can be saved by initially making the first check through the Provincial Goals' records. This results in a smaller list being forwarded to Ottawa and will further hasten the total process.

All those who survive the clearance through the files of the British Columbia Goals should have their fingerprints forwarded to Ottawa for further checking. Their fingerprints are on record at either the Oakalla or Prince George Goal as a result of their previous sentence to New Haven. Before clearing fingerprints through the central fingerprint files of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, written permission must be obtained from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioner, Department of Justice, Ottawa. A clearance through the Central Registry will provide as objective and as complete a picture of subsequent convictions for indictable offenses in Canada as
it is possible to obtain.

Unfortunately, it cannot be considered ideal. While all convictions for indictable offenses throughout Canada are to be reported to the Central Registry in Ottawa, this does not include convictions of juvenile offenders. There is no uniform definition of a juvenile across Canada, however. In British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec, a juvenile is anyone under the age of eighteen years. Newfoundland considers anyone under seventeen years to be a juvenile. The remainder of the provinces define anyone apparently or actually under the age of sixteen years as a juvenile. Because of the variety of definitions of a juvenile, it is not possible to obtain an absolute check on further criminality of any boy under eighteen years of age throughout the whole of Canada. This need not seriously hamper a prospective study. It is unlikely that a large number of New Haven boys would be under eighteen years of age after their final discharge from parole. If necessary, a sample group could be obtained that eliminated anyone falling into this age category after their final discharge.

Should a more extensive criterion of success be used than subsequent convictions for indictable offenses, then certain other files need to be consulted. Some inmates may enlist in the armed services upon their discharge and information contained within their service file would be worth consideration in relation to post parole criminality. If a boy has been dishonorably discharged or received numerous punish-
ments with the service for breaches of discipline, it would seem that he has not made a good adjustment within that setting at least. While the majority of those entering the services would be in the Army, a sprinkling would be found in the Royal Canadian Air Force or the Royal Canadian Navy.

In all cases, where data contained within the service record is desired, a letter stating the request must be sent to the Commanding Officer of the service within this area. If permission is granted, then the individual can be located either by name or by the use of his fingerprints. If the individual is serving under an alias and has not disclosed his criminal record it would seem to be an invasion of his privacy to disclose this record through locating him by the fingerprints obtained at the time of his entrance to the Provincial Goal. The majority of those ex-inmates in the services could be contacted by name. Those serving under an alias would remain undetected but their number would likely be so small that it would not seriously deplete the sample.

If the criterion is broadened to include both the indictable and non-indictable offenses, then local police and court files would have to be consulted.

Non-indictable offenses include all offenses against provincial statutes and municipal by-laws. Despite the consideration of such offenses in studies by the Gluecks and others, it is debatable to what extent they indicate criminal proclivity. Many are breaches of municipal by-laws and are contrary to
public safety, health and comfort as, for example, parking violations, but they do not involve violence, cruelty or serious dishonesty. On the other hand, a good number are as serious as contributing to juvenile delinquency. In any consideration of non-indictable offenses it should be remembered that they are greatly influenced by the customs of the people and by the application and degree of enforcement of municipal regulations. These differ from place to place and from year to year and affect non-indictable offenses much more than they do indictable crimes.

The only manner in which such convictions can be checked with any degree of certainty is by clearing the individual's name and fingerprints through local police departments. No central records of non-indictable offenses are kept. This constitutes a further limitation to the incorporation of this type of offense in the criterion of success. It is virtually impossible to clear a man through all municipal, provincial and federal police files. As a result, some compromise would have to be effected. The most logical one would seem to be to clear the individual through those police files within or immediately adjacent to his community. For example, a man living in Vancouver might be cleared through the records of the Vancouver Police Department, the New Westminster Police Department and, possibly even, the Victoria Police Department. This would include the major population centres of the Lower Mainland but it is still far from the ideal.

Such a clearing would disclose whether or not he had
been convicted of a non-indictable offense and what sentence had been meted out. In considering convictions for traffic offenses, a type of non-indictable offense often associated with the age group sixteen to twenty-four, some standard of severity must be established. It would not seem proper to consider a single traffic offense as being an indication of the ex-inmate's failure to adjust. Some arbitrary figure must be set and perhaps the standard of five such convictions used by the Gluecks is as adequate as any.

If the criterion is to be broadened to include crimes committed by the offender without subsequent conviction, then official files are useless. The only source of this information is the ex-inmate, himself, and it would seem to be a matter of considerable conjecture as to how much of this information he would be likely to reveal.

Summary

In relation to criminal behavior during the post-parole period, it may be said that official files can provide the most adequate information if the criterion involved is concerned only with further convictions for indictable offenses. Data needed for more extensive criteria that include non-indictable offenses, conduct within the armed forces, and crimes committed without subsequent convictions, are less likely to be readily obtained from official files and may even require the full and frank cooperation of the ex-inmate himself. As a result, the most expedient criterion would seem to be one
Other Factors

As stated earlier, the factor of criminality is only one of several factors that may be included in a follow-up or prediction study. Other factors need to be considered to give a well-rounded picture of the individual's progress or lack of it and perhaps some indication of what may have contributed to his present stage of development.

We can only consider a sample of all the possible factors and have arbitrarily chosen the factors of vocational and economic status, family relationships, leisure time activities, habits and interests, plus physical and mental health. These factors will be considered under time categories of the pre-institutional, institutional, parole and post-parole periods. While our concern is only with the data contained within the official files, it must be remembered that really adequate information regarding these factors, especially information relating to the post-parole period, can only be obtained through direct contact with the ex-offender.

