COUNSELLING SERVICES IN RELATION TO
PRISONERS' NEEDS

A Study of a Sample Group of Inmates
From the Westgate Unit of Oakalla Prison Farm
in Relation to Programme Planning for the Haney
Correctional Institution, B.C., 1957

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the thesis is (1) to determine the social and psychological needs of a group of "more reformable" inmates of the type who will eventually make up the population of the new Haney Correctional Institution at Haney, British Columbia, and (2) to determine how custodial and casework staff might best meet these needs through the medium of counselling.

In order to accomplish these objectives, a sample group of seventeen inmates from the Westgate Unit in Oakalla Prison Farm was selected on the basis of certain criteria set up by the Planning staff of the Haney Correctional Institution. These inmates were studied intensively by widely varied methods, including personal interviews, group sessions, review of case files, and interviews with staff. This research technique proved to be unusually effective and it was possible to get a very complete picture of each of the men studied.

The findings indicated that most of the inmates had serious social and psychological problems that seemed to call for a concentrated programme of treatment. The custodial officer who has close daily contact with the prisoner was seen to be the 'key' person in the helping process. It was seen, too, that although the main share of counselling inmates must fall on the social caseworker, some inmates are not amenable to casework help but do need some kind of counselling. The custodial officer is the best person to give such lay counselling, which should therefore be considered a most important part of his job. Nevertheless, it was seen that he needs training, experience and supervision to play this role effectively. The need for team work of the highest order between the custodial officer and the social caseworker was seen as vitally important.
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CHAPTER I

CUSTODY AND TREATMENT: CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

Objectives of Study

The new prison at Haney, British Columbia, with its modern buildings and facilities, with its qualified and experienced professional staff in the top administrative positions and with its objective of the training and rehabilitation of the more reformable type of inmate presents a unique challenge to those planning the treatment programme. It should be possible for this planning staff to create the kind of programme and employ the kind of staff, custodial and professional, that will serve the real needs of the inmates. But what are these needs of inmates? Do the inmates have common problems that can be solved by a more or less uniform programme of work, education and recreation involving mainly good supervision and humane attitudes on the part of the custodial staff? Or are their problems so different that each inmate, to be helped effectively, will have to have a particularized programme set up for him including special facilities, special privileges and special professional staff? Or is there a feasible combination of these two? Do inmates have some problems and needs in

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1 Details about Haney Correctional Institution are noted in Chapter II.
common and some that are quite distinct and different from those of every other inmate? What implications do the answers to these questions have for the programming and staffing of such institutions? Clearly, an understanding of the problems and needs of the inmates who will be sent to the institution is fundamental.

The main objective of this study is to try to determine the needs, both common and differential, of the type of offender who will eventually make up the population of the Haney Correctional Institution. The research is motivated by a desire to place at the disposal of the planning staff of the Haney prison information about these inmates that may be of assistance to them in building the programme of the future. The second objective of the study, which comes out of the first, is to try to determine what a counselling service in the prison has to offer to the kind of prisoners studied; and further, to determine what kind of inmate can be helped or what needs of his can be met, by (a) professional casework, (b) counselling by a correctional officer, teacher, instructor, etc., under professional supervision, or (c) some combination of (a) and (b).

Although it is recognized that our knowledge about criminal behaviour and how to change or modify it is very limited, it is assumed, in this thesis, that the modern trend

1 Details about the research method are discussed in Chapter II.
to treat rather than punish the criminal is logical and intelligent, and one that is calculated not only to serve the best interests of the offender but the best interests of the public as well. In order to set the study in proper perspective, the following pages will deal with some historical factors and some current trends in correctional thought and practice.

The Custody - Treatment Dichotomy

Protection of society has always been, and continues to be, a guiding principle in the incarceration of prisoners. However, the form and manifestation of this concept has varied from age to age and between one correctional system and another. It is only recently that we have accepted the idea that the best protection of society comes from using the best "treatment" techniques and the best custodial practices in order to effect a positive change in the attitude and behaviour of the offender. This enlightened point of view did not of course arrive suddenly. It was painfully slow and difficult for clergymen, social workers, criminologists, educators and others interested in reform and treatment to get a foothold in prison programmes. And the foothold was at first a precarious one. 1

The first "treatment" people in prisons were the members of the clergy. The church has influenced the history

of penology in many ways: the great early reform movements usually were motivated by religious people; because crime was seen as sin, churches supported and actually in some cases established prisons which came to be known as "penitentiaries", where imprisonment was not considered as punishment but as a means of the criminal doing penance and thereby obtaining divine pardon for his wrong-doing. All too often, however, the vision was lost and the church prisons became punishment pure and simple. The one positive relic of church influence is that it made it possible for the chaplain to enter the prison. At first he went there to console criminals who were condemned to death; later he began conducting services; and gradually he moved into counselling the inmates, teaching them, arranging libraries, conducting recreation. As early as 1737 the British Parliament authorized magistrates to appoint chaplains to all prisons.¹ As time went by the chaplain was eventually relieved of many of these duties by social workers, librarians, recreational staff, etc.² These so-called "treatment" personnel insinuated themselves into the prisons, often as a consequence of prison riots which forced government bodies

to reform prison programmes and to begin thinking in terms of rehabilitation of the prisoners.\(^1\) Also, humanitarian wardens began insisting on getting the skilled help of professional people.\(^2\)

For the most part these treatment people were unfamiliar with prison life. The traditions were meaningless to them and they had little appreciation of the many and varied problems that the custodial officers face in their day-to-day contact with the prisoners. There was a tendency to oversimplify the problem — to reject the traditional emphasis on custody and control as punitive and damaging. They also complicated the situation through their ability to see the many contributing factors in crime causation and in the behaviour of the inmate in prison. In place of the definite procedures of the past they suggested something vaguely called "treatment" of the individual. The understandings of the custodial officer, grown out of his long experience and close daily contacts with inmates, were neglected. Many custodial staff reacted in an antagonistic way to the new trend and, knowing prison life so intimately, found ways to sabotage quietly the efforts of the treatment people. This conflict between the theoretical knowledge of the treatment staff and the practical

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experience of the custodial staff created a disturbing situation within the prison.

Unfortunately extravagant claims were often made for "treatment" when it was explained to prison staffs, and the latter, not really understanding, expected something dramatic in the way of results. As time went by and the magic was not produced, cynicism, doubt and often active antagonism resulted, and confusion reigned throughout the prison. In a real way this describes the state of many correctional systems today. In some geographical regions the misunderstandings between custodial and treatment staffs are acute. In other systems and prisons, conflict is disappearing and mutual understanding is beginning to develop. In still other systems, notably some in the Southern United States, conflict is absent because "treatment" has not as yet been introduced.\(^1\)

Although the history of corrections over the past two decades has been turbulent, two important and related factors stand out. (1) Professional personnel learned that if they were to stay in the prison they had to face the realities of prison life — securing the prisoner against escape and at the same time training him for responsibility and freedom. Those that stayed then had to become acquainted with the traditions and customs of prison life; they had to learn the value of

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1 Barnes and Teeters, *op. cit.*, pp. 448-452.
custody and control in helping prisoners; they had to learn to adapt their professional techniques to the prison setting; and they had to begin to get to know and appreciate the key role of the custodial officer. (2) Treatment of prisoners was accepted as a legitimate objective of prison programmes. In progressive correctional systems it began taking its place as an equal partner with custody. Deputy wardens in charge of custody and deputy wardens in charge of treatment were getting to know and understand each other and were finding ways of solving their common problems. They were seeing that the difference between custody and treatment was one of specialization of function and not one of objective. Custodial officers were looking at treatment personnel more realistically and were trying to understand something of the new socio-psychological approach. Their former apathy and hostility were giving way, if not to complete acceptance, at least to better understanding and support.


The conflict between treatment and custody still exists to some extent almost everywhere but in more and more prisons mutual understanding and a sense of team work are gradually developing. When the merger is complete, when custody is considered part of treatment and treatment staff recognize the therapeutic value of good custody, when there is one philosophy for corrections embracing controls and security as well as the new insights of the socio-psychological field, when the guard at the gate of a maximum security prison with his rifle and other aids to control and the social worker within the prison both believe in and practice the same philosophy though using different techniques, then will come mutual support, team work of the highest order, and hope of real success in the work of rehabilitating the offender.

Custodial Staff

It is evident that the custodial officer with his close hour to hour contact with the inmate is a key person, indeed the key person, in a prison. Essentially it will be because of his attitude, his understanding and his interpretation of the directives of the Classification Committee that the institution will either succeed or fail in the job of helping the prisoner. Treatment people are a powerful, relatively small group compared with custodial staff, exercising prestige and authority within many prisons that cannot be measured by their numbers alone. They must be constantly cognizant, however, of
the fact that the success of their efforts depends almost totally on the custodial staff.

Let us take a closer look at these important people.

The custodial service is responsible for the prisoner's comfort, his house-keeping arrangement in the place where he lives, his passage to and from his meals; it must see that he has medical attention when needed, that he gets to school, and that he knows how to do the job to which he is detailed. Its members meet the prisoner when he arrives at the institution, guard, protect, instruct and advise him during his stay, and arrange for his release and transportation when his sentence is over. This should be the quintessence of prison work, for custody is as old as the human race; it is so important a part of the prison program that if it is not properly administered there can be little improvement in the attitude of the prisoners and the prison cannot accomplish the purpose for which it exists.\(^1\)

So important are the custodial officers that no prison administration that hopes to be successful with its given task of helping offenders can afford to neglect giving primary emphasis to developing in these officers positive attitudes and sound correctional practices. As he goes about his job of carrying out the plan for the individual set up by the Classification Committee; as he takes the necessary steps to maintain good discipline within the prison; and as he performs the legal function of safekeeping the prisoner - that is, preventing him from escaping custody - the custodial officer is the major force in creating the feeling tone of the whole

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institution. The progressive prison administration, therefore, concerns itself with matters that affect morale among custodial staff — working conditions, salaries, etc. It concerns itself, too, with training programs calculated to increase understanding in areas of administration, human behaviour, techniques in handling people, etc., and designed not only to improve performance on the job but also to give officers real status as full-fledged participants in the treatment process. Giving genuine status to custodial officers based on the quality of their correctional practice — this is the heart of good custody. This is the point at which custody and treatment merge and disappear as separate concepts. This is when prison staffs become "correctional officers" in an almost professional sense. 1,2

In point of fact these staff people have already been placed in a quasi professional position by virtue of the great need of many inmates to have someone in whom to confide. Thus counselling has been part of the correctional officer's role for some time. Progressive prisons have encouraged this and some newer prisons like the Haney Correctional Institution 3 are consciously preparing to train custodial staff in the art


3 Chapter II contains some of the main details about the Haney Correctional Institution.
of counselling. Not in the foreseeable future will there be an adequate supply of caseworkers in prisons to meet the needs of the inmates. Yet one of the most important contributions of the prison to the inmate is in this very matter of counselling. It is essential, as one writer suggests, that every inmate should have at least one person in whom he can confide. Which inmates need the intensive counselling of the professional caseworker and which ones can be helped by the friendly, supportive counselling of the correctional officer who is genuinely interested in the inmate, are questions discussed, as they relate to the needs of the sample group of men discussed in this study, in Chapter IV. \(^2,^3\)

**Caseworkers in the Correctional Setting**

In only a relatively few prisons today has social casework been given a definite place. The prison of old which emphasized only punishment, custody and restraint had no place for such a thing as casework. The prison had to change its objectives, its outlook and its programme before that place could be found. On the other hand, the caseworker, accustomed as he was to working with clients on a voluntary basis, could see little hope of giving effective help in such a rigid and authoritarian setting as the prison. It was necessary for both

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\(^2\) Barnes and Teeters, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

\(^3\) Clemmer, Donald, "Use of Supervisory Custodial Personnel as Counselors; An Expedient," *Federal Probation*, vol. XX, December 1956, pp. 36-42.
the prison and the caseworker to change: the prison to enlarge its programme so that prisoners might have the benefit of re-educative and rehabilitative resources within the prison, the caseworker to accept the necessity of custodial segregation and to learn that a controlled setting can in many cases aid the casework process. It was necessary for the caseworker to believe what everyone who works in a prison must believe; that, potentially at least, it is a socially useful agency.¹ ² ³

The primary medium through which casework help is extended is the relationship between the caseworker and the prisoner. This calls for an attitude on the part of the caseworker that is basically a supporting one, "... it is consistently accepting, strengthening, encouraging, responsive, and enabling."⁴ In general the role of the caseworker in the prison is to explore with the inmate the possibilities of prison life in relation to the resolution of his own problem, to help him find a satisfactory social adjustment to the prison, and to help him discover within himself the will and


power to make a more responsible social adjustment to the wider community.  

Ziskind puts it succinctly:

"In the correctional field we seek out the person who requires help and try to convince him - usually against his will - that he should have treatment. Social work training tells us that unless we can reverse the tables and help the inmate see the need for change, no amount of external force can produce a real and lasting change. The man who will conform to external pressure alone will yield to his more basic desires when this pressure is removed or overcome. The social worker, therefore, seeks to produce the inner change, to accomplish what in social work jargon is called 'insight' as part of the rehabilitative process."

Such work demands the disciplined use of the professional casework relationship and a sensitive and complete understanding of every facet of prison life, negative and positive. It also involves the ability to make a sound working diagnosis of the inmate's problem and the ability to work out a plan of treatment for him.

He does not preach, threaten, or use ordering-and-forbidding techniques. He establishes constructive relationships in which 'personality touches personality. . ." He attempts to gain an essential understanding of the offender's total complex situation and its psychocultural elements. To that extent he is truly and directly concerned with the offender himself rather than with his symptomatic delinquent acts.

More specifically, the caseworker does the history-taking, sets up a case file, plays a prominent role in the process of

1 Pray, op. cit., p. 206.


classification and reclassification, helps in the orientation process, concerns himself with helping the inmate work out a sound plan for the post-discharge period and helps prepare him for release.

In any prison the role of the trained correctional officer who does some counselling and the role of the social caseworker overlap to some extent. It is a fine line between good lay counselling under adequate supervision and much of casework counselling, and in Chapter IV of this study some comments are made about the division of labour between these two groups of staff. At any rate it is clear that the caseworker and the correctional officer must understand and appreciate each other's particular contribution, give mutual support and see that effective communication exists between them.