Vocational and Economic Status

The individual in our society is required to make satisfactory adjustment in many areas. One of the more important of these is the vocational area. It is a well-established generalization that people who cannot make an appropriate vocational adjustment usually have difficulty in other areas. Likewise, it is true that the indecision,
dependency and immaturity that may immobilize the individual in facets of his everyday life may also prevent him from attaining a satisfactory work record.

Correctional programs have traditionally stressed the teaching of trades and the inculcation of the habits of industry. Their purpose in doing so has often been a strange mixture of both punishing and "treating" the inmate. Whatever the motivation, the majority of correctional programs place considerable stress upon furthering habits of industry.

Economic deprivation has long been considered a causative factor in crime. While the majority of boys that have been raised in conditions of economic deprivation suffer few ill effects and never become delinquent, it is generally accepted that these same conditions are not conducive to the development and maintenance of normal, healthy personalities. It is also true that success, in this culture, is often defined in terms of salaries and personal possessions. For this reason, then, it is appropriate to include the factors of vocational adjustment and economic status within a follow-up or prediction study.

Our main concern, in this section, is with the individual's vocational record and the economic status either he or his family have attained.

1. Pre-Institutional

The first source of recorded information pertaining to
pre-institutional economic status and work record is the Pre-Sentence Report prepared by the Provincial Probation Branch. A copy of this report is usually attached to the New Haven file.

Information regarding a subject's vocational record can be found under the heading Personal History and/or under a separate heading of Employment. The recorded data indicates at what grade the individual left school and very often includes his reason for leaving. For example,

"he has been working since the age of sixteen, when he left school after completing Grade Seven, in order to help his mother support herself and his two younger brothers".

The actual work history itself is reported in a summary form and may or may not include the dates of employment, the exact type of employment and the reasons for termination of employment. In many cases, the lack of a detailed employment record makes this aspect of the Pre-Sentence Report of little use for research purposes. For example, a summary of employment may state,

"Myron has had various jobs since March, 1953. He worked for a short time with the Highball Logging Company until he was laid off. Approximately one week ago, he obtained employment in Duncan with a small logging company".

This information indicates only that this boy has been employed in logging operations for two short periods since March, 1953.

When the subject has had a record of steady employment
this data is more satisfactory as it merely records what job was held and when it was started.

To augment the information contained in the Pre-Sentence Report, the New Haven Pace Sheet can be consulted. Under the heading of Work Record it is possible to obtain a concise but much more illuminating record of employment. For example, the following excerpt is from the same file as that quoted above.

July, 1954 - 1 week - Employed cutting bush but left to return home to Ladysmith.  
July, 1954 - 3 weeks - Helped a friend in a cafe but was not paid wages.  
August, 1954 - September, 1954 - Employed by Highball Logging Company as a choker and signalman.  
Was fired without being told why.  
September, 1954 - Returned to Vancouver and delivered telegrams. Quit because of poor pay."

This type of recording gives a more detailed picture of the boy's employment. It indicates a sporadic and nomadic work history at unskilled and generally low paying jobs which were terminated as a result of his dissatisfaction or his dismissal. From this it is possible to make a rough evaluation of the subject's vocational adjustment prior to his confinement in New Haven.

It is a much more difficult problem to satisfactorily determine the economic status of the subject and/or his family. Various indications of the economic status can be found throughout the various files but there does not seem
to be any attempt to gather specific information about the factor and categorize it separately from the other data.

As a result, much must be left to conjecture. It is possible, however, to learn from the file what the parent's occupation is and this can give some indication of the family economic status. It is also possible, if the subject is a resident of Vancouver, to clear his or his parents' names through the Social Service Index. This would disclose any reliance upon Welfare Agencies for economic maintenance. Because of these limitations, only a rough indication of economic status can be defined if the subject himself is not consulted.

2. Institutional

Each boy is employed on the cleaning detail upon entrance to New Haven. On the basis of the Lee and Thorpe Occupational Interest Inventory and the level of performance displayed on the cleaning detail, the inmate is then assigned either to the Metal Work Shop, the Woodwork Shop, the Kitchen or the Farm Crew. In this way, an attempt is made to have each boy placed in a work area that would seem to be most appropriate to his needs and interests.

Information relating to work record within the institution is recorded as part of the inmate's monthly progress report. Furthermore, the discharge report prepared for the British Columbia Parole Board by the Institutional Caseworker, Mr. Goad, contains a summary of the subject's work progress at New Haven.
The Work Reports are written by the individual boy's instructor and are interpreted to the boy by the caseworker. The report and the caseworker's impressions after discussing the report with the inmate are recorded.

The report submitted by the instructor is not organized under any specific structure but is a descriptive paragraph of the impression that the inmate has made. These reports are often prefaced by such evaluative remarks as "very good", "good" or "poor".

The report is quite brief and impressionistic. To illustrate:

"Good.
This lad shows a lot of improvement lately especially since he has started (building) the new poultry house. Tries very hard to make a good impression although he slips once in a while. However, he is a willing worker, mechanically inclined."

or

"Fair.
Willing worker but not too able to accept instruction and rebels at orders. Inclined to disregard advice."

The Work Record section of the Discharge Report contains the results of the Occupational Interest Test and some indication of the standard of work reached within the institution. Two sample reports follows:

"At New Haven he has worked in the Metal Shop and has had good reports for his interest and workmanship."

and

"At New Haven he has spent his training
time in the Woodwork Shop and is now foreman with this group. His work has been good and he has been quite helpful with the other lads but, on occasion, has been a bit too cocksure for the instructor's liking."

These monthly Discharge Reports could lend themselves to some grading of a boy's vocational record within the institution which might be of interest in a future study. However, it is not felt that they could be used for anything more definite than that.

3. Parole

Prior to discharge from the institution suitable employment must be obtained for the inmate. When this is assured, the boy is released under the supervision of his sponsor. The latter submits a monthly report to the Director of the British Columbia Borstal Association.

These reports constitute the only recorded material of the boy's subsequent vocational and economic status. Unfortunately, for both administrative and research purposes, there is no standardized report form and information relevant to this and other factors may or may not be included.

This is more likely to be true of the economic status of the individual than it is of his work record. On the basis of the work record, one can assume what the economic status may be but this is hardly considered to be good practice.

Whether or not the boy is working is usually included in the monthly report as it is generally accepted to be of paramount importance that the parolee maintain steady employ-
ment. One of the conditions of his parole states that the parolee must

"obey such instructions that may be given with regard to punctual and regular attendance at employment".

4. Post Parole

There is no adequate method of deriving information regarding economic and vocational status during this period short of direct communication with the ex-inmate. Occasionally, a boy may write to the institution to inform them of his progress or the relationship with the sponsor may carry over into this period and the sponsor may have knowledge of subsequent adjustment. But this cannot be relied upon.

The National Employment Service files only disclose the jobs and contacts where that agency has been instrumental in providing employment for the individual. In many cases, they may have no record of a boy.

The Social Service Index can offer information regarding contact with various social welfare agencies which would open up further avenues to determining a boy's economic status. None of these sources is adequate by itself for follow-up purposes.

Family Relationships

The factor of family relationships should be considered in any prospective study of New Haven Inmates whether the focus of the study is to evaluate the degree of success attained by
the individual or to provide a basis for the prediction of his future behavior. As the family is the basic medium of socialization, it is the most important conditioning factor of future behavior. At the same time, a happy, integrated family unit indicates a fairly good level of adjustment on the part of its members. Thus, a poor family background, prior to incarceration, indicates certain categories of risk in terms of prediction and a poor family relationship after discharge is indicative of some measure of maladjustment.

1. Pre-Institutional

The focus on family relationships will include not only the relationship within the inmate's parental home but also in his own home if he is a married man.

The first indication of the family relationship within the parental home is recorded upon the New Haven face sheet where the parents' names, ages, occupations and present marital status can be obtained.

More extensive information is available in the Pre-Sentence Report, Discharge Report, and the Medical Officer's Report. The Pre-Sentence Report includes a section on Family History. Herein can be found brief sketches of the members of the family and their inter-relationships. The form these take is indicated below:

Father - Age 39 years. Living in Seattle. Employed as a swamper for Pacific Express. He has shown little interest in the family and is not considered to be a good influence on them.
Mother - Nee Lewno - age 38. Has been separated from her husband for 12 years. She was in receipt of $110 per month maintenance from her husband but he has not paid this for some two months. Subject was 8 years old at time of separation.


- Thomas - age 20 - subject."

If the probation officer compiling the report feels that the home has a negative influence upon the subject, he will indicate this in his summary and recommendations. For example:

"Ronald seems to be acting according to a pattern which his mother is unable to cope with as a result of her own poor example. The father's departure from the home robs the boy of a male figure with whom he may identify."

If the subject is married, relevant data can be found within the same report. Such data includes the date of the marriage, the birth dates of any children resulting from the marriage and an indication of the husband-wife relationship.

The Psychiatric Report submitted by the Medical Officer is rarely excluded from a boy's file and can be consulted for information regarding family relationships. Excellent information can often be obtained as a result. The following illustration is taken from a file that was picked at random.

"He has never had a satisfactory affectional relationship with his family and has no understanding parental figure with whom to identify. It is possible that his mother is rejecting and punitive. Having had a poor relationship with
his father, Donald is confused regarding his role as a male. He shows the results of basic insecurity extending from early childhood. At the same time, he is jealous of his sisters and any male that may take an interest in his mother."

Such information is quite good as can be seen from the above illustration.

Finally, the Discharge Report includes a brief mention of the family status under the separate headings of Birth and Development and Marital Status.

Information relating to the type and nature of the family relationship prior to incarceration is often very good in terms of its availability and pertinence.

2. Institutional

Data relating to the effect of the inmate's incarceration upon the family relationship are not organized under any specific heading and must be gleaned through a scanning of the total file.

A chronological record of visits and discussions of monthly reports kept by the caseworker provides certain data which are indicative of the strength of the family relationship. In discussing with a boy the progress he has made during the month, the boy may volunteer information about the relationship with his parents or wife. He may state that he has been disgruntled for some time because he has received no letters or visits. He may discuss his fears of a growing gap between him and his wife or their plans for the future.
Similar problems may be discussed with other members of staff who then may incorporate such information into their monthly reports. If such information is required for research purposes, it is necessary to scan all the monthly reports.

The caseworker usually interviews the parents or wife of an inmate when they visit and his recording of such interviews often throws considerable light upon the present relationship. For example:

"Father stated that he felt he had failed to spend enough time with the boy due to pressure of work. Claimed that he was often impatient because of business worries and his impatience often precipitated a quarrel with the boy. Since Zed came to New Haven, Mr. Wilkins has visited regularly. After release, he plans to devote more time to the boy and give him every encouragement."

The number of visits or letters a boy receives can also be used as an index of the strength of the family relationship during this critical period. Such information is recorded separately from the file and requires considerable time spent in scanning mail and visit registry sheets to obtain.