Resolving the Custody - Treatment Conflict

The concept of progressive corrections today is that the sentence is the only punishment that should be given the criminal — that the criminal is sent to prison as punishment not for punishment. Whatever obligation and responsibility the correctional agency assumes in the way of treatment or punishment, the safekeeping of the prisoner must necessarily remain of greatest importance. It is a truism to say that we cannot help the offender if we do not have him. Nevertheless, it is important to realize that good custody is not only in the best interests of the community but also in the best interests
of the offender. Perhaps only those who have been able to feel their way into the mind and heart of an inmate who has escaped lawful custody and to understand in some small way the depth of suffering, fear and loneliness of the fugitive — only those can really appreciate the need for effective custody as a helping force for the offender. With the needs of the offender in mind, correctional agencies are today carrying the legal concept of custody at least one step further. We are coming to look upon this larger concept as a series of degrees of supervision, necessary for the protection of society but adjusted to the needs of the individual offender. Looking at custody in this way we can include the three major areas of correctional service: probation, prisons and parole. Probation and parole provide far less supervision than does the prison but the offender on probation and parole is in custody nonetheless. The degree of supervision given the offenders depends on the needs of the individuals and on the treatment resources available within these three services. Of major concern, then, in dealing with offenders is the question of classification.

Classification of Inmates

Classification is a vital part of the corrective process and involves every aspect of prison life and programme. Very briefly, classification is the process of studying the inmate during an orientation period and of organizing correctional services so that the offender will have the opportunity
of a programme of treatment based on an adequate diagnosis of his individual needs. A very important part of the best classification practices is the participation of the prisoner.

The best classification committees insist upon the personal appearance of the man before the committee. They put him at ease. He is encouraged to enter into the planning by expressing, without fear, his interests and desires, and especially his parole plans upon release. Little or nothing is said about the offense which sent him to prison. He is encouraged to make the most of his opportunities and given assurance of help and understanding. Interest is expressed in his family, and arrangements are made for them to visit him in prison.  

Much more could be said about this important part of treatment in prisons but for the purposes of this thesis this statement will suffice. Classification at the pre-sentence level makes it possible to decide who goes to prison and who is placed on probation. At the institutional level it makes it possible to decide what degree of custody is necessary and therefore what prison the offender should be sent to, what kind of treatment should be given, when release or parole should be considered and what the conditions of parole should be.

Classification of Institutions

Our question now might be: "What kinds of prisons are there or should there be, having regard to the varying custodial needs of prisoners within any one prison system?"

One hesitates to be categorical about this. By reason of economic, political and other societal influences, custodial needs for prisoners change from one decade to another as do people's needs generally. Also, as new understandings in the behavioural sciences take hold, new ways of handling prisoners become evident and influence the kind of prisons we build, the ways we adapt existing facilities, and the kinds of programmes carried on. However, correctional authorities talk of four kinds of prisons giving, relatively speaking, four degrees of custody — maximum, close, medium and open.\footnote{A Manual of Correctional Standards, American Correctional Association, New York, 1954. p. 199.} \footnote{Details of these four types of prisons are discussed in Appendix A.} It is quite evident that no prison system can adequately meet in the fullest sense, the custodial needs of all its inmates. Thus we find, in every prison, prisoners whose needs are borderline and who might equally well be in a prison with either more emphasis on security or less.

Given these four types of prisons, a prison system should be able to meet the custodial needs of practically all offenders committed to its care. It would do so if the correctional service provided: (1) careful study and classification of each inmate, (2) classification of each institution, (3) classification of the degrees of custody and the type of programme within each prison, (4) periodic review, or reclassification, of the
inmate and (5) the opportunity of his transfer to another prison with less security or more or with a programme more likely to meet his present need.

British Columbia will be one step closer to the realization of this ideal when the Haney Correctional Institution, which will probable be categorized as a "medium security" prison opens in the Fall of this year (1957). As mentioned earlier in this chapter the present study is undertaken specifically to be of help to the planning staff of the Haney prison in working out the programme best calculated to meet the social and psychological needs of the inmates who will be sent there in the future. Some of the essential details regarding administration and programme at Haney will be discussed more fully in Chapter II.
CHAPTER II

TWO CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The present study aims to do two things; (1) to study as fully as possible a sample group of inmates of the type who will eventually be sent to the Haney Correctional Institution; to determine their problems and to suggest ways of helping them modify or change their characteristic patterns of behaviour. (2) to attempt to determine whether some, none, or all of the inmates studied might be helped by the kind of counselling that a correctional officer under professional supervision might do; and if so, what the division of labour between the caseworker and the correctional officer might be.

The study concerns itself with two prison settings. The one in which the study was done, Westgate Unit in Oakalla Prison Farm; the other, Haney Correctional Institution, not yet open, which will eventually receive the type of men selected for this study. A brief description of each of these prisons will be given for different reasons. The group of seventeen men studied are all from the Westgate Unit and what goes on there — programme, setting, facilities, staff etc. — all these things profoundly affect the attitude and behaviour of the inmates. To see these men fully and sharply, therefore, one needs to see them in the environmental setting — the social and psychological milieu. For that reason an understanding of Westgate, it is suggested, will aid in understanding the inmate.
A description of the Haney Institution is also relevant because it is to this institution that the group, of which the seventeen studied are a random sample, will be going in the future. This thesis will, in part, attempt to assess whether or not the type of program proposed for Haney will meet the needs of this sample group. Thus in this study an attempt is made to determine the problem areas of each of the seventeen, and suggestions are made with regard to the means of meeting their needs most likely to be effective. Some attention to the program and facilities at Haney is clearly indicated.

Westgate Unit - the Setting for the Study

Westgate is a unit within Oakalla Prison Farm which houses somewhat over 350 inmates in tiers of 20 men each. Each man has his own cell and there is a large area within each tier that is used for group dining and group recreation. A tier officer is in charge of each tier and he is required to play a sort of counselor-cum-leader-cum-father role. From his tier every inmate goes out to the various vocational and work activities. The programme is compulsory. If a man is not interested, or cannot get into a shop, then he is required to work on the outside gang where he might do maintenance or construction work that is needed anywhere in Oakalla. By and large the men who work on the work gangs are kept separated from those who work in the shops.
It would appear that the inmate with the better attitude who tends to be conforming gets the pick of the shops and the rebellious younger inmate tends to stay on the work gangs. It is hard to get a clear picture of how one man is selected for one spot and another for another spot because the classification system both in Oakalla proper and in Westgate Unit is so rudimentary. It appears that a man is placed on the basis of his own request, his previous record, his attitude and behavior. At present Westgate operates the following types of shops: motor mechanics, blacksmith, electrical, shoe, woodworking, bookbinding, painting, plumbing. Westgate is also responsible for the total management of the Farm as well as for all maintenance and construction projects.

The recreational or 'socialization' programme in Westgate involves in the main a compulsory gymnasium period for all inmates who are physically fit, correspondence courses for a small group of inmates, and a hobby craft program, made up of leather work and copperwork classes. Weekly educational films are held. There is a very complete library of educational and trade text-books as well as fiction.

The Senior Correctional Officer and his deputy both have social work training and give guidance and counselling to the inmates. They necessarily spread themselves thin and no intensive casework is done. Their work is supplemented by specially arranged interviews with representatives of such community agencies as the John Howard Society, the Salvation
Army, and the National Employment Service. There is an in-service training scheme for the staff at Westgate and part of this deals with improving their ability as counsellors. The guards already do some counselling and it is the hope of the administration that they will do an increasing amount in the future. The Westgate authorities think their staff is growing in experience and understanding. They feel that if the guards are interested in the inmates and have positive attitudes and if the programme is full and intensive, the inmates will be affected in a positive way.

Part of the therapy is to introduce as many positive factors as possible and such things as freer visiting, family church services and contacts with community groups are now part of the programme. An Inmate Inter-Tier Council made up of elected representatives from each tier is in operation. Through this group the suggestions and grievances of the inmates are made known to the staff. This thesis does not purport to be a critique of Westgate — comments here are descriptive only and have been taken by and large from the latest report of the Inspector of Gaols.¹ The inmates critique as it came through individual interviews and group sessions is summarized in Table 3, in Chapter IV.

Haney Correctional Institution

The Haney Correctional Institution is situated near the town of Haney, British Columbia, about 30 miles east of the City of Vancouver. Construction began in the summer of 1955 and it is estimated that the buildings will not be completed until June 1957. The first inmates will probably not be moved there until sometime in the Fall of 1957. Mr. E. K. Nelson was appointed Warden in September 1956 on a part-time basis while he was still a professor of Criminology at the University of British Columbia. At the same time other key administrative staff were appointed. Planning programme began during the summer of 1956 and was continued in a more concentrated form after January 1957 when Mr. Nelson assumed his duties as Warden on a full-time basis. The new institution will be part of the Provincial Gaol Service. The Warden will be responsible to Mr. E. G. B. Stevens, Inspector of Gaols, Corrections Branch, Department of Attorney-General, Province of British Columbia.

The Haney prison was recommended by the British Columbia Prison Commission in 1950 because of the concern about overcrowding in Oakalla Prison Farm and the need for a training institution for the more reformable type of inmate. As it will

1 Recent legislation has changed the title of Inspector of Gaols to Director of Corrections but it is unlikely that the new title is in common use as yet.

be some time before the Haney prison opens it is understandable that no fixed programme has been worked out as yet.\(^1\) However, talks with Warden Nelson and one of his deputies, Mr. John Braithwaite, revealed something of the plans they had for the future and much of what follows comes from this source.

Earlier it was mentioned that Haney fell into the category of medium security institution. That is, there will be excellent security on the perimeter but varying degrees of freedom within the boundaries of the prison. The plant itself is designed like a telephone pole with units housing up to fifty inmates.\(^2\) The prison will accommodate 400. About one hundred and fifty of this number will be a group of older inmates who will take very little, if any, part in the vocational training programme but will be selected because their talents and experience can be utilized in maintaining the institution and will also benefit from this kind of experience. The other group of 250 is the group this thesis is mainly concerned with. Some of these will take a full programme of vocational training and some only a limited programme but, it is thought, all will have some maintenance duties.

Following a study of the inmate population of Oakalla in July 1956 the planning staff of Haney thought there would be about 250 inmates in Oakalla who could be selected for the new prison

\(^1\) Date of writing - April, 1957.

\(^2\) See Fig. 1 - a drawing of the buildings and grounds of the Institution (adapted from a larger drawing prepared by architects of the Haney Correctional Institution).
using the following criteria:

a. Age - eighteen to forty inclusive
b. Sentence - not less than six months
c. Education - Grade VI or better
d. Previous committals - not more than two
e. No history of drug addiction
f. No history of chronic alcoholism
g. No physical handicap
h. Capacity to respond to and profit by vocational and other types of training.

The most basic part of any modern correctional programme is classification. The planning staff at Haney is making provision for this most important process both in the selection of inmates for the prison and in the intensive study and diagnosis of each inmate after he is sent to the institution. On the second floor of the new prison a unit of 50 cells is being set aside for the reception, classification and orientation of all new inmates. Unfortunately the province of British Columbia has as yet no classification center and it is necessary, and will be for some time, for Oakalla to receive all prisoners committed for sentences of two years less a day and under and to do what classification is possible before transferring them to other more specialized institutions such as the Haney Correctional Institution. Because under these circumstances the classification will be very superficial at Oakalla, it will be necessary for the Haney classification to be very complete and thorough. This will mean close cooperation and team work on the part of all personnel in all departments.

1 Some physically handicapped inmates will be admitted on a selective basis.
FIG. 1.

LEGEND

- SECURITY FENCE
- GATES
- ROADS
- FOOT PATH
- SECURITY TOWERS

SCALE 1" = 160'

HANEY CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION - BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS
As we discuss the various parts of the Haney programme it will be helpful to refer to the simplified organizational chart, Figure 2. The division of classification and counselling plays a particularly important part early in the classification process. One of its responsibilities will be to prepare an initial preliminary report on each inmate. This will probably be based on the caseworker's own impressions coming out of his interviews, the reports he receives from others who have interviewed the new man or had contact with him during the orientation period, plus information that might be available from probation officers, other institutions and social agencies, the findings of the psychologist, medical reports, etc. The representatives of the other institutional services, education, medical etc., will make their own evaluation based on their contacts. The caseworker presents the case to the Classification Committee where it is discussed thoroughly. The inmate is then interviewed and with the latter fully participating a programme is worked out for him that will be of interest and profit to him.

The core of the Haney programme is to be vocational training and it is proposed to set up such shops as machine, auto body, sheet metal, welding, electrical, barbering, motor mechanics, woodworking (cabinet), woodworking (construction), diesel, plumbing, and landscaping. Besides these twelve shops an "exploratory" shop will be set up for diagnostic purposes. Here an inmate who is unsure of what he wants and is an "unknown" quantity in other ways can be observed by staff as
part of the classification process. It is hoped that a good deal of on-the-job training will be given in the maintenance of the institution to supplement the vocational training of the shops. Supplementary to vocational training is the academic training where such subjects as drafting, mathematics and other skills essential to many trades will be taught. Furthermore full academic education will be available to inmates who want this whether or not they are taking a vocational course.

The Haney institution will also have a division of Recreation. This division will be concerned about the recreation of the inmate — sports, physical training of all sorts, arts and crafts, free time activities in the house units, etc. However, it is concerned, too, about recreation in the wider sense of the word — growth of the individual, social education and development of skills and pleasures that may have a "carry-over" value after release. It will be headed by a trained and experienced group worker and staffed by a qualified physical education instructor, and arts and craft instructor and twelve programme officers. Consideration is also being given to the use of voluntary interest-group leaders from the community.

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1 Since photostats were made of the chart (Fig. 2) the name of this division has been changed from Social Education to Recreation.
Medical Services. A section of the institution is being given over to a well-staffed, well-equipped hospital. Unfortunately plans call for only a part-time doctor. Besides the doctor there will be a part-time dentist, and a part-time psychiatrist. In regard to the last-mentioned it is likely that he will be used as a psychiatric consultant and will be working very closely with the division of Classification and Counselling. It is unlikely that such a person will have much time for giving direct psychiatric services to inmates.