3. Parole and Post Parole

It is not easy to ascertain the nature of the family relationships from data available in the British Columbia Borstal Association files. This difficulty is due largely to the rather informal reporting process employed by the individual sponsors. Developments that may endanger the boy's parole are most likely to be recorded. Other developments may or may not be included in the report. At any rate, the
sponsor's report cannot be relied upon for adequate, reliable information pertaining to the factor of family relationships.

The only other source of recorded information on this factor is the records of social service agencies that may have the ex-inmate or his family as clients during the parole or post-parole periods. Here, again, the use of the Social Service Index is indicated.

Leisure Time Interests and Habits.

The consideration of leisure time habits and interests is appropriate for at least two reasons. It has long been a popular conception that the problem of juvenile delinquency can be combatted by the provision of various recreational and leisure time services. More specifically, the instructions issued to sponsors calls for the latter to interest a boy in a hobby and encourage him to join service and vocational clubs.

1. Pre-Institutional

Some information regarding leisure time interests and habits is available in the Pre-Sentence Report. It is often quite adequate and precise and indicates the clubs and organizations of which the subject is a member as well as his usual forms of entertainment. It also indicates whether or not and to what extent the boy drinks or smokes. Whatever participating or spectator interest the boy may have in sports is also indicated.

The Pre-Sentence Report should be read in full however,
as certain negative leisure time associations and pursuits are mentioned in relation to the specific offense under consideration. For example, a boy's choice of companions and passion for fast cars may not be mentioned under the heading of Interests but only presented in the probation officer's recommendations.

The New Haven Face Sheet reserves a space for Interests and these are divided into subheadings of Hobbies, Sports and Clubs.

3. Institutional

Within the institution all boys are strongly encouraged to participate in one of the many hobbies offered. Two nights a week a hobby program is operated and each boy is expected to participate.

The only recorded information regarding an individual's participation in this aspect of program is contained within the Discharge Report. For example,

"At New Haven he spent his hobby evenings in the Metal Shop. Because of his weak leg, he has not taken an active interest in sports."

Information regarding leisure time activities within the institution is not abundant, but this is not unexpected in view of the active program operated.

3. Parole and Post Parole Period

Relevant data obtained from sponsor's reports and records in the files of the British Columbia Borstal Association is not too adequate. The reasons for this have already been
The individual's use of leisure time and his choice of companions are more likely to be mentioned if they are felt to endanger his parole. As a result, there are frequent references such as "associates with exuberant young men", "consorts with shady characters", "frequents a known hangout" and "spends a great deal of time playing pool and driving about town in a friend's car". Such information can only provide vague indications of the individual's use of his leisure time.

During the post-parole period adequate information can only be obtained from the ex-offender, himself.

Mental and Physical Health

The factor of health, like that of family relationships, is capable of partially indicating present adjustment and predicting future adjustment. It is now generally agreed that illness, physical or mental, is very often a manifestation of the inability of the human organism to cope with stresses and strains operating upon it. In this respect, physical and mental health is indicative of the individual's total adjustment.

What is more, the possession of good health indicates a potential for coping with future pressures. Thus, the status of one's health at a given time can be of predictive value.

1 The reader is referred to the work of Hans Selye. For example, Textbook of Endocrinology, Acta Endocrinology, Montreal, Canada, 1947.
Because health status offers an index of evaluation and prediction and because health affects functioning in other areas of behavior, the inclusion of this factor in any follow-up or prediction study is appropriate.

For expositive purposes, the factor of health has been divided into physical health and mental health but this should not be construed as a denial of their interrelationship in actual life.

1. Pre-Institutional and Institutional

The pre-sentence, psychiatric, psychological and discharge reports all offer data relating to the individual's health during both the pre-institutional and institutional periods.

The pre-sentence report includes sections on "early development" and "health". Under the former heading can be found some indication of the nature of the birth. Further information such as the age of walking, talking and other developmental stages may or may not be recorded. The section "health" is a brief history of major illnesses and some inclusive impression of the present physical condition. It may often be little more than,

"The subject's health is good. As a child he had the usual diseases and underwent operations for a hernia and appendicitis"

The medical report contained within the New Haven file and the Health History section of the face sheet offer a concise evaluation of the inmate's health at the time of entering,
and during his stay within the institution. The Health History includes a list of specific diseases, accidents or operations experienced by the individual and also the age at which he experienced them.

The Discharge Report summarizes the information contained in these other reports and also indicates the health status enjoyed by the individual at the time of his discharge.

In the use of this and other data, comparisons with the general population is necessary if the optimum significance of the available material is to be obtained. The information that 50% of the inmate population require dental attention assumes greater significance if, for example, it is known that only 25% of the general population are in need of such care. Naturally, this need for a comparison of the norms of the inmate group with those of the general population holds true for other factors of adjustment as well.

While all reports of behavior lend themselves to interpretation of an individual's mental health, our interest is only with reports specifically designed to offer relevant data on mental health.

There are two such resources, the Psychologist's Report and the Psychiatrist's Report. Occasionally, the file includes a report from the Child Guidance Clinic but these reports are so infrequent that they cannot be relied upon for research purposes.

The psychiatrist's report is less concerned with diag-
nosis as it with recommendations for the handling of specific behavior problems within the institution. However, sufficient information is available to classify the nature of the problems manifested by the individual inmate. Some indication of the severity of the problem can also be drawn from this report.

The inmate's patterns of defence are also included in the report as well as an attempt to discern the causative factors in his delinquency.

Such reports usually take a four paragraph form. The first paragraph is a summary report of physical health while the second offers an interpretation of the Occupational Interest, Mental Health and Intelligence Tests conducted by the psychologist.