Religious services. It is planned that a full-time Protestant chaplain will be appointed and a part-time Roman Catholic chaplain. Religious services, bible study, religious discussion groups, and religious counselling will form the major part of this service.

Library. A full-time librarian and an adequate library is being planned.

Division of Classification and Counselling. This is the division which relates most directly to the focus of this thesis. It will be headed by a fully professional and experienced caseworker and staffed by five professional caseworkers and a psychologist. It is proposed that each of these caseworkers will supervise the correctional officers, vocational instructors, teachers and perhaps other staff who will carry small caseloads of inmates whom they will counsel. Using correctional officers as counsellors is experimental and as one
writer frankly admits in the case of his own institution, an "expedient," and the details have not as yet been worked out. It is hoped that the present study will be of help in determining just how much can be done along this line, what form this sort of counselling should take and the division of labor between lay counsellors and professional caseworkers. As mentioned above, the psychologist comes under this division. This job has not yet been defined precisely but one would expect his services to include, in the usual case, an appraisal of intelligence, personality and interests, in other cases vocational testing, intensive personality appraisal using projective techniques (T.A.T. and Rorschach), vocational guidance and remedial reading. In regard to the overall functioning of the institution, he might make an occasional sociometric analysis, facilitating evaluation of the group, individual placements, and offering suggestions for replacement. He might also conduct group therapy with small groups and might conduct small-scale research projects, possibly concerned with solutions of specific psychological problems in the functioning of the institution.

**Selection of cases**

The objective of this study was to choose and study a group of inmates who would be representative of the type of inmate to be selected for the new prison at Haney. Early talks with prison officials revealed that no definite criteria for selecting inmates for Haney had been worked out. However, the psychologist on the headquarters staff of the Inspector of Gaols had done a preliminary study of the total inmate population of Oakalla Prison Farm. This study, completed in July 1956, helped the planning staff of Haney to work out rough criteria for selection of their future population. It showed for example that there were 325 inmates with two previous committals or less; that there were 304 between the ages of 23 and 45; that there were 342 who had sentences of six months or more; that there were 300 inmates between the ages of 18 and 45 who had sentences of six months or more and 246 of the same group who had two or less previous committals; that 313 claimed grade VIII or higher education.

The McAllister study\(^1\) showed that during July 1956 there were between 250 and 300 inmates that, generally speaking, might have enough basic education, might be considered

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1. See Appendix "B" for full details of this study done by Mr. Robert McAllister, psychologist for the Provincial Gaol Service.
non-habitual, and might be young enough still to profit by vocational training. Facilities were being provided for giving vocational training to 250 inmates at the Haney Correctional Institution. With these facts in mind the criteria noted on page 25 (Chapter II) were accepted as tentative, working criteria. This set of criteria is admittedly arbitrary. No attempt was made to adhere strictly to the McAllister findings. For example, the age agreed upon was not up to 45 years as in the report but was lowered arbitrarily to 40 years. Likewise the education requirement was lowered to Grade VI. The criteria chosen for the purposes of this study adhere closely to those mentioned, with some necessary modifications noted below.

a. age - 18-40 inclusive
b. sentence - not less than six months
c. education - Grade VI or better
d. previous committals - not more than two
e. no history of drug addiction
f. no history of chronic alcoholism (By this is meant no inmate was chosen who had been sentenced to prison for offenses that involved, solely, the heavy consumption of alcohol)
g. no physical handicaps (As this study attempts to choose and study the needs of typical future inmates of Haney it was decided to rule out persons who had handicaps because by nature of the handicap they might be considered atypical)
h. release date - not before March 10, 1957 (This ruled out a fairly large group of inmates but it was necessary to be certain that the inmates chosen for the study would be in the prison long enough to complete the study)

It will be noted that criterion (h) on page 25 is not included in the criteria for the study. This is for the obvious reason
that not until a thorough study had been done on each could
one determine whether or not the inmates might respond to
and profit by vocational training.

The above criteria were applied to the total population
for Westgate Unit. Westgate was chosen because in con­
ference with the Warden of Oakalla and his deputy it was revealed
that the inmates were selected for Westgate more or less on
the basis of the same sort of criteria that were worked out
for the study. It was thought, too, that the total study
would be facilitated by concentrating on this one large Unit,
where the environmental factors would be more or less a con­
stant factor. By chance, exactly 100 inmates of Westgate
fitted these criteria. An alphabetical list was drawn up
containing these 100 names. They were numbered from 1 to
100 and every fifth name was checked. The twenty checked
names were chosen for study. Before the study was completed
two of the inmates from this group were transferred to outside
forestry camps connected with the prison. Another of the
twenty was later discovered to be epileptic and had to be con­
sidered atypical in light of criterion (g). Rather than
manipulate the method of choosing the men for study and work
out a way of choosing three more it was decided to consider
the seventeen remaining persons as a reasonable sample of the
type of inmate who was likely to be chosen for vocational
training at the Haney Correctional Institution.
Sources of Information. The sources of information used in studying these seventeen men were as follows:

1. Warden's file. This file contains the most pertinent material available in the prison about the prisoner. All statistical material, correspondence, social history, pre-sentence report, summaries of vocational, psychological and other such tests, classification officer's report, copies of reports to the British Columbia Parole Board, facts about previous committals.

2. Criminal Investigation Branch Packs. These contain reports on each inmate from the Criminal Investigation Branch, Finger Print Section, R.C.M.P., Ottawa, and give the only accurate record of all indictable offences committed by the inmate anywhere in Canada.

3. Boys' Industrial School files. The Warden's office kindly requested the B. I. S., Brannan Lake, Vancouver Island, to send its files on all the inmates studied who had had some contact with that institution. These were particularly complete
files, usually containing a full social history and report from the Child Guidance Clinic, and detailed reports on the inmate's behavior while in the school.

4. **Westgate files.** These files contain monthly reports by the vocational instructor or work gang guard and by the tier officer.

5. **Medical records, and**

6. **Interview with Medical Officer.** Each record was discussed individually with the medical officer and his assistant who both contributed valuable information about some inmates under study.

7. **Interview with vocational instructors.** These members of staff were interviewed with a view to determining the inmate's progress in shop and his potential for vocational training as well as behavior, and attitude.

8. **Interview with tier officers.** These men were interviewed with a view to determining their attitude toward the inmates, what experience and success they might have had in counselling the inmates under their charge, and what they seemed to feel their role was. Besides this, their own impressions of the inmates studied were recorded.

9. **Interview with inmates.** Each of the inmates was seen twice with an interval of two and three weeks between interviews. Prior to the first interview they had no knowledge about the study. The writer started out the first interview by introducing himself and the study. Each inmate
was shown a copy of the thesis outline and questions about it were answered frankly and honestly. Explanation of how this particular group was chosen was given. It was explained that the Warden had agreed that whatever went on between the writer and the prisoner in the interview would not be shared in any way with the prison. It was made clear that the writer was interested in prisons and prisoners but was in no way connected with the prison. It was explained that while the results of the interviews would be summarized in the study everything that was possible would be done to disguise the material and no names would be used. The inmate was told that the writer would appreciate his interest and his help; that without him and others like him the study would not be possible. However, it was impressed upon each man that this was not going to be forced upon him and if he would rather not participate in this study then he was quite free to say so and his feelings would be respected. His participation was quite voluntary and probably could only be valuable if he came into it because he really wanted to.

It is interesting to note that not one of the seventeen withdrew and on the contrary seemed most interested in helping with the project. It was explained to the inmate that the writer had already read the Warden's file and therefore had some information about him. The notes taken from the Warden's file were gone over with the inmate who added or modified certain material. It was explained, too, that the writer
would be checking other available information in the prison about him — Westgate file, medical record, discussion with the guards. The writer said that if they were agreeable he would like to see them each at least once more and would also like to have discussions with small groups of them. Every attempt was made to put the inmate at his ease and make him interested in the study. The majority seemed to maintain this interest throughout the study and three were particularly interested — so much so that they asked if the writer would mind if they looked him up after their release in order to continue discussion. No doubt the need for counselling, for acceptance and understanding was operative here but there was also no doubt about the genuineness of these three men's interest in the project.

An indication of the desire to be honest with the writer about themselves is shown in the case of "Q" who, in discussing the information taken from the warden's file, said that the information was wrong. He admitted that he had given a false story to the probation officer who prepared the pre-sentence report and had continued to give this false story to the prison officials. As this was his first offense there was no way of checking and he was able to perpetuate this false story. He proceeded afterwards to give the correct facts which were almost the reverse of the story in the record. Another example of this frankness was revealed when a discussion about using drugs was taking place with one inmate. The inmate stopped and
asked for assurance of confidentiality and, after this was given, admitted that he was a drug user — though he had never been caught and there was no indication on his record of this fact. Still another admitted that he had falsely said that he was married in order that his girl friend would be able to visit him. A separate interview guide was prepared for each of the two interviews. The headings and their numbers were memorized and information relating to any of the headings was recorded and the corresponding number on the interview guides was written in the margin. In this way the interview was kept more informal and non-directive. If not obtained in the first interview, statistical material and other facts that were considered important were elicited in the second.

A technique known as the "Critical Incident Method" was used during the interview. The writer modified and simplified the original technique. He asked each inmate two separate questions: (1) What in his opinion was the worst thing about the prison. (Very little explanation was given and the inmate was told to interpret this as he wished.) (2) What in his opinion was the best thing about the prison?

10. Group discussions with inmates. It was not possible to meet in group sessions with every one of the seventeen.

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This was the final part of the study and unfortunately one of the seventeen had been transferred to forestry camp, two were in the Elementary Training Unit (the "hole") for disciplinary reasons and were not available, and three expressed some fear of joining such a group and requested that they not be included. The eleven remaining inmates were divided into two groups, of five and six respectively. One lengthy session was held with each group. The group had no structure. The writer explained to the men that he was interested in learning about them, about the prison, about their ideas about prison, about problems associated with being in prison. They were asked to talk freely and about what they liked talking about or would be interested in talking about. However, they were asked to keep in mind that the writer was looking for all sorts of information about prison life and their response to it. These were long sessions and although the writer kept notes throughout, inevitably much was missed.

11. Psychological Tests. Although some of the inmates studied had been given psychological tests in the past the classification officer agreed to test all of the seventeen and the results of these were passed along to the writer.

The interview was seen as the basic method of the study. This can be seen by examining the breakdown of time spent on the various methodological tools: (1) interviewing inmates — 42 hours; (2) interviewing staff — 13 hours; (3) summarizing files — 9 hours; (4) group sessions with inmates — 6 hours.
The setting in which the seventeen inmates were housed while the study was going on and the setting in which men like them will be imprisoned in the future has been outlined in this chapter. Also, the research method used in gathering information about the inmates has been described. The material obtained by means of the methodological tools mentioned was voluminous. For the purposes of this thesis it has been carefully sifted and the points relevant to the central objectives of the study have been summarized in Chapter III.
CHAPTER III

INMATES AS PERSONS

Scrutiny of all information collected about the seventeen inmates and the prison unit in which they were housed led to a categorization of the material under a number of headings. The findings in detailed form were first gathered under these headings and from this the significant facts were drawn and summarized or outlined in tabular form. These summaries and tables are presented in this chapter for the most part without comment or interpretation.

Family Background

Twelve out of the seventeen men studied lost their fathers, either by divorce, separation or death, before reaching the age of nine years. Five of these lost their fathers during infancy. Five of the twelve had step-fathers but in all cases they did not like them and felt rejected by them. Three others of the twelve had mothers who were promiscuous and they remembered a series of men in their mothers' lives who were rather vague father figures. In all cases these "step-fathers" were actively disliked by the inmates as children. Of the remaining five, two seemed to have had good relations with the father but the other three felt there was no close, meaningful tie. Thus it can be seen that fourteen of the
group studied were deprived of meaningful relationships with a father figure.

Only four of the seventeen had satisfying relationships with their mothers. Five mothers were promiscuous and one was actually a prostitute. Two others were heavy drinkers, one was rigidly religious, one was a brutal deaf mute and the other three were unstable in other ways. In all thirteen cases these mothers showed obvious rejection of their sons or the inmates felt strongly that they were rejected by these mothers. In summary it can be said that thirteen, three-fourths of the group, had rejecting and unstable mothers who could not satisfactorily meet the basic emotional needs of their children.

Only four of the seventeen had siblings who had been in trouble with the law. Sibling relationships were not discussed in detail with this group. However, most spoke of fairly good relationships with brothers and sisters. On the part of at least four there was an expression of being the "black sheep" of the family — other siblings having become more successful than they. Only one was an "only" child, six were oldest siblings, nine were middle and only one was the youngest sibling. All who had younger siblings expressed guilt about setting a bad example to the younger ones.

Four had spent part of their early years in foster homes. One of these felt that the foster home had been a positive experience, two expressed intense bitterness about the way in which
they had been treated by foster parents and the fourth, while not bitter, said he had not been happy in the foster home.

In summary it can be stated that six of the seventeen homes of the men studied could be categorized as pathological and one extremely so. Seven others could be said to be unsatisfactory homes, where the needs of the children were given little or no consideration. Only four could be said to be good homes and yet three of these had no father figure after the inmate was eight years of age. Thus thirteen of the inmates were raised in very poor homes where their basic needs could not have been met adequately. Only one of the seventeen could be said to have come from a "normal" home - that is, a home where two parents loved each other and loved and tried to meet the needs of the children.

Marital Relationships

Of the eight inmates who are married, separated or divorced none are without some sort of problem in this area. A. loves his wife and three small children. They mean a great deal to him. However, shortly after coming to prison his wife sought legal counsel and attempted to get him to sign separation papers. She had some idea that this was what he wanted. She lives in another province and he has not been able to talk this out with her and has had to try to straighten out this marital problem by correspondence. B. is separated but wants a reconciliation. His wife also lives in another province and he
cannot do anything about his problem with his wife until he is released. In the meantime this is an area of anxiety and concern for him. E. is separated from his wife and has now fallen in love with another woman whom he wants to marry. His wife is in another country and the possibility of divorce is remote. F. married a fifteen year old girl when she became pregnant. G. separated from his wife when she began going out with other men. I. is married but is consumed with anxiety because his wife in her letters speaks of divorce. She lives in another province and he finds correspondence with her difficult. L. married a girl prior to coming to prison because she was pregnant. M.'s wife is on Social Assistance and because of limited income is forced to live with inlaws, with accompanying problems. In summary it can be said that problems around marriage are common among these prisoners and that being in prison not only aggravates pre-existing problems but creates new ones.