The third section of the report indicates some diagnosis and a prognostic statement. For example,

"His delinquent behavior indicates concealed aggression and it is likely that the problem will persist for considerable time".

The final paragraph offers a statement of how the boy may react to institutionalization and how best the institution may serve him. The following statement is fairly typical:

"In a controlled environment he should respond favorably though his emotional immaturity will be quite manifest. A good deal depends upon vocational fulfillment and is thought to be very desirable that he be given a chance at mechanical work".

The data contained within the report, and especially within the paragraphs dealing with diagnosis and prognosis, lends itself quite well to organization under whatever system
of classification a future study might employ.

The Psychologist's report offers the analysis of the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale Test, the Lee and Thorpe Occupational Interest Inventory and the Mental Health Test. The Intelligence Quotient is recorded as well as the individual's reactions to the test. The Mental Health Test offers a succinct picture of the individual's general emotional adjustment. For example:

"This boy would seem to appear to be somewhat less than average in emotional stability and is deficient in interpersonal skills. His philosophy of life is not very mature.

He appears to have had some strong personal relationships; is not conscious of any particular physical defects; does not exhibit mannerisms and feels as adequate as the next person."

As a result, of these reports, it is possible to obtain a fairly adequate clinical picture of the inmate's physical and mental health. Furthermore these reports are very adaptable to a system of classification and this is of considerable importance in a research project.

2. Parole and Post-Parole

Information relating to Health is not systematically recorded during these periods. If an ex-inmate becomes seriously ill or requires psychiatric treatment, then some indication of this may be found. However there is no systematic reporting of such information.
Summary

Recorded information relating to criminality, family relationships, vocational and economic status, leisure time interests and physical and mental health during the pre-institutional institutional, parole and post-parole periods has been described. Emphasis has been placed upon the availability and adequacy of such information.

It would seem that the data available is insufficient for the purposes of a really adequate follow-up or prediction study. The information regarding behavior during the pre-institutional and institutional periods is on the whole fairly adequate and adaptable to research purposes. However, information relative to the post-institutional period is not nearly so attainable from official records.

Only in the area of criminality can systematic data be obtained and even this is not as comprehensive as might be desired. If the criteria used in a follow-up study are to include a consideration of subsequent adjustment in areas other than conformity to the criminal code, sufficient data could only be obtained through the cooperation of members of the sample group. This is especially true of those who are not subsequently reconvicted in British Columbia. Some further recorded data are available on the recidivists, as reincarceration creates further files in other penal institutions. However, these files are much less comprehensive than the New Haven files and again contact with the offender would be required for a truly adequate project.
CHAPTER 4

THE STRATEGY OF RESEARCH
IN THE NEW HAVEN SETTING

Preceding chapters have included a presentation of the New Haven program, and historical survey of follow-up and prediction studies and an evaluation of the adequacy of official data for similar studies within the New Haven setting.

The present chapter will include a review and expansion of the findings arising out of the preceding chapters and some appropriate recommendations.

The Need For an Objective Evaluation of the Results of the New Haven Program.

As was indicated in Chapter One, New Haven probably represents the most promising penal program operating in British Columbia at this time. This is due to numerous factors. An emphasis on increasing responsibility, stimulation of initiative, and individualized treatment are some of these positive factors. An active and non-punitive institutional program supplemented by organized after-care further enhances the possibilities of success.

It was also indicated in Chapter One that not only is New Haven considered to be our best penal institution but, through a process of classification, it receives only the more promising offenders.
Because New Haven has the best resources and the best inmates, it would seem to be of considerable importance that an objective evaluation be made of the subsequent results in order to determine what can be accomplished in such a promising situation. Such an evaluation should precede any consideration of extending the Borstal program in British Columbia. Moreover, a future evaluation is not beyond the realm of possibility in view of our steadily increasing population and the resulting need for an expanding correctional program.

The desirability of an objective evaluation is accentuated when it is considered that New Haven represents a partial realization of the hopes of the Archambault Commission. The members of that commission felt that recidivism in Canada was primarily due to the absence of any serious attempt to effect the reformation of the prisoner while he is incarcerated and the failure to provide him with adequate assistance and employment upon discharge. As a result, the commissioners believed that the English Borstal System should be adopted in Canada. The commission expressed this belief in 1938. An evaluation of the type of program envisaged by the commission would seem to be long overdue.

Success rates as high as 88 per cent have been claimed in the Annual Reports of the British Columbia Borstal Association.

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Interesting as these figures are, they must be viewed with caution due to the method by which they are derived. If it comes to the attention of the Association that a boy has been reconvicted, he is classified as a "failure". The "success" category includes all others. While one would expect a fairly high success rate, it is difficult to accept an estimate as high as 88 per cent when that estimate is obtained by such a fortuitous method. It is felt that a proper evaluation could best be obtained by means of an extensive and intensive follow-up study of New Haven graduates.

The Desirability of a Prediction Study Within the New Haven Setting

In discussing the New Haven program, it was indicated that the indefinite sentence, which provides for supervised after care, is an intrinsic part of the total program. The indefinite sentence places the responsibility for determining the length of detention upon the administration, in this case, the British Columbia Parole Board.

This study is not in any way a criticism of the parole system of British Columbia. However, the previous discussion of prediction studies in Chapter Two has indicated their present and potential utility. The State of Illinois adopted routine prediction tables as early as 1933. More recently the State of Washington has been using prediction techniques in an experimental way and hopes to use them as a matter of routine in the near future. A similar development in this province would enable the British Columbia Parole Board to make what Hermann Mannheim refers to as the "best rational decision" regarding
each boy's possible success or failure on parole. To predict the future course of the individual's behavior involves either complete prescience of the chance happenings in his life or complete control over that life. As both conditions are impossible, prediction tables can only operate on a probability basis.

Through the use of prediction tables, it can be indicated that offenders with certain types of backgrounds and certain characteristics are more likely than others to return to crime. The use of prediction tables will not indicate that any one offender is sure to be reconvicted. Thus, although prediction tables do not allow a dogmatic statement on any one individual's chance of success, they enable us to make a more rational decision about that individual in terms of the risk category to which he may be assigned.

When applied to an individual case a prediction table is no substitute for individual assessment; but it does provide a uniform background against which individuals vary, and forces the observer to examine his reasons for thinking a given case exceptional.

The suggested use of prediction tables may arouse concern on the part of those who feel the resulting assessments will be given a significance for the individual case which they


do not possess and that they will stifle optimism and therapeutic endeavor. For example, it was expressed in imposing figures, the Intelligence Quotient assumed an exaggerated importance at one time, and a client's low Intelligence Quotient produced an unjustified mood of resignation in social workers. Such a development in the case of prediction tables would only arise out of their misuse. No one has yet claimed that when applied to the individual case, prediction tables are a substitute for individual assessment. The use of prediction tables will not supplant, but only supplement, individual assessment. Only on this basis are they recommended for adaptation to the parole system of this province.

The Adequacy of Officially Recorded Data for Such Studies

A research project designed to evaluate the results of the New Haven program or to provide a prediction table worthy of use within that program would require accurate, adequate and comprehensive data.

In Chapter Three, the discussion was focussed upon a consideration of the adequacy of presently recorded data for research purposes. This data was divided under the headings of criminal behavior, industrial and economic status, family relationships, leisure time activities and physical and mental health. The adequacy of the relevant data was then considered during certain chronological periods designated as pre-institutional, institutional, parole and post-parole.

1 Ibid., p. 204.
On the basis of this investigation, it would seem that the available data is of limited utility for intensive follow-up and prediction studies.

The information regarding behavior during the pre-institutional and institutional periods is in the whole fairly adequate. However, information relative to the post-institutional period is not so easily obtained from official records.

The most comprehensive information available is that relating to criminality. However, even this is not as comprehensive as might be desired owing to the difficulty involved in obtaining information regarding non-indictable offenses. It will be recalled that non-indictable offenses are not found upon the individual's record in the Provincial Gaols nor are they likely to be found in the central fingerprint registry at Ottawa. Furthermore, conduct within the armed forces and crimes committed without subsequent convictions are most unlikely to be readily obtained from official files. As a result the most expedient, but not the most desirable, criterion for future studies would have to be subsequent convictions for indictable offenses.

A consideration of other criteria, capable of giving a more inclusive picture of an individual's progress or an indication of what may have contributed to his present stage of development, accentuates the limitations of available official data for research purposes. Information relating to such factors as vocational adjustment, use of leisure time, family relation-
ships and mental and physical health becomes more and more inadequate as the individual passes through the post-institutional period. Data relating to these factors during the parole period is not sufficiently systematized to be relied upon to any great extent. There is no adequate information about behavior, other than criminal behavior, during the post parole period.

The Potential Utility of Officially Recorded Data

The limited value of officially recorded data sets further boundaries upon the scope of prospective follow-up and prediction studies within the New Haven setting. If official files are to be the sole sources of information, then a less comprehensive study must be made.

The most expedient criterion of success would be subsequent reconvictions for indictable offenses and parole violations. A criterion applied to criminal behavior that included reconvictions for non-indictable offenses and crimes committed without subsequent conviction would be impossible.

Further criteria relating to other areas of adjustment would be even less feasible. Insufficient information is available within files to apply criteria appropriate to such areas of adjustment as vocational status, use of leisure time, family relationships and mental and physical health. This is especially true of behavior following institutional discharge.

As a result, the type of prediction study that might be produced from the presently available data might be one similar to that conducted by Mannheim and Wilkins. It will be
recalled that the criterion employed by them was subsequent reconvictions. The data used to produce their prediction table was drawn from the Borstal files, the After-Care files and the Criminal Record Office files. Whether or not a comparable study would be possible in British Columbia is highly debatable. To begin with, it is doubtful if the reliability and completeness of our officially recorded data are comparable to what is attained by the much more integrated and experienced penal system in Great Britain. Even in Great Britain, Mannheim and Wilkins were faced with the fact that a considerable amount of information which they desired was unobtainable.

Moreover, a study of the type conducted by Mannheim and Wilkins does not produce any indication of the reason for success or failure. To do this, the authors admit, further data would have to be obtained.

Finally, Mannheim and Wilkins state that the strength and limitation of their study lay in not collecting data from primary sources. The strength was that the results derived were reproducible by others. The limitation, a limitation which would seem to overshadow the strength, is that more available data would have resulted in better prediction.

With regard to follow-up studies, it would seem that only a superficial analysis of the results of the New Haven


2 Ibid., p. 59

3 Ibid., p. 36.
program would be obtainable through a reliance upon official files. The criterion of further reconvictions for indictable offenses would be the only viable criterion available. While objective and unequivocal, such a criterion is unsatisfactory as it implies an extremely narrow concept of adjustment.

As indicated in Chapter Three, no matter what criteria are employed, their most valid application is during the post parole period. As Borstal is an integrated program of institutional treatment and supervised parole, the results of that program can only be assessed after parole. Data regarding adjustment during this period is almost non-existent within official files. The only exception to this is data relating to criminality and even this is not sufficiently comprehensive.