Leisure Time

Eleven spent a major portion of their time "hanging around" with the gang. "Hanging around" is, of course, a common social phenomenon in our culture and has no necessary connection with delinquency. The majority of this group said that "hanging around" eventually led them into trouble. They were always looking for excitement, for a thrill, and any suggestion which promised to give this was followed up. Two or three spent some time hunting or fishing, thirteen participated
in one or more forms of athletics and four of these played on teams. Nine said they had no hobby whatever, three gave "working on cars" as a hobby, two said model building, two photography, one woodworking and one writing. In discussing hobbies it was revealed that only the last three were bona fide hobbies. Model building was something that was done for a short period during pre-adolescence, "working on cars" seemed to be tinkering once in a while with somebody's automobile. So, in fact, all but four had no real hobby.

In summary it can be said that the majority of the group had never learned to use their free time in a satisfying and constructive way. About three-quarters of them spent the major part of their time "hanging around" and did not have any real interests or hobbies.

Social Relationships

Male companions. Nine said their friends were "other fellows" like themselves who were often in trouble with the law and were always looking for a "thrill". One said he had no friends and two said they had very few. The remainder (five) said their friends were decent, law-abiding persons. Most of the first-mentioned nine admitted that they were heavily influenced by the behaviour and activities of the gang they associated with and almost always got into trouble as part of a gang activity. None tried to place blame on the group for their delinquent behavior — all admitted to wanting the excitement and helping in planning gang activity. On the other hand,
most admitted they would not have got into as much trouble if they had not been "hanging around" with the gang. The last five felt they were different from their friends and compared themselves unfavorably with them. This comparison in all cases seemed to bring out a strong feeling in all about their low personal worth.

Female companions. Six have had steady girl friends in the past, thirteen have had promiscuous pre-marital sex relations. Four of these also had a non-physical relationship with a "decent" girl at the same time they were having sex relations with the promiscuous type of girl.

Summary. In talking with these men about their social relationships one gets the feeling that on the whole they form only superficial friendships. They are basically narcissistic and, being concerned only with satisfying their own needs, are not able to give much to a personal relationship - it must give something to them. This would apply to at least twelve of the seventeen and possibly to one or two more.

Age

The age of the inmates was partly governed by the criteria (as described in Chapter II), one of which was that the selected inmates should be from eighteen years to forty years inclusive. However, within that range as noted on Table A we have three who are between 33 and 36 years inclusive; seven between the ages of 20 and 24; and seven who were 18 or 19 years of age. Therefore there were fourteen who were between the ages of 18 and 24, well over three-quarters
of the total group. It would seem, on the basis of this, that the largest number of future inmates of Haney will fall in this younger age group. This, of course, is important in that it has implications for programme planning. It is interesting that no one between the age of 25 and 32 inclusive appeared in this group. Whether or not this is diagnostically significant could only be determined by the breakdown of ages for the total inmate population of the province.

**Intelligence**

Three, or close to 18 per cent, fell into the above-average or superior group. Six fell into the high-average, two in the average and four in the low-average - that is, about 70 per cent were in the average group. Two, or close to 12 per cent fell in the below-average group. According to Lowrey, the perfect distribution for the whole population would be: very superior - 3 per cent; above-average - 22 per cent; average - 50 per cent; below-average - 22 per cent; very inferior - 3 per cent. Leaving out the extremes on both ends, except for relatively high proportion in the average range the sample group represents no significant difference from the normal distribution pattern.

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Education

Table A shows grade completed and age on leaving school. Ten left school at the age of fifteen or earlier. Only one completed grade XII and he went on to complete one year university. Three left school in order to help with family financing, three wanted to go to work (only one of these had a reasonably stable work record afterward), three left when they were sent to the Boys' Industrial School, one left to take technical training in a private technical school (he never completed this), one was suspended for truancy, two failed and lost interest, one joined the RCAF, two left because they did not like school, one got "fed up" and wanted to wander a bit. Only one was a first-rate student who enjoyed studying. Four others seemed to have done fairly well and to have profited by the school experience. The other twelve in varying degrees found school difficult, frustrating, uninteresting and so truanted, caused trouble in class, were unhappy, and found it a relief to be able to leave.

In summary it can be stated that twelve had unsatisfactory school experiences but that of this group at least half expressed the wish that they could have found it more interesting and wished now that they had gone on for a longer period. Most felt the need of more education but because of the frustrations of the past would be very fearful of taking up academic work again. At least three stated that they would like to take special courses in mathematics that would be an aid to them in the trades they plan to follow. One would like to take
TABLE A. Leading Personal Data About Inmates Studied

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INMATE</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>INTELLIGENCE</th>
<th>GRADE COMPLETED</th>
<th>AGE ON LEAVING SCHOOL</th>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>NATIONAL BACKGROUND OF FATHER</th>
<th>CHURCH DENOMINATION</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
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<td>Austrian</td>
<td>United</td>
<td>Student</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Key: 1 AA - Above-average  
      1 LA - Low-Average  
      HA - High-Average  
      BA - Below-Average  
      A - Average  
      2 M - Married  
      S - Single  
      2 D - Divorced  
      SE - Separated
a course in writing and another would like to take a course through the Extension Department of the University. The interest in academic education on the part of all but one or two is at present very low.

Employment

Only four had held relatively steady jobs in the past. Five others have worked most of the time since leaving school but have changed jobs repeatedly. The balance, 8, have had extremely poor work records — unemployed most of the time, taking jobs for a few days or weeks and then leaving without notice, being fired for being unreliable or incompetent. Only five of the group had clear-cut, realistic vocational plans for their future. Four others had some tentative plans which were most vague and indefinite. Seven expressed or indicated in other ways that they were uncertain and confused about their vocational future and one maintained that he was going to follow a criminal career and become a top safecracker, at least until he had built up a sizable stake for himself.

Thus twelve indicated vocational problems bordering on the pathological. However, when they were asked what sort of training programme they would set up for themselves if they had this choice most were able to state areas of some interest. These are tabulated in Table B. In twelve cases these seemed to be quite realistic choices in the light of the man's assets and liabilities as observed by the writer. However, in many
cases they would be realistic only if some of the man's other problems were being met at the same time.

Summary

The majority of the men studied have had extremely poor work histories and thirteen have never had a really satisfying work experience. They lack training, desire to work, and personal qualifications, and have fears about employment in the future. Even the few who have positive goals for the future and who have worked steadily in the past express concern and fear about the problem the ex-criminal faces in finding and retaining a job. Without doubt this whole area constitutes a very knotty problem to the inmate both in relation to vocational training in the prison and to employment after release.

Religion

The religious backgrounds of the inmates under study, as noted in Table A, do not appear to have much significance except that the proportion of Roman Catholics seems rather high. Seven of the group are Roman Catholics. This seems high when one considers that the percentage of Roman Catholics in the Province of British Columbia is only 8.8. Religion was discussed quite fully with each inmate. One claimed he was an

---

1 The Ninth Census of Canada in 1951 gives the total population of British Columbia as 1,165,210 and the total Roman Catholic population of British Columbia as 103,837 or 8.8 per cent.
TABLE B. Summary of Replies to the Question "What Kind of Vocational Training Programme Would You Choose for Yourself?"

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Business methods; public speaking; salesmanship; Gr. XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Construction - carpentry, bricklaying and insulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Welding; mathematics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Writing; study of human personality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Logging; business methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Practical mechanics useful to cat driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Logging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Optical-lens grinding, etc., or machine shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Diesel mechanics; mathematics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Diesel mechanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Anything that will be an aid in safe-cracking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Mechanics; mathematics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Advanced mathematics; electronics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
agnostic though nominally of the Church of England. Seven others said religion had no meaning for them in any form (four of these were Roman Catholic). The attitudes of the remaining nine varied from the three who thought religion was a good thing and who attended church because they believed it was helpful to them, to the other six who were only mildly interested but in a vague way thought there was probably something good about it. This latter group could not say why they felt this and had no real convictions about religion.

The majority who attended church service at Oakalla did so because it was a diversion, a chance to see people from the "outside" and particularly the women who came to some of the services. Some attend both the Roman Catholic service and the Protestant one. For none of the seventeen was religion a vital, meaningful thing — even those few who said they believed in the church showed a marked lack of enthusiasm for it. None of the group had had occasion to meet and talk to the padres and none felt this was something they would want to do. However, three admitted that an occasion might arise in the future when a talk with the padre might be profitable. Two thought they might be interested in a discussion group on religion and two said that singing hymns during the service was the thing they enjoyed most of all.
Health and Habits

The health of those in the sample group was on the whole good. The complaints five of them suffer from are considered by the medical officer to have an emotional basis. All but one uses tobacco, all drink fairly heavily — one half said they were heavy drinkers and the other half said they were moderate drinkers. In discussing what moderate drinking meant, it was revealed that in fact the self-styled moderate drinkers drank a good deal. It is significant that none of this group categorized himself as a "light" drinker. In spite of the fact that drug users were ruled out of this study — two were discovered to be users though neither is as yet addicted. Neither of these two men had ever been convicted of a drug charge, therefore had they been able to meet the other criteria mentioned above they would be eligible for Haney. There is no doubt that some drug users will be among those selected for this new jail.¹ There were two in this group; it may be assumed that about the same percentage of the total future population will have had some experience with drugs, though the small number involved does not entitle us to make the extrapolation without reservations.

Attitudes

Police officers. Seven expressed strong hostility

¹ Addicts who are considered to be salvageable will be considered for Haney on a selective basis.
toward police officers. One of these stated that he hated all "cops", another said the police were all crooked and accepted bribes, three said the police were always pushing them around, one said "they never let you explain anything," the one Indian lad said the RCMP have a particular dislike for Indians and go out of their way to "knock them around". Only one expressed a high regard for police officers. The other nine said they did not care for them but they thought on the whole the police "were doing their job" when they apprehended and questioned suspects. Those who were most hostile related experiences of their own where police officers were especially brutal or obviously corrupt. From this they have assumed that all or most policemen are like this.

Courts. Eleven made unqualified statements that the courts were just and reasonable during trial and sentence. Three thought the courts were inconsistent in sentencing - two men committing similar crimes are often given very different lengths of sentence. Two thought that in passing sentence the judges relied too heavily on the pre-sentence report of the probation officer. They felt the probation officer's report was very often inaccurate - that a full picture of the offender could not be gained by one interview across the table in the prison hallway. As mentioned before, one inmate deliberately gave the probation officer a completely false story in order to conceal his identity. One of the group thought the judge "had it in for him" because he had appeared before him on a previous occasion.
Punishment. Ten thought the prison existed purely for punishment. Five thought it was for both punishment and rehabilitation. One thought the prison was "too easy" and contained too few elements of punishment. One thought it was supposed to be for rehabilitation only and that punishment had no place whatever in the prison.

Guards

Each inmate was asked to describe the majority of the guards in the Westgate Unit as "very good", "good", "poor", or "very poor". Three said "very good", ten said "good", two said one half "good" and one half "poor", one said "poor" and one said "very poor". The last qualified this by saying that he thought the senior officers were "trying". They were asked how many guards they liked "very much". Three said "none", seven said "two", three said "three", one said "four", one said "six", one said "eight", and one said "ten". When asked how many they disliked "very much", seven said "none", two said "one", three said "two", three said "three", one said "five" and one said "twelve". They were then asked how many guards they found it easy to talk to about themselves and their problems, etc. Five said "none", five said "one", three said "two", two said "three", one said "four", and one said "eight".

In summary it might be said that (1) fifteen of the group thought at least one half of the guards were trying to do a good job, and were interested in them; (2) fourteen like at least
two of the guards "very much"; and (3) twelve find they can talk to at least one guard about intimate, personal problems.

**Interviews with guards.** Six shop instructors and seven tier officers who knew the group of seventeen best were interviewed. All were very cooperative and seemed interested in talking about the inmates. The majority had good positive attitudes but a few were rejecting and had punitive attitudes toward the non-conforming inmate. All expressed a desire to do more counselling of inmates and all wished they could have more training in this. The tier officers feel that it is helpful to the inmates to be able to talk to guards about things that are bothering them and all believed that this was part of their role as a tier officer.

**Inmates' Criticism of Prison Programme**

Most of the inmates studied agree that the shop programme is good but is not extensive enough. Very few get a chance to go to the shop of their choice and what is learned there is not geared to help gain employment on the "outside". They feel that the administrative personnel of the prison are well-motivated in their planning for these shops but that they are not as helpful to inmates as they should and could be. The group as a whole thought the hobby programme is good as far as it goes but again it is not complete enough. However, as few in the group find hobbies interesting little emphasis was placed on this phase of the programme. The main criticism was directed toward the so-called "socialization" programme —
that part of the programme involving compulsory gymnasium periods so many times each week. As will be noted in Table C only one of the seventeen said unqualifiedly that it was good. Two thought it was helpful to a few, three thought it was not helping at all and two thought it made them worse. The other eight said it was not helping at all and added that it was not helpful because the programme was compulsory and allowed the inmates no choice.

Offences

As noted in Table D "breaking and entering" and "car theft" were the offences committed by over three quarters of the group. Ten of the seventeen had at some time been convicted of both offences.

Probation and Parole

Nine of the group had been on probation or parole and three of these had had both experiences.

Sentence

The shortest sentence was six months — the minimum as stated in the criteria described in Chapter II. Six had sentences consisting of a definite period plus an indefinite period. Seven had definite periods of one year or more (see Table D).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Summary of Inmates' Main Thoughts About Prison Programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Has little positive influence; time could be put to better use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Keeps you on the go; keeps you from thinking too much; not really helping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Maybe it helps a few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Not helping at all; no cooperation from guards; treat us like herd of cattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Good; keeps you from lying in bunk too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Very few inmates think it is helpful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Programme makes me worse; makes me feel angry inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>As it is set up, only makes you more bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Inmate never has any time to himself; programme should not be compulsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Not helping; not run properly; after working all day you should be able to rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Very &quot;phoney&quot;; disorganized, you don't know whether you're coming or going; should not be compulsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Should not be compulsory; working outside is not bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>No system, keeps changing, not helping; likes gym work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Not helping, gets changed around too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Makes time go faster but it not helpful; guards should be able to spend more time with individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Doing some good but needs much improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Have no choice so can't help you a bit; not geared to help the inmate; disorganized; can't offer me anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INMATE</td>
<td>SENTENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>6x1y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>6x6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>18x2y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>9x1y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1y18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>6x1y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: B & E & S - Breaking and entering and stealing.
Under "sentence" - figures indicate number of months unless followed by "y" (years).
   - 6x6 means 6 months definite and 6 months indefinite sentence.
Inmates' Verbalization of Own Problems (Table E)

Every inmate expressed the feeling that he had a problem or problems. Three of these said outright that they were not concerned about getting help with these problems. The rest in varying degrees expressed a desire for help in understanding themselves so they could solve the problems that had caused them to get into trouble. Professional casework was explained to each inmate and he was asked whether or not he would use such a counselling service if it were available in the prison on a voluntary basis. Nine inmates stated a strong desire to have such help, five said they would probably try this but thought they would hold back and would not be helped very much, the other three said they would not use the service.

Group Sessions with Inmates.

It is unfortunate that the scope of this study is not sufficiently large to discuss in detail the two group sessions held with eleven of the inmates. A great deal of interesting and valuable material about the inmates came out of these sessions and this has been included in the general diagnostic picture of each inmate. The primary reason for holding such sessions was to learn something about the inmates that might not have come through any other channel. Table F shows in a very brief way how each inmate reacted to the group session. These were three-hour sessions which were that long by choice of the participants. After the first hour all were relaxed and seemed to be enjoying the discussion. They talked about
TABLE E. **Summary of Inmates' Verbalization of Own Problems**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td>Since war cannot settle down, mixed up; has good intentions; drinking is problem - pressures build up and tried escape; can't understand self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
<td>Extremely jealous which is basis of trouble with wife; weak, easily led.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C</strong></td>
<td>Cannot do things properly and &quot;blows his top&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong></td>
<td>Has problems but cannot put them into words. Worried about self and has requested interview with psychiatrist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td>Thought he had problems before came to prison - but his seem insignificant now compared to those of other inmates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td>Concerned about his constantly getting into trouble; would like to know why.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G</strong></td>
<td>Feels he probably has problems but doesn't think about this much and is not concerned about them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H</strong></td>
<td>Feels guilty about what his behavior has done to his mother. Wants to change but he can't because he is too weak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td>Has been getting into trouble - this is foolishness, does not know why and it worries him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>J</strong></td>
<td>Worried about what went wrong in his family. Wants to be accepted back, has no place to go, no job to go to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>K</strong></td>
<td>Has no awareness of inner problems, but realizes that he must have some and would like to find out more about them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L</strong></td>
<td>Cannot control self when drinking. Likes to get away and escape from all responsibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
<td>Has no place to go; gets confused; wants to do one thing but does another - never knows what he will do next.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>Probably has problems but is not concerned about them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>O</strong></td>
<td>Worried about the possibility of getting worse - of getting into more trouble in the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P</strong></td>
<td>Worried about why he drinks so much and does the things he does when drinking. Would like to get to the bottom of this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q</strong></td>
<td>Something deep inside himself is lacking. He seems to be searching for individuality and companionship, he needs recognition as a human being.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE F.  Brief Impressions of Inmates as seen
Through Group Sessions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INMATE</th>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Participated actively; constructive attitude; intelligent; critical of much about prison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Requested that he not be included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Agreed to participate but relieved when made clear that he did not have to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Participated actively; negative, bitter; pent up hostility; intelligent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Very active; very constructive; dominated discussion; intelligent; needs to be center of attention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Agreed to participate but transferred to Camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Did not wish to participate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Agreed to participate but confined to E.T.U.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tried to be constructive; hostile; very confused.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Active; tried hold floor; big talk; bitter, hostile, aggressive, contradictory, very confused.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Active; tried to be constructive; talks lot about need to conform; very thick defenses against intense hostility and bitterness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Active; spoke in glib positive terms but no real feeling or conviction; plausible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Agreed to participate but confined to E.T.U.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Talked lot; facetious; superficial, wants to be center; boasting, bitter; very disturbed, has been deeply hurt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Slow thinking; fair attitudes; tried to be constructive but did not participate very much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Active; bitter, suspicious, cynical.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Very active intelligent lad; interested in prison as sociological phenomenon; studying prison and offered many interesting sidelights.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
almost every aspect of prison life, about rehabilitation, punishment, capital punishment, crime causation, about problems criminals have and how they might be solved, about the world outside. No attempt was made to direct the discussion and the group wandered from one subject to the other by association of ideas. Every inmate expressed the feeling that these were good sessions - and suggested that more opportunity should be given for them. The evidence of these sessions suggests that the therapeutic possibilities of such groups are great.

"Critical Incident"

The "Critical Incident" technique used in the interview is summarized on Tables G and H. An examination of both the positive and the negative responses reveals something of the inmates' feeling about the prison. For example, six of them could see nothing good about the prison and seven thought the present programme was disorganized, changing and inconsistent. The two that had spent some time in the "Elementary Training Unit" (the "hole") thought that it was the worst experience they had ever had in prison.

This Critical Incident technique should ideally be applied to a much larger number. Nevertheless even with this limited sampling significant results seem to emerge. For instance, the inmates' strong feeling that the programme is inconsistent reflects, not inaccurately, an objective fact of
TABLE G. Summary of Inmates' Responses to "Critical Incident" Question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<td>H</td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<td>J</td>
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<td>K</td>
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<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE H. Summary of Inmates' Responses to "Critical Incident" Question

**Negative Incident**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Meeting for first time men who are determined to be criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Compulsory gymnastic periods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>A guard once said he trusted no inmate and would never give anyone the benefit of the doubt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>You ask for something and never get it; are told something will happen but it never does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>No privacy in going to the toilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Being away from wife and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>You never know where you are - one guard says one thing and another says something different.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Guards are inconsistent, sometimes helpful, sometimes punitive; Warden's court is fixed before inmate appears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Prison is too noisy, expected it to be quiet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Compulsory gymnasiun programme - no one should be forced to take gym.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>The &quot;hole&quot; (E.T.U. Elementary Training Unit) No training, inmates come out worse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>E.T.U. - nothing to do all day but lie around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Prison has no system in programme - confused inmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Always changing the programme - never know what you are going to do next.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Being away from home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>No routine - never know where you stand; programme always changing, something is planned and then cancelled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Fear that prison group will have a negative influence on him and change his way of thinking and behaviour.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the situation; but the intensity of their reaction is to be accounted for by the fact that as people whose lives have been hitherto marked by disorganization and inconsistency they are particularly sensitive to this issue. In short, in so far as this is a valid criticism, it indicates an important failure in the institution to recognize the destructiveness of any instability in the programme however well-intentioned the changes might be.

If possible the technique should be applied to the whole prison population and for comparative purposes it might simultaneously be applied to the guards.

**Case Histories**

The following four case histories are typical of four kinds of inmates needing four somewhat different approaches regarding treatment.

**Case "A".** A comes from a stable, secure home. He was the youngest of a family of five siblings. His father was a successful upstanding citizen. As a youngster A was active in the boy scouts, played hockey and seems to have had a fairly normal happy childhood. He began going steady with a girl while at high school and married her prior to going overseas during the last world war. He has above-average intelligence and did well at school. When he became eighteen he left school in order to join the RCAF. At this time he was only part way through grade XII. He became a fighter pilot
but was shot down over Germany and spent eighteen months in a prisoner-of-war camp. He worked steadily after the war as a salesman and apparently was able to earn a good living. He had started to drink when overseas and continued this afterwards. His job as a salesman took him away from home a good deal and he did considerable drinking when on these trips. He became worried about his drinking and what it was doing to his marriage. He joined Alcoholics Anonymous and was active in this organization for a time. He thought AA was good and was helping him. However, one day he began drinking again for no apparent reason. He drifted away from home for some months. He was drunk most of the time. He eventually ran out of money and cashed some checks knowing that he had no money in the bank to cover them.

He was apprehended and charged on eight separate counts, all false pretenses, and was sentenced to fifteen months in prison. He feels he was justly dealt with and deserved this sentence. He dislikes the prison intensely and has many criticisms of it, mostly of a very constructive nature. He had been a conforming inmate and is thought highly of by the guards he works under. He does not think that being in prison can help him unless he can study things that will help him succeed in the business world after release. He would like to finish Grade XII and take a business course and also learn public speaking and salesmanship. He corresponds with his wife and children and his parents. Shortly after he arrived in prison his wife
retained a lawyer and the latter contacted A with respect to a separation agreement. This was a bitter blow to A for he loved his wife and has counted on her support. Correspondence with his wife has cleared up this point to some extent. Apparently she was under the impression that because he left home he wanted to be free of her and the children. He now receives supportive letters from his wife who lives in another province. She is working and holding things together. She plans to move out to Vancouver shortly in order to be closer to him and they plan to remain in this area. A has a strong desire to stop drinking after he is released. He is realistic in feeling that this will be difficult for him and he does not know whether or not he will have the will power to stop. He plans to join the AA again.

When discussing his problem with him he stated that since the war he has been unable to settle down. He has tried and he cannot understand why he finds it so difficult. He sees his drinking as the problem but realizes there is a reason for his drinking. He wonders if he is not trying to escape from something through drink. He finds that pressure builds up and keeps building up within him until he just has to go out and get drunk to relieve this pressure. He does not understand himself. He feels that no one can be helped unless he truly wants to be helped. He feels that his problem is deep and psychological and nothing in the prison programme is geared to help with problems like this. He needs professional help
and thinks he would use the services of a trained caseworker or psychiatrist if such were available in the prison.

"A" has many assets and strengths that make his prognosis hopeful. It would appear his basic needs were met as a child, he is intelligent, his goals in life are constructive ones, his wife and family are prepared to give him all the support necessary, he is concerned about himself, realizes he has a deep-seated problem and wants help with it.

One does not see prison as the appropriate setting for effective therapy in this case. Prison has only intensified his problem; it has confirmed his feeling of his own unworthiness, intensified his guilt feeling, has created new worries around his relationship with his wife, and around how the family is managing without him. He is not criminally inclined and has little in common with the majority of other inmates. Consequently he feels isolated and alone. One feels that a period on probation during which time A might have been under treatment for his alcoholism would have been a sentence in line with his needs and would have served the public interest as well. Failing probation, a short sentence would seem to give more chance of successful rehabilitation than a long one.

**Suggested programme for A.**

**Educational.** Correspondence course in Grade XII, and in business methods. Public speaking. Practice in typing (he is already a fair typist).
Hobbies. Woodworking (expressed interest).

Recreation. Voluntary programme of sports and games.

Counselling. Regular casework interviews possibly with some psychiatric consultation. (Because of this man's assets and hopeful prognosis A might be one of the few who would be selected immediately for intensive casework treatment.) Supplementary group therapy sessions with a small group having similar problems.

Living units. A. is an excellent security risk and could be housed in the most open unit in the prison.

Case "C". C’s mother was a deaf-mute who was quite dull. Her husband was sent to prison for peddling drugs when C was four or five years of age and he never returned. Mother lived as the common law wife of a man whom all the children until recently believed to be their real father. Stepfather was a drunkard and cruel and mean and rejecting, particularly toward C. Mother drank a great deal too, and when drinking became brutal toward the children. At other times she showed no interest in the children. C. was the oldest of four children. He was often left in charge of the children while his parents went to the beer parlour and he was very mean to his young sisters. The Social Welfare Branch had numerous complaints about neglect and mistreatment of the children, and for a time the children were made wards and placed in foster homes. C was very unhappy in the foster home. He was well treated but worried about what was happening to the rest of the family.
He ran away repeatedly and was eventually allowed to return home. He had below-average intelligence, received few satisfactions from school but managed to finish grade seven at the age of sixteen. He tried to find work but held jobs only for brief periods. He began drinking after he left school and for a time this was a real problem for him. He was a short, odd-looking lad, had no friends and spent most of his time wandering around on his own. He had been suspected of stealing for some time by the local police and was eventually apprehended while breaking and entering a garage. He was sent to the Boys' Industrial School. He ran away from there three times but after he had settled down he found his first real security in a long time. He found people interested in him, a place to sleep and a place to get regular meals. He was placed in the tailor shop and by the time he left the School was able to do many of the simpler tailoring jobs. The tailor took a close personal interest in the lad and a strong relationship developed between them. He had been exhibiting many physical symptoms and particularly a stomach complaint which was diagnosed as a gastric ulcer. After release from the Boys' Industrial School he had nothing to go back to and therefore was soon in trouble again, this time being sentenced to Oakalla. He is a bitter, disillusioned lad but his behaviour in the prison is very conforming. He tried to talk to the guards and wants a friend desperately. He has no use for any of the inmates. He has few strengths or personal assets.
C. is a deeply deprived person who cannot relate except superficially to others. He has a consuming desire for approval from adults. He seems disoriented a good deal of the time. His borderline intelligence and his lack of any real strengths make his outlook for rehabilitation very poor. Ideally he should be treated in a psychiatric center and it seems likely that before long C will deteriorate to the point where he will be commitable to a Mental Hospital. He does not know what he wants out of life, changes his mind from interview to interview and tells strange stories about his life to anyone who will take the time to listen to him. Usually the stories are quite different each time he tells them. C. is an extremely disturbed person who needs institutional care. Social treatment will not help him and one suspects that his prognosis even under psychiatric treatment would be poor.

Suggested programme for "C".

Educational. Some routine job where he would be able to work alone and learn a simple procedure - perhaps in the laundry. He would do a conscientious and thorough job.

Hobbies and Recreation. Would be happier working on some aspect of his job during the evenings. He is not capable of having more than one real interest.