As a result, only a superficial evaluation of the results of the New Haven program would be obtained from a reliance upon official files. To conduct a follow-up study similar to those of the Gluecks, would require the cooperation of the inmates themselves.

The Use of Offenders as Sources of Information

It has been indicated that while both follow-up and prediction studies would be desirable within the New Haven setting, the inadequacy of officially recorded data presents certain problems. A possible solution of these problems through enlisting the cooperation of offenders was suggested in Chapter Three. In this way, information not available through official sources could be obtained from the offenders themselves. Moreover, it would make possible a more extensive
criterion of adjustment than subsequent reconvictions. If it is decided that the cooperation of the sample group is to be enlisted, it would be desirable to request the inmate's cooperation as part of the institutional admission routine. In this manner it would be less likely that the members of the sample group could maintain a facade of conventionality that would carry over into the post parole period.

The inmate, upon his discharge, could be requested to notify those conducting the study of his changes of address. This might minimize the problem of locating him after release. Furthermore, this technique would provide for otherwise unobtainable data covering the post parole period.

As such an approach necessitates a certain waiting period before actual follow-up can be initiated, the appeal for cooperation may have to be made at some time closer to either parole or institutional discharge. Even this will entail a considerable waiting period and, over a year, would provide only about fifty cases for study.

If an immediate study was to be undertaken, the ex-inmate's cooperation would have to be solicited some three years after his discharge should 1953 be chosen as the base year. This year is suggested because the program in operation then closely approximates the present integrated program of institutional and after care treatment. This choice would also provide for a follow-up period of at least three years beyond institutional discharge and would approximate the period used by Hermann Mannheim and Leslie Wilkins in their study of English Borstal.
The ethical considerations involved in enlisting the cooperation of ex-inmates for research purposes were discussed in Chapter Three. It is unnecessary to repeat that discussion here. However, it should be re-emphasized that every attempt must be made to ensure confidentiality.

It may also be desirable from a methodological point of view to provide a control group in order to determine the influence that the research process may have upon the study group. Such a method was successfully employed in the Cambridge-Sommerville Youth Study.

General Recommendations

For clarity of presentation, general basic recommendations will be presented apart from the more specific recommendations.

This study has indicated the general inadequacy of official records for the purposes of follow-up and prediction studies. It should be recalled that the data contained in these records have been gathered primarily for administrative purposes. Perhaps the data serve these purposes well. That the data do not serve research purposes is not necessarily a criticism of the administration.

Moreover, it would seem presumptuous to make sweeping recommendations as to what and how information should be recorded. As no consideration has been given to the utility of presently recorded data for administrative purposes our recommendations might only serve to detract from that utility.

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or prove to be quite impossible in terms of practical considerations involved in operating the total program. (The only recommendation to be made concerning recording is designed to improve the administrative purposes of that recording.)

In our opinion, however, it is quite possible to develop recording procedures that will provide information having utility for both administrative and research purposes. Research, whether it is related to the specific operational problems of a penal system or to the more general questions of criminality, cannot be successfully carried on unless there are reliable, factual data available from which hypotheses can be formulated. To increase the availability of such data, it is desirable that research be accepted as an indispensable part of the correctional system. Only in this manner can the research worker play a full part in both designing the inquiry and in deciding upon the data to be gathered. At present, a research worker would be faced with how best to use the unsatisfactory data already available instead of being able to pose the relevant questions and be sure that the collected data will best help him to answer these questions.

In order to establish a system of recording, reporting and compiling standardized data that, in turn, would provide


the essential facts needed for both administrative planning and research, it is desirable to incorporate a research unit into the correctional system.

Some of the assets and liabilities of having a research unit within a specific public welfare department have been considered by David G. French. The important advantages, resulting from the use of such units, are that they enhance the continuity of the research, they provide the opportunity to maintain laboratory controls, and they facilitate the implementation of research findings. A further advantage might result from the intimate knowledge these units would have of the total program and its problems. Unfortunately, French feels that too often such research units are so operations-orientated that they overlook the variables and the alternatives that would occur to their more broadly orientated research brethren.

In making this criticism, French ignores the fact that too often such broadly orientated research workers are not sufficiently cognizant of the operational difficulties within a correctional program.

The American Prison Association is aware of this problem and presents the following case for a research unit within a department of corrections.

2 Ibid., p. 90.
The modern treatment of offenders, which is gradually replacing the old punitive approach, is a relatively new method. Correctional institutions are in a process of growth and development which necessitates an experimentation and a search for new and more rewarding practices. Hence, research should be the very life nerve of a correctional system. Research should not be understood as something far removed from practical realities and conducted only by special agencies, such as universities or foundations. The closer research is brought to the correctional institution itself, the more profitable it is likely to become. Just as good hospitals, clinics and other medical treatment centers usually practice continuous research in the control of ills they are trying to cure, so an alert correctional system should be constantly analyzing its own program and its effectiveness and testing reasonable innovations.

The inauguration of a research unit as an integral part of the correctional system in British Columbia is the only way a continuous survey of the implementations and effects of policy can be maintained. Ad hoc inquiries or studies of isolated aspects provide only brief glimpses but no overall view.

Only through the implementation of this basic recommendation is it likely that any recommendation for the initiation of a follow-up or prediction study will be realized.

1 Ibid., p. 143-144.
Specific Recommendations

The specific recommendations presented here are concerned with the carrying out of a recommended follow-up or prediction study within the New Haven setting.