Counselling. C has a great need to talk to adults about himself and needs to have a chance to do this with some one whom he feels is really interested in him. Casework treatment is not likely
to be of use to him. His needs in this area could be met adequately by a correctional officer whom he likes and who is able to show an interest in C.

Living unit. C needs a certain amount of isolation from the group and would not be happy in a dormitory. He is also something of a security risk. Given certain kinds of pressures he might attempt to escape.

Case "G". G. was raised on a farm. His father died when he was eight years old and he had to begin helping with the farm chores at this early age. He did poorly at school and only completed grade six. He is of low-average intelligence. He left the farm after his older brother took over its management and from then on worked steadily first as a labourer and later as a cat driver. He drinks a great deal and during one of his sprees he impersonated someone else and passed some worthless checks in order to get money for more liquor. After he was apprehended he was found to have stolen goods on his person and was charged with possession of stolen goods. He does not recount how he came by these latter items. He was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. This was his first offence.

G is a dull, hard-working person who does not seem to have any seriously disturbing factors in his background. However, he is weak and easily influenced, especially when he is drinking. He does show a very positive strength in the fact that he has been continuously employed since a young man. In
the prison he is conforming, keeps to himself, does not like talking about crime. In fact he dislikes everything about the prison and sees it only as a punishment. The deterrent effect of the prison on this man will likely prove to be very strong and one would suspect that the thought of having to come back to prison would inhibit any thought of crime in the future and will also probably help him modify his drinking habits. There is very little to offer such a man as this. He knows what he wants to do after release - continue to be a cat driver. Anything that will assist him in this job would be of use to him. He does not find talking easy and it is doubtful if he would be helped by casework or counselling by a correctional officer. He expresses no desire to examine his own drinking problems.

Suggested programme for "G".

**Educational.** Practical mechanics that will assist him in his job as a cat driver.

**Hobbies and recreation.** One of this man's problems is that he has no interests outside his job. Drinking has been the only thing he liked to do in his spare time. It is possible that by exposing G to various kinds of recreational and hobby activity he might develop an interest that he would retain after release. G. has indicated some interest in sports and games and he might be helped to widen his interest in this area.

**Counselling.** The necessary counselling about day-to-day matters could be done by the correctional officer. G needs someone to take an interest in him, who will support his strengths and whom
he might talk to about change in programme, regulations he might not understand, employment fears, and the other kinds of problems each inmate is constantly faced with. It is not likely that G. would be amenable to the more intensive help of the caseworker.

Living units. G. is not a security risk and could be housed in the institution's most open unit.

Case L. L's parents separated when he was one year old. His mother remarried a few years later but L was unable to accept his stepfather. Because of this his mother began to reject him openly and left him to his own devices. They lived on the fringe of a "delinquency area" and L soon began ganging up with delinquent lads. He began stealing when only nine years of age and was from then on constantly watched, picked up and questioned by the police. Occasionally he was beaten up by a policeman who was tired of constantly taking him to court and thought a good beating might be more effective. L tested below average but in many ways he seems much brighter than this. He was not interested in school and truanted regularly. At the age of fifteen he left school without finishing Grade VIII. He was uninterested in working and continued to hang around with the gang. He had already been on probation twice and had spent one year in the Boys' Industrial School for breaking and entering and car theft. Shortly after leaving school he was recommitted to the Boys' Industrial School. After release he was something of a "big shot" among his friends and became the leader of the gang.
He began planning more adventurous robberies and was always looking for a "thrill". He began drinking heavily and was taking drugs occasionally. He had regular sexual relations with the girls who hung around the gang. He was sent to the Young Offenders Unit for car theft but on release immediately went back to his old haunts and resumed his delinquent activity. The only friends he had were delinquents and most of them had been in prison. He continued his pattern of breaking and entering and car theft and was again sentenced to prison. Just prior to this his current girl friend, a fifteen year old, became pregnant and under pressure he agreed to marry her.

L's strengths seem limited. He probably has average intelligence but his education and work record are very poor. He has had some experience as a truck driver and is interested in mechanics. He has never had any hobby or real interests except in some sports. He sees the prison only as a place of punishment and sees policemen, judges and other authority figures as punitive and inconsistent. He has been severely rejected by his mother and is a deeply disturbed person. He is beginning to find escape in drinking and this has been a real problem for him during the last year. He is beginning to take drugs and is in danger of becoming an addict. He sees his problem as one of trying to escape because he cannot face responsibility. He verbalizes a need for help with these problems. However, he has little concern for others, little feeling of guilt for his past escapades, is still driven by
the need for excitement, is extremely hostile towards authority and the prognosis without intensive treatment is poor.

This lad typifies in many ways over half the group studied. It might be said that the kind of programme that would help a lad like this would be helpful to a large number of the future inmates of Haney Correctional Institution.

Suggested programme for L.

Educational. Vocational training in motor mechanics with some practice in driving institutional trucks. Simplified mathematics and a course in the kind of information that might be helpful to a truck driver.

Hobbies and recreation. L. is fond of popular music. He might join an interest group that would listen to and discuss modern jazz. This is the sort of interest group that an interested member of the community might conduct on a voluntary basis. His expressed interest in fishing could be explored and might lead to rod-making, fly-tying, practice in fly-casting etc. Again such an interest group might be conducted by a volunteer — possibly the local game warden. L. would find satisfaction in a voluntary programme of sports.

Group Sessions. During group discussion L. participated quite actively. It was felt that he was able to express himself more easily and that he put more of himself forward in the group sessions than in the interviews. Regular group discussion would probably prove to be very therpeutic for L.
Counselling. L's problems are very deep, going back to rejection and unfulfilled emotional needs of infancy. He has many of the characteristics of what is loosely termed "the psychopathic personality"—lack of affect, lack of guilt feeling, inability to learn from experience, aggressive tendencies, impulsive and deep hostility. The treatment of such persons as this is very difficult and involves the breaking down of defenses and exposing to consciousness the realities of the infantile traumas. This is a job for a psychiatrist and not a caseworker. However, through a slow facing up to what has happened in the past, and the inevitability of repeated prison sentences if it continues, it is possible to help L. accept the need for help. This could come about through a strong relationship with a correctional officer who takes a special interest in the lad and who convinces L. that he has genuine concern about him. The correctional officer at this point would refer L. to the caseworker for intensive counselling. Once the process began the caseworker would have to see the lad at least once each week for about one hour interviews. As defenses began breaking down there would have to be psychiatric consultation. This process of casework help would be aided by group therapy sessions for L. at the same time.

Living unit. L. is unpredictable. His need for fun and excitement makes him a security risk. With support of others like himself he would undoubtedly try to break prison. He would be best housed in a fairly secure unit. This would be acting in L's best interests for there is no doubt that he is
ambivalent about authority; he both needs its controls and feels secure when he has them, and hates the control and tries to escape or fight them. Klare says this is common among prisoners and can be utilized in the helping process.¹

In this chapter the findings of the study have been outlined in summary form and case histories have been used to illustrate a number of types of inmates needing somewhat different kinds of treatment. This material now needs to be examined in the light of basic social work principles. Chapter IV is given over to this task.

CHAPTER IV

WELFARE IMPLICATIONS FOR CUSTODY AND COUNSELLING

The implications for programme and treatment contained in the material summarized in Chapter III must now be considered. It is not within the scope of this study to suggest other than broad leads for correctional treatment. Speaking generally about this group of seventeen inmates, one is struck by the amount of pathology in their backgrounds. This is all the more significant when we realize that this group was drawn from a unit in Oakalla that contains less criminally inclined, more reformable types of inmates. The intensity of the problems revealed has many implications for the institution presently being constructed to receive such inmates as the group studied — the Haney Correctional Institution. A delineation of the major problems facing all or some of these seventeen men would clearly be of value to the staff planning the programme for this new prison. An attempt will be made in this chapter to isolate and discuss the problem areas and other significant findings of the study; the subheadings used in Chapter III will, generally speaking, provide the necessary framework.

Family Background

Extremely inadequate home life was evident in over three-fourths of the group. Early emotional deprivation, of
course, can have devastating ramifications in later life in almost every area - employment, school, personal relationships, marriage, feelings toward employers and other authority figures, etc. Any effort to meet problems like these in prison must recognize, in each person with these unmet emotional needs, the strong tug, sometimes conscious, sometimes unconscious, to find the fundamental thing he has missed as a child; the comfort and security of a good home with loving, accepting parents. This need is accentuated in those persons who have been severely rejected by parents and, although we should be cautious about generalizing, we cannot rule out the real possibility that many offenders are criminal not only because they are unconsciously acting out hostile feelings against parental figures but (as Dr. Frederic Wertham suggests and documents with an interesting case history) many criminals commit crimes in order to get placed in prison. He calls this a "flight into custody" and suggests that the institution represents the home where one becomes completely dependent again - a symbolic return to infancy and a chance to be "mothered". Crime in this sense can be said to be part of the search for a mother. Any unmet dependency operating in the individual personality is only accentuated by the prison sentence. This is another rejection by people who make up the world in which the offender lives.

1 Bowen, Croswell, "Flight into Custody", two-part article in The New Yorker, November 1 and 8, 1952.
He has been rejected by parents, disapproved of by teachers, fired by employers, knocked about by police officers and then lectured and sent to prison by the magistrate. Here he loses his liberty, is cut off from whatever in his life passes for family and friends. He feels lost and helpless. He cannot continue to live his life the way he wants. Here he must depend on others and have most of his decisions made for him. This is the kind of situation that leads to regression to an infantile dependency, and this condition can and should be used dynamically to help the prisoner. This kind of situation presents a challenge. For this regression, this emergence of faultily acquired childish attitudes, is a unique opportunity for helping at least some of the prisoners with very basic problems relating to their unmet infantile needs. This means that we must introduce into the situation staff who are wise enough and well-trained enough to help undo the harm that was done by the parents. In a sense, to play this role properly staff must be prepared to accept the dependency of the inmates and become parent substitutes.¹

As noted in Chapter I the custodial or correctional officer is thought to be the key person in the institution because of his close hour-to-hour contact with the inmates. In doing things for the inmate and in showing a genuine

interest in him as a person the inmate comes to rely on him as he might a good parent. It cannot be stressed enough that the basic therapeutic factor in a good institution is the attitude of the staff members. No programme will succeed and no positive results will be accomplished unless first of all this fundamental condition is met. The free and friendly relations between officers and inmates is most important in the re-educative process and goes a long way toward effecting the emotional re-orientation of the disturbed and offending inmate. Each staff member in the prison who comes into contact with the inmate has some contribution to make if he understands the man and wants to help him. It is therefore important that these staff people know something about the social and psychological aspects of the inmate's behaviour.

They must be alert to the dynamics of the relationship existing between the inmate and themselves and to know something of the transference mechanism whereby the inmate displaces his feelings about past experiences on to the person who is trying to help him. The ability to recognize, understand and appreciate this transference relationship, without trying to use it or interpret it to the inmate, can intensify the therapeutic influence of staff involved with the inmate - especially if this understanding is shared by other staff having contact with the same prisoner. If all staff understand that this relationship rehearses the child-parent relationship, they will be better
able to understand the inmate's feelings toward them of both love and hate. At the same time they can utilize this understanding in consciously accepting the role of a father cum mother cum guide cum counsellor, within the context of their official role as wielder of authority.

The composite, psychological role, of course, can only be developed when the relationship has reached the point where the inmate feels there is someone who really cares for him and is responsible for him. There may come a time when the inmate will endow the correctional officer with omnipotent powers and come to depend on him as he would like to have been able to depend on his father and mother. This point has been stressed here because of its extreme importance as it relates to every member of the staff, for it is well known that the large majority of destructive impulses toward society by offenders are an extension of the hostility toward parents or other adults playing parental roles in their early years. Gradually this hostility can be lessened by the growing trust the inmate may develop in the prison staff.

Needless to say, these questions of inmate - staff relations should be explicitly and collectively understood by staff. Such understandings — and the discussions which re-enforce and clarify them — serve a double purpose; they not only aid individual staff members in wise interpretation of these behaviour and relationship situations, but also create and enhance mutual
confidence and harmony. This again has a reciprocal value; it is worth while in itself but also multiplies the therapeutic influence of staff and institution. Prisoners gradually (though not necessarily consciously) find that they have a much-needed security-base in the quality of relationships among those occupying the central place in the prison community which is also, temporarily, their home. It is evident that this can only be possible if there is unity and harmony among the staff and if there is loyalty to one another and to the institution. Hostility, dissatisfactions, gossip, etc., among staff only serve to confirm and justify the inmate's own hostility and dissatisfaction. Tensions among staff reactivate in the inmate's mind anxieties relating to his own intra-familial conflicts.¹ This can only serve to aggravate his problem and rehabilitation will thereby become difficult if not impossible.

All this has meaning only if the staff, and here we are talking mostly about correctional officers (although teachers and instructors play these roles too), can get to know the inmates intimately enough to win their confidence and show concern. The achievement of this end calls for the smallest possible groupings of men under one correctional officer, who should take prime responsibility for his group. Unfortunately, the Haney Correctional Institution house units are designed for

fifty inmates and are far too large to create the illusion of "home" which is a fundamental therapeutic element. The Westgate system, which limits each tier to twenty inmates, is more nearly ideal and the chance for the correctional officer to get to know his men and to deal in an "individual" or personal way with them is much greater than will be possible at Haney.

Also, the proposal to have correctional officers carry one or two cases on a counselling basis would work against their essential role as group counsellors who allow themselves to be in some sense substitute parents. The house units should be small enough so that the officer could know and "counsel" all in his group who wish that service from him. Time should be made available for this. Referral to a caseworker, doctor, teacher, instructor, or whoever, should grow out of these counselling sessions, but whatever is done by these "specialists" the real job of "correction" will be done at the "line" level by the correctional officer.

Marital Relations

Problems around marriage were common among prisoners of the group studied who are married or who have been married. In at least two of these cases the inmates would welcome and could profit by casework help. It is to be hoped that, while this counselling was going on in prison, the wife could be going to a community social agency for similar casework
help. One feels, from the group sessions held as part of this study, that a small group of prisoners with problems of this nature might profit by group discussion.

**Leisure Time**

The study clearly shows that most men like those interviewed have never used leisure time constructively. At least three-quarters of the group had never had any constructive interests. The need to help such people to experience real satisfaction in sports, hobbies, arts and other recreational and semi-educational activities is very great. The division of Recreation proposed for the Haney prison is designed to meet this need.

**Social Relationships.**

The study reveals that most of these men had poor or superficial relationships with others. Problems relating to members of their own sex and to those of the opposite sex are linked closely to problems around unmet needs in the family. Treatment then should be related to the earlier discussion under **Family Background**.

**Education**

The study showed that almost three-quarters of the group had very unsatisfactory school experiences. Although some felt that further schooling would be desirable, only a very few thought they would seriously consider taking further academic training. In the light of this fact, it would seem
that, rather than a bare announcement that such and such courses were available, the need is to create situations (such as documentary films plus skilfully designed talks) where embryonic interests might be developed. Once the inmate shows signs of real interest and some ability, he should be encouraged to go back to school. When this is done the courses given should be geared to an adult level even though the grade being taken is actually quite low.¹ ² The proposed plan for education in Haney Correctional Institution is to include the academic as well as the vocational and it is hoped that the programme will be flexible enough to permit individual inmates to take correspondence courses in almost any subject including courses given by the Department of Extension, University of British Columbia.

Employment

The study showed that the whole area of employment was a great problem to most in the group. The great need seems to be for these men to have an opportunity of finding satisfactions in work. In order to do this they need to be and feel competent in some trade or vocational line. But the initial stimulus in that direction can come only by infection -- by identification with some craftsman who loves his craft

and has an affirmative attitude to his inmate learners. Here again we return to the basic issues discussed under Family Background.

The need for vocational training is unquestionably one of the major needs of this particular group. Everyone expressed a desire for more training. In this respect the proposed plan for vocational training at the Haney prison, assuming it takes into consideration such factors as those just mentioned, seems to be sound. On the basis of the information now available about this programme it would appear that most, if not all, of the group of seventeen could be helped, at least to some degree, at the new jail. However, it should be noted that vocational counselling, vocational testing and a period in the "exploratory" shop would be necessary in the case of a number of the group who have only a vague idea about what they want or what they can do in the way of employment in the future. As one of the most enlightened wardens in the United States has said,

One of the most important steps in any treatment program is to afford all men an opportunity to work. Many men in prison have never learned to work. They have run away from work. In the average prison, work is the last thing available. If we only teach men to work in prison we have accomplished a great deal.1

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1 The "exploratory" shop at the Haney Correctional Institution is explained in Chapter II.

Religion

Most of the group appeared to be either confused or negativistic about religion. On the basis of information that came through the interviews and the group sessions it would appear that the kind of religious programme most likely to appeal to the majority of this group would be a type of group discussion about religion - preferably not structured in the way of bible study. There was an expression on the part of some that singing hymns was satisfying. Perhaps a small group in the prison could be helped by joining a Glee Club or a choir which might sing during church services.

Health and Habits

The study revealed that a number of the men suffered from complaints that have psychosomatic bases. No doubt casework, with close consultation with the doctor and/or psychiatrist, would be indicated here. As many expressed concern about their drinking habits some attention to this problem should be given. Group discussions (among the inmates themselves, or perhaps under the auspices of Alcoholics Anonymous or The Alcoholism Foundation of British Columbia), lectures, films and the like would be best calculated to fill the expressed need for help here.

Attitudes

The attitude of the majority of the seventeen inmates toward the prison and toward people in authority was on the
whole negative. While there is the possibility of such a reaction having been created in adult life from experiences with bosses, policemen and prison itself, nevertheless in the vast majority of cases such reactions relate to early attitudes towards parents, accentuated by unfortunate experiences with school teachers and other adults. Therefore focusing on the attitude *per se* in treatment would, of course, be unproductive. Attitudes will only be changed as positive identifications are made with adults in positions of authority who are consistent, fair, incorruptible, accepting and understanding. All this is related to the issues discussed earlier in this chapter under Family Background.

**Guards**

The guards at Westgate are only now beginning to take inservice training and to take more responsibility for the counselling of inmates. It says a good deal for them as a group that these seventeen inmates rated them as highly as they did (see this section in Chapter III). The majority thought most of the guards were interested in them. The impression these guards gave during the interviews with them was consistent with the inmates' picture of them. It would appear that these men in their desire to be interested, helpful people have something positive to offer the inmates.

**Inmates' Criticism of Prison Programme**

The majority of the inmates were sympathetic and supportive of the administration's attempt to set up a rehabilitation programme. Most thought the shop programme was good
as far as it went but that it should be expanded. The intense feeling on the part of the majority against being forced to take part in the gymnasium activities makes one doubt the value of such a compulsory programme. By virtue of its function as a prison the institution is restrictive and many aspects of its life must be compulsory. However, such things as fun, games, hobbies and recreation generally, which should and can be real socializing influences, have value in large part because they are voluntary activities. Whether inmates participate or not in such activities is often diagnostically important and may indicate progress or regression on the part of individual inmates.

Offences.

The study showed that the majority of the inmates had been convicted for stealing — mainly of cars. The offence in itself is not necessarily important but if a certain pattern in the offender's stealing can be discerned, this information may be diagnostically valuable. One writer in discussing this subject says:

Take, for example, stealing, which brings more people into prison than any other crime. By itself it tells us little about the person concerned, and we need to know a great deal more before offering help or advice — such as whether the impulse is habitual, or only in certain moods or in certain circumstances, whether it is a straightforward desire for the object taken, or whether it represents an act of aggression or a symbolic seeking for something other than the actual object, or is a distraction from depression, or various other possibilities.  

If offences committed by the inmate are to be interpreted diagnostically, they should be viewed as any form of anti-social behaviour is viewed, "That is, as partially neurotic and partially non-neurotic and consciously motivated", and an attempt should be made to see "to what degree and in what detailed aspects is this particular case of stealing neurotic," and further, to what degree it "is patternized and repetitive and changeless from one incident to the next."¹

A number of the group of seventeen, for example, showed a pattern of repeated car thefts. As automobiles, like guns, are egoic power or sexual potency symbols (as well as status symbols for status-starved individuals) it is conceivable that the crime of car theft might "represent a symbolic gratification of a forbidden sexual act."² It has been suggested that the using of a gun in a hold-up "may contain strong elements of a suppressed homosexuality, or sexual impotency."³ It may be that the theft of an automobile relates to similar elements in the personality of the offender.

**Inmates' verbalization of own problems**

The need for a treatment-oriented programme is clearly shown in the inmates' verbalization of their own problems. One


thing came out sharply: these inmates are concerned about their behaviour. They are afraid of their aggressive and anti-social drives, fearful that they will go on into further crime, feel trapped, worthless, confused and guilty. And almost all explicitly want help. Clearly, on the evidence adduced from this study, the classification and counselling section planned for the new Haney prison is of paramount importance if the whole concept of treatment is to be anything more than a futile formality.

**Group Sessions with Inmates**

As mentioned under this subheading in Chapter III, group sessions with the inmates indicated a need in them to have the opportunity of talking about a variety of subjects in an atmosphere conducive to good discussion. Once the necessary atmosphere of freedom and frankness has been established, the inmate not only begins to reveal himself in a new way - different from what would emerge with the individual counsellor - but also makes contact with fellow-inmates at that level which can constitute real socialization. In other words, the necessary relationships with his fellow-creatures in general can grow out of this beginning. Group work, group discussion, and group therapy all have a place in meeting fundamental needs in this group - and presumably any such group of inmates.
Case Histories

Four case histories with suggested programmes for each of the men have been used in Chapter III to illustrate the four types of inmate that appeared to emerge from the group studied. Naturally there are great variations within each of the four groups and diagnosis and treatment will be different from person to person. However, in regard to counselling needs these four groups show four distinctly different yet separately identifiable approaches.

Case "A" is typical of three of the seventeen in that they are aware of their problems, have done some thinking about them and have some insight, have expressed a desire to understand themselves better, appear to want help, and seem to have the kinds of strengths that will make casework help successful. These three men should move into casework treatment immediately and the responsibility for counselling should clearly rest with the professional caseworkers.

Case "C" is typical of two of the seventeen. He is really a psychiatric case and is close to being psychotic. Casework in his case should not be attempted, for if defences crumbled this would undoubtedly produce a psychotic episode. Day-to-day counselling about programme, institutional rules and regulations, disciplinary factors etc., should be handled by the correctional officer that has closest contact with them. Counselling around real problems would not be attempted.
Case "G" is typical of three of the seventeen. They need someone to take an interest in them and counsel them about problems that arise in the prison. However, they are not very much aware of problems within themselves and are not likely to prove amenable to intensive counselling. The correctional officer having closest contact with each of them should do the counselling in these cases. Here he might deal with problems related to employment after release, marital problems that the inmate feels he will face, and other problems for which he will need support if he is eventually to tackle them on his own. No attempt would be made, in counselling these three, to bring about fundamental changes in the habit patterns of the past.

Case "L" is typical of nine, over half, of the group of seventeen. This will be the real "hard core" of Haney in the future and much thought and experimentation will have to take place before a really effective method of helping them can be worked out. By and large the key to this problem lies in the close cooperation of the casework staff and the correctional officers. Such men as L. need intensive help and must get it if they are to change their pattern of behaviour. However, one cannot force casework on a client; unless he wants to enter into a casework relationship and seek for understanding and change, the chances of really helping him are nil. So it becomes the responsibility of the correctional officer to get to know these men, show interest in them at every opportunity, and win their confidence. When in counselling sessions with the
inmates, the correctional officer feels the man is ready for more intensive counselling, he helps the man to see the value to himself of requesting casework help. For a time after referral, both correctional officer and caseworker should work very closely together and gradually, as the relationship transfers to the caseworker, the correctional officer should withdraw without rejecting the inmate.

Counselling

The illustrative case histories above show the need for counselling for all inmates, though this counselling must differ in form and in degree of intensity in each case. It is clear that in three out of the seventeen cases professional casework would be needed at the outset; that in nine cases a professional caseworker might be needed during some phase of treatment, depending in all probability on the skill of the correctional officer in helping the inmate accept casework treatment; and that in the other five cases no casework would be attempted. From this we see strong evidence that counselling by the lay staff in prison is not only important but necessary.

Before proceeding to discuss the division of labour in counselling between the correctional officer and the caseworker, some clarification is required about the meaning of "counselling" and some of the things that it is hoped it will accomplish.

In this context we can say that counselling is a process whereby the inmate is enabled to accept the prison community and
make use of its resources so that he is helped toward a resolution of the problems that are getting in the way of his functioning as a free member of society. The basic tool of the counsellor is the relationship that exists between him and the inmate. Unless this develops, it is pointless to keep interviewing the prisoner. The man must feel that the counsellor is interested in him, does not look upon him as "criminal", but sees affirmative qualities in him and respects him for the thing both have in common — their essential humanness. As the inmate feels this warmth and respect, a process of "identification" takes place whereby the inmate gradually incorporates within himself the standards and attitudes of the counsellor. This identification might come first of all in the form of the inmate doing things to please the counsellor because he wants the counsellor's respect and concern to continue. Here again we reach the concept elaborated under Family Background about the prison staff's role as parent substitutes.

Counselling sessions, or interviews, can be for a variety of purposes — from very routine matters to very intensive therapeutic ends. All contain the same basic ingredients — respect and concern for the inmate and a recognition of and emphasis, not of his weaknesses but of his strengths.

Now let us look in some detail at the casework interview — which in the prison would be the most intensive form
of counselling available. As already suggested, there are common factors in all interviews between the caseworker (or counsellor) and the inmate, which form the basis and set the direction of the interview. The worker must attempt to discover the circumstances in the background and experience of the inmate that have brought about the problem which now faces him. He must attempt to discover certain characteristic personality trends and at the outset make a tentative diagnosis, on the basis of which he formulates a tentative treatment plan. The caseworker should know the probable attitude of the newly admitted prisoner and be sensitive to the particular form of that attitude in the man before him.

The *sine qua non*, however, is that a certain quality of caseworker-inmate relationship be established quickly and thoroughly. Unless the kind of rapport which will lead into the deeper and more valuable casework relationship emerges, little is achieved, little real help can be given, and the interviews will proceed on a superficial rather than on a creative level.

When the caseworker first meets and interviews the inmate these fundamental questions of attitude must be fully resolved. The first interview the caseworker has with the prisoner is often extremely important.¹ The newcomer has

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all sorts of feelings about the prison. He feels alone, afraid, hostile, bitter, cynical, tired, beaten—all of these or any combination of them. This early period in the prison can and should be, in the literal sense of the word, crucial—the whole of his past is being reviewed and a re-orientation towards the future may begin—but only under certain conditions. What, then, are these conditions?

The primary condition is that special form of relationship to which we have already referred. But in order to build on this relationship the worker must know clearly what is in the heart and mind of the prisoner before him. What, then, is the mental and emotional condition of the offender as he comes into the prison? The types of reactions of the inmate to the situation he suddenly finds himself faced with are based mainly in the kinds of relations he has had with his parents in general, his father in particular and, through this, with society as a whole. As was noted before, it is fairly well established that many of the destructive impulses toward society by the delinquent are an extension of hostility toward parents relating back to early years in life. The violent reaction to authority exhibited in so many offenders is most probably rooted in the hostility toward a father person who represents the powerful, the restricting, the authoritative. Through all these differences of type, however, the caseworker in the prison learns to expect certain attitudes and patterns of behaviour in any inmate during his first days.
in the institution. He is full of anxiety about his committal and the anxiety-state reactivates old conflicts. He is often defiant and hostile - his whole personality is often organized to defy the authority the prison represents. He takes pains to hide his real nature. To most prisoners the prison is just another form of punishment - it is an enemy and he organizes himself to fight it. He has been in conflict with society and the prison represents this society in its victorious and punitive mode.