1. A follow-up study designed to provide an objective evaluation of the results of the New Haven program should employ criteria designed to assess a more inclusive concept of adjustment than subsequent reconvictions.

2. As officially recorded data will not provide the information necessary for such a study, it is recommended that the cooperation of the individual members of the sample group be enlisted. It may also be desirable to provide a control group in order to assess what influence the research process exerts upon the sample group.

3. As confidentiality should be offered to all those willing to participate in a research project within the New Haven setting, it is recommended that every possible means be used to realize that confidentiality.

4. As certain practical problems, such as locating the ex-inmate and preventing the individual from adopting a facade of conventionality, arise in enlisting the cooperation of the offender, it is recommended that his cooperation be solicited as an admission routine.

5. As the urgency of a prospective study may not allow for such a procedure, it is then recommended that the
cooperation of the inmates be solicited at either institutional or parole discharge.

6. As even this may entail too long a waiting period, it is then recommended that those inmates discharged during 1953 be located and their cooperation enlisted.

7. The year 1953 is recommended as a base year because the Borstal program operative then approximates the present program and such a choice provides for at least a three year post-discharge follow-up period similar to that used in the latest English study of Borstal. Furthermore, the choice of 1953 enables the evaluation to occur during the post-parole period. This is essential if an evaluation is to be made of the integrated program of institutional and after care treatment.

8. As other criteria than criminality should be considered, it is recommended that all relevant findings be compared to the norms for the general population where the latter are available.

9. It is recommended that, possibly as a by-product of an intensive follow-up study, prediction tables be established. In this way, the resultant prediction table will be more likely to achieve greater validity than one based upon existing data within official files.

10. If prediction tables are established, it is recommended that they be employed as a prognostic aid and in no way be construed as a substitute for individual
assessment of each case. In this way, they can best help to cope with the increasing responsibility of the institutional administration and the British Columbia Parole Board for determining the duration of detention in each case.

11. If prediction tables are employed, it is further recommended that they be subjected to continuing validation studies in order to maintain and improve their accuracy.

12. Finally, to improve the administrative utility of the sponsors' monthly reports to the Executive Director of the British Columbia Borstal Association, it is recommended that the present informal and unsystemized narrative report be supplemented by a uniform questionnaire designed to facilitate reporting and at the same time, insure the receipt of relevant and necessary information.

Implications of These Recommendations

Such recommendations, if put into practice, would have far-reaching implications. It is interesting to contemplate what some of these might be.

If a research department was inaugurated within the present correctional program, many problems of general effectiveness of the total system or any of its particular segments might be solved or ameliorated. We cannot possibly catalog all such questions or problems, but some areas for research will be indicated.
Can positive benefits be shown as a result of expanding vocational training opportunities?

Would special emphasis given to enhancing the relationships with an offender's family or friends improve his chance for adjustment upon release?

Can satisfactory and economical tests capable of measuring progressive changes in attitude during imprisonment be effected?

Furthermore, it might be possible by a survey to determine how many of those men now incarcerated within Oakalla Prison Farm require maximum custody. Such a study might well provide a basis for establishing forestry camps and other types of non-institutional or minimum security programs.

Our present rate of crime presents a challenge to those interested in social action. Such action should be based upon scientific knowledge provided by an active research department.

An objective follow-up study of New Haven graduates would point the way for similar evaluations of other correctional units in British Columbia. Depending upon the results of such an evaluation of New Haven graduates, an extension or modification of the Borstal System in this province might be indicated.

Prediction tables, if developed and adopted, might well prove to be an impetus to further prediction studies designed to help formulate prognoses for parole and classification
in other units of our presently expanding institutional program.

While it has become almost trite to lament our present lack of knowledge and recommend the establishment and development of research departments, it is nevertheless true that only through continued research can adequate services develop. Furthermore, it is often much easier to rationalize our lack of knowledge than to attempt to advance our present knowledge. "To know requires exertion and it is intellectually easiest to shirk effort by accepting phrases which cloak the unknown in the indefinable."

New Haven has for almost nine years been publicly recognized as the epitome of progressive penology in British Columbia. To scientifically validate and further extend New Haven's present position in the vanguard of penal progress, research should be initiated by the Attorney-General's Department to establish a follow-up and prediction study within the present Borstal program.

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1. On your release the Central After-Care Association will tell you where to go, and you must go there and not change your address without the permission of the Association or the person under whose supervision you are placed.

2. If told to do so, you must report, either by letter or by personal visit as required, to the Association or the person under whose supervision you are placed.

3. Being under supervision means that you must do as the Association or your supervisor tells you. You must work where you are told. You must be punctual and regular at your work and must lead a sober, steady and industrious life to the satisfaction of the Association.

4. You must not break the law, or associate with persons of bad character.

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1. The licencee, during the term of his licence, shall be under the supervision and authority of the Chairman of the Borstal Association.

2. He shall forthwith proceed to such place and remain in the care of such person as is directed by the Chairman or Secretary of the Borstal Association and shall not move from that place or change his residence without the consent of that Association or the person under whose care he has been placed.

3. He shall obey such instructions as may be given with regard to punctual and regular attendance at employment or otherwise, and shall report periodically either personally or by letter if required to do so.

4. He shall abstain from any violation of the law, shall not associate with persons of bad character, and shall lead a sober, steady and industrious life to the satisfaction of the Borstal Association.

5. He shall not visit New Haven or write to any inmate in it without first obtaining the permission of the director of that institution.

6. He shall preserve this Order for Release on Licence and produce it when called upon to do so by a Magistrate or peace officer.

7. (Any further condition to be inserted here.)
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