All the ordinary problems of the inmate are heightened by the sentence. Some are so threatened by the experience that, as mentioned earlier, they regress to earlier patterns of behaviour. Some are overcome with feelings of guilt and ask for punishment in order that their guilt be assuaged. Often they feel they are complete failures. This sweeping condemnation of the entire self is common in adolescence (and many inmates of the type studied here are fixated at the adolescent stage of development or regress to it after committal); for them there is no middle ground, everything is pictured in extremes. They want to start all over again, want to be completely dependent again. Many are completely unresponsive and stubborn, will not talk, no matter what is said or done. Almost all of them tell lies. Some lies are obvious and pitiable and others are smooth and difficult to discern. As August
Aichhorn says:

There is nothing remarkable in the behaviour of the dissocial; it differs only quantitatively from normal behaviour. We all hide our real selves and use a great deal of psychic energy to mislead our neighbours. We masquerade more or less, according to necessity.\(^1\)

The task of the caseworker requires an understanding of the distinction between two components of personality — the ego and the superego. Although the inmate's offence implies in all but the exceptional case the existence of a superego defect, it is nevertheless true that a satisfactory superego can exist only as a superstructure on the foundation of a healthily confident ego. The prior need, therefore, is to give the prisoner's ego the support and reinforcement which can be accepted by him only through the rapport of the casework relationship. However, the worker must keep in his mind all the while the whole superego idea — getting the inmate consciously related to the demands of society. The beginnings of this can be accomplished by the worker aligning himself with the honest, cooperative part of the inmate, by avoiding humiliating him by reference to his criminal behaviour (though not condoning his anti-social behaviour). He must be just, unmoralistic, consistent, refusing to be corrupted at any point, for instance by becoming a party to deception. However, if the emphasis were upon the superego defect during the first

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part of work with the inmate, the more basic ego-reinforcement would probably be neglected and the inmate might possibly become, as a result of this imbalance, a rather spiritless and beaten person.

The caseworker needs to be aware of the dynamics of the situation wherein the inmate, in essence though unconsciously, invites punishment. The prisoner believes that his behaviour is such that punishment is due and he may in some degree be aware of his guilt feelings. His desire for punishment, then, is seen to be rooted in the more basic desire for relief from the anxiety over guilt feelings. If the caseworker, in his sympathy, meets only the ego-need for acceptance and relieves the inmate, helping him to rationalize his behaviour, but ignoring a superego problem, the deepseated guilt feeling remains and the chance to deal with the problem in terms of superego development is lost. Also, if the caseworker gives in to the inmate's desire for punishment and condemns and scolds, the inmate then feels he has paid the price and his guilt is relieved. This ends the amenability of the inmate to further guidance, while leaving the basic problem unsolved. On the other hand, if quick, warm reassurance is given without sacrificing realism, the chances are that the inmate will begin to talk about his faults, will himself verbalize his problems and will, in bursts of emotion, admit his terrible confusion.

This brings us naturally to what is in some ways the most important concept of all - acceptance of the inmate. This
is implicit in the casework relationship, which is impossible without the totally unmoralistic attitude of the caseworker who considers the crime of the offender as quite secondary to his essential humanness. No matter what the inmate feels he needs to bring out in the interview it should have the full acceptance of the caseworker and he should sense the caseworker's support strongly at any crucial point without feeling that the caseworker is condoning his social offences. In this way the inmate is able to face himself with, and bring out into the open, the traumatic experiences that have upset him. To a very large degree the extent of the caseworker's acceptance determines the effectiveness of the therapy implicit in the interviews themselves. Someone has said that the caseworker must be what the little boy said of his friend: "My friend is the boy who knows all my faults and likes me just the same."

All too many offenders leave the penal institution fundamentally unchanged. If an offender has changed it will be because a pathway into his sensibilities has been created by at least one person who has been able to help him with new realizations about himself and understandings about how he can achieve satisfactions in a socially acceptable manner.

Although in these past few pages we have been discussing the caseworker-inmate relationship it should be remembered, as stated earlier, that counselling whether on a friendly, supportive, somewhat superficial, basis only or on a very intensive
basis, contains the common factors of respect, acceptance, concern and a willingness to understand and be helpful at the level and to the degree that the inmate is ready and able to use help. In a sense every member of the prison staff who is in contact with the prison population must "counsel" inmates to some degree. It may be in explaining a job of work; in discussing a prison regulation about which the prisoner is not clear; or in responding to an inmate's request for a special diet or for a change of work or shop or other activity. Whomever the inmate talks to - teacher, vocational instructor, doctor, psychologist, caseworker, custodial officer, warden or deputy - he by that act creates a counselling situation. It follows that the staff person who is in most regular contact with the inmates will be the one who has the greatest number of opportunities for counselling. This person, as mentioned before in Chapter I and earlier in this chapter, is the custodial or correctional officer.

Again let it be said that this prison officer plays the key role in the prison programme. It is the wise administrator who recognizes this and gives training, supervision and real recognition to this person so that he may play his role to the fullest.

In the light of the findings regarding the inmate's need for counselling - namely, that three needed caseworkers immediately, nine at some stage later in the treatment (and in the
meantime needed the guidance and counsel of the correctional officer) and that the other five, not being amenable to casework help, needed the friendly supportive counselling of the correctional officer — the correctional officer's role takes on added significance. In effect this means that the correctional officer would be counselling the last-mentioned five plus a portion of the middle nine. Let us say for purposes of discussion that the counsellor had brought five of the nine to the point where they accepted referral to the caseworker. That would leave four of these plus the other five (or nine of the seventeen), in whose case he would have to be responsible for counselling. This would be a reasonable load if his total group were only seventeen inmates. However, the Haney Correctional Institution has house units of not seventeen but fifty — almost three times as many. This would increase the officer's load to twenty-seven; too large a number for him to handle taking into consideration his many other duties as a custodial officer. The ideal would be to have the house units broken into the smallest possible groups so that the officer would have enough time to do the necessary counselling and recording.

If we hold to these figures — nine out of seventeen for the correctional officer — we see that the counselling job is roughly divided in half; one half under casework and one half under counselling by the officer. This means that about 200 inmates, half the future population of Haney, would need
casework at any one time. The currently proposed plan to have five caseworkers at Haney would provide for each a fairly reasonable load of about forty inmates. However, one of the ways to assure concern and acceptance of inmates by the correctional officers is to give them understanding, and one of the ways to assure that they are using counselling effectively is to help them improve their skills. It is proposed by the Haney Correctional Institution planning staff that the caseworkers will give the correctional officers supervision in the area of counselling. Certainly supervision is inescapably necessary. However, supervising about twenty officers plus carrying a caseload of forty is likely to seriously overload the caseworker and render his contribution that much less effective.

At this point it is somewhat difficult to sort out the details about this division of labour and perhaps the resolution will only come through working it out empirically on the job.

One thing is clear, though; if we accept the findings that the custodial officer is a key person then we must give central recognition to his special place in the prison. This means first of all that in the choice of personnel to fill these jobs (129 of them in the Haney prison) attention must be given to the attitudes of the applicants and assessment must be made as to whether or not he will be amenable to the kind of training and supervision that will fit him for this, the most important part of his job. In a very real way the selection of custodial officers is more important than the selection of treatment people.
The latter, by virtue of their training, have something on which to build and can in most cases be counted on to have the properly positive attitudes toward inmates, and to learn the necessary respect for the function of custody.

The job of rehabilitating the offender will be successful only if all staff—treatment, custodial, administrative—believe in and practice the same basic philosophy, though perhaps in different forms. As long as there are vestiges of the punitive approach within the prison the inmate will sense them and emphasize them in his mind perhaps to the negation of any more positive factors. Part of the punitive approach has been not only to mark the offender as different from others but to treat him as a person without normal humanness. However, those who have absorbed the traditional Judeo-Christian ethical insights and have found them reinforced by the psychological understandings of this century, see every single individual as a human being first and his offending behaviour as secondary and incidental. Treatment has no efficacy—no power whatever—unless founded on this acceptance of the prisoner, not as a criminal, but as a fellow human being.

In such matters of principle, there can be no compromise between the old and the new. The new is still a fragile thing, though its potential in terms of regeneration is incalculably great. It is still vulnerable to the dehumanized and dehumanizing influences of the old—the punitive attitudes so long
established and still sustained by deep unconscious forces in our culture. This study, however, of the seventeen inmates, makes it abundantly clear that their welfare can never be served by the moralistic, punitive attitudes of the past.

A turning point of historical significance for British Columbia and indeed for Canada will have taken place when a correctional institution is established uncompromisingly on a treatment-focused programme — not as a matter of lip service but in full awareness of all the subtle, difficult and complex implications. The opening of the Haney Correctional Institution may well be such a turning point.
APPENDIX A

TYPES OF CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

(1) The Maximum Security Prison

Such a prison would be completely walled, would have inside cells made of tool-resistant steel and would employ all the modern security devices such as electric eyes, metal detectors and automatic alarm systems. The prisoners would be under constant supervision, would work, have recreation and other activities in a confined area. Such a prison would accept as inmates only the most incorrigible escape risks and special kinds of prisoners whose custody needs are very great. Only in a very large prison system would one find such a prison and even in a federal system the inmate population for this kind of institution would be small. A province with a relatively small population like British Columbia would scarcely need a separate prison of this sort and of course does not have one.

Canadian provinces, for the most part, contain within a less than maximum security prison a small block or wing for those prisoners with exceptional custody needs. The United States Federal prison, Alcatraz, situated on a rock in San Francisco Bay, might be considered the ultimate in maximum security prisons.
(2) The Close Security Prison

This type of prison would be walled or have a high security fence surrounding it. It would have many of the security features of the maximum security prison but these would not be emphasized to the same degree. The prisoners would work only within the prison and there would be constant supervision during work, recreation and other activities. It would contain the most difficult type of prisoner and would vary only in degree from the first-mentioned type of prison. Again, it is doubtful if provinces or states with fairly small populations would find a need for a separate close security prison and one would find blocks or wings within medium security prisons given over to this kind of security. The British Columbia Penitentiary and most other Federal prisons in Canada are of this type.

(3) The Medium Security Prison

This type of prison would usually have a high security fence surrounding it and strict security measures on the periphery. Within these limits the security would be less rigid. Inmates would work and play within the confines of the prison without constant supervision and might work outside the prison under close supervision. The building would be of cheaper construction, the cells would usually be "outside".

1 "outside" cells are cells that are on the outside wall of a prison with the corridor down the middle. "Inside" cells are blocked down the middle with corridors along the outside walls.
and some provision might be made for small dormitories for special groups of inmates. By far the majority of prisoners in any prison system on this continent could be housed in institutions such as this. The prison this thesis concerns itself about, the Haney Correctional Institution, is of this type.

(4) The Minimum Security (or Open Type)

Such a prison would have no wall or fence around it and the inmates would not be under lock and key. Buildings would be of fairly cheap construction and might be of the cottage type or some type which allowed for some group living. Work and recreation would go on without constant supervision both inside and outside the institution. In some cases inmates would be allowed to take part in activities in the surrounding community and might begin employment while still living in the prison. Examples of this type of prison would be New Haven (Borstal), the Boys' Industrial School, and the forestry camps.¹,²,³

APPENDIX B

CROSS SECTIONAL REPORT OF THE OAKALLA PRISON FARM AND POPULATION AS OF JULY 26, 1956*

(Total count = 958)

Number waiting trial, appeal, conviction, transfer to Penitentiary etc. 143

Therefore total number serving their terms in Oakalla Prison Farm 815

(This includes drug addicts, and the indeterminate sentence group)

Number listed as drug addicts 107
The indefinite sentence group 142
(Approximately 78 in Y.O.U., 60 in Westgate, and 4 in the East Wing.)
Number serving in O.P.F. exclusive of the drug addict and indeterminate sentence group 566

Number exclusive of drug addict, indeterminate sentence and under one month sentence groups, equalled 473
(extracted from the 566)

OF THIS 473

(Exclusive of A. drug addicts
" " B. indeterminate sentence
" " C. one month and under sentence.

Inclusive of A. all ages
" " B. all degrees recidivism
" " C. all types of offences committable to Oakalla.)

Previous committal to Oakalla Prison Farm

No previous committal 184
One previous committal 93
2 previous committals 48
3-5 previous committals 85
6 or more previous 63
A rough division of the occupations given for this group of 473 indicates a preponderance to unskilled laborers, 362 - 113 or approximately 3 to 1.

A very small number listed as not able to speak English 4
A small number stated not able to either read or write 36
The majority claimed grade 8 or higher education 313-160 or approximately 2 to 1.

Breakdown of Ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61 or more</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-60</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-34</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 and under</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Place of Residence

Lower mainland and Vancouver Island
(Northern boundary up to but not including Ocean Falls, West to Pacific Ocean, East to and including Hope, East and North to and including Squamish)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>equals in Province</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere in Province</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e. 432 B.C. Residents</td>
<td>432</td>
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<tr>
<td>out of Province</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no fixed address</td>
<td>25</td>
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Liquor

Recorded as abstaining 35
Temperate 275
Intemperate 163

Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Duration</th>
<th>Count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 months or more</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 days to 2 months</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 month or less</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed on sexual offense</td>
<td>19</td>
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</table>
18 to 45 years with no previous Oakalla Prison Farm Record

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentences</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 months or more</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 12 months inclusive</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 months or more</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean age</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal age</td>
<td>20-26</td>
</tr>
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</table>

46 years to 60 years of age with a sentence of 6 months or more

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous committal to Oakalla Prison Farm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal age</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentences</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-8 months</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 or more months</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
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</table>

18 to 45 years of age with a sentence of 6 months or more

<table>
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<th>Previous committal</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>No previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 to 21 years of age, 6 months or more and with 3 or more previous committals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 to 25 years of age, 6 months or more and with 3 or more previous committals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 to 29 years of age, 6 months or more and with 3 or more previous committals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 45 years of age, 6 months or more and with 3 or more previous committals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 to 45 years of age, 6 months or more and with 3 or more previous offenses

Partial Analysis of the Inmates in the 22 to 45 age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offences involving aggressive action to a person</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking, entering, stealing</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery and False Pretences</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indecent exposure</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributing to Juvenile Delinquency</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagrancy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This study was done by the psychologist of the Provincial Gaol Service, Mr. Robert V. McAllister, at the request of the Inspector of Gaols. Its purpose was to attempt to sort out the population of the Oakalla Prison Farm in order to determine what numbers of inmates in prison at that time might be considered as suitable candidates for the Haney Correctional Institute.


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Young, Pauline V., Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency, McGraw-Hill, Toronto, 1952.