ABSTRACT

Vocational Training and Its Role in the Rehabilitative Process

The subject matter of this study is an analytical review of the vocational training programmes operative in three penal institutions in British Columbia, namely: New Haven, Young Offenders' Unit, and Oakalla Prison Farm. Vocational training is examined in its relationship to the institutional programme as a whole, but more particularly in the light of its specific contribution to the rehabilitative process.

The acquisition of marketable skills on the part of the inmate is socially significant in that he is able to return to civilian life and an area of gainful employment. In addition to his ability to maintain himself, he is able to accept his family and community responsibilities, and to relieve society of the burden.

The methods used in arriving at the conclusions found in the study have been those of comparison and evaluation. The three penal institutions in question have been examined, and their vocational training facilities considered and analyzed for their effectiveness in this area.

As a result of the study, it has become evident that there is very little vocational training actually done. That which has been called vocational training, however, is essential at the present time in that it represents a social work service. Vocational training is used in the way social work services are intended to be used.

When enough social work services have been introduced, and the inmate is receiving the treatment he requires, vocational training may not play as vital a role in the programme as a whole, and may be considered as merely one of many approaches to the entire problem of rehabilitative therapy.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are extended to: Mr. E. G. B. Stevens, Inspector of Gaols; Mr. Hugh G. Christie, Warden of Oakalla Prison Farm and the Young Offenders' Unit; Mr. S. Rocksborough Smith, Director of New Haven; Mr. D. H. Goard, Principal of the Vancouver Vocational Institute; staff members in the three institutions under study; and fellow social workers in the various areas of contact for their encouragement and assistance.

Special thanks are owing to Dr. L. C. Marsh and Mr. W. Dixon of the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia; and to Mr. Hugh G. Christie, Warden of Oakalla Prison Farm and the Young Offenders' Unit, for their valuable encouragement and guidance.
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A Review of Three Penal Institutions in British Columbia
Chapter I

Desirable Characteristics of a Vocational Training Programme

Vocational training is that type of training which leads to "gainful employment" in any occupational sphere for which professional school graduation is not required. The general objective of such training is the acquisition of marketable skills, useful knowledge and appropriate employment attitudes. An additional but nonetheless important objective, particularly in the correctional setting, is an increased adaptability in human relationships.

The forerunner of vocational training was the apprenticeship system, which has a long history, going back to the guilds of medieval Europe. But, in a new form, vocational training came into the school system, particularly in the late 18th century, when the expanding industrial system and its rapidly developing mechanical processes created the need for skilled workers of many kinds. Since then there have been a great variety of developments, some of the most recent, for example, being the training projects for unemployed youths in Canada and the United States during the depression years of the thirties, and the intensive training schemes of all kinds organized in

1 Goard, D. H., "Report on Vocational School Inspection Trip", Vancouver School Board, June, 1947, p. 10. (see Appendix "A")
the defence industries and all branches of the military services during the Second World War.

The introduction of vocational training into penal institutions is a comparatively recent development with its own special implications. It was part of the change in the thinking of penologists and of society at large. After centuries of emphasis on the negative aspects of prison life, the possibility that a programme designed to eliminate the causes of delinquency, rather than to repress or punish the symptoms, might actually rehabilitate the offender gradually won recognition. Interest is still growing in programmes directed toward treating rather than punishing the antisocial individual, and in measures aimed at the prevention of antisocial behaviour in the first place.

Types of Training Units

There is no uniform method of defining the various types of training institutions, and there is a resultant confusion of names applied to vocational training schools. They are called technical schools, vocational schools, trade schools, industrial schools, and various other names. Adding to this confusion is the fact that some vocational training is given as a part or division of the curriculum in composite high schools, some in commercial high schools, and some in separate schools organized solely for vocational training. All of these variously named institutions, however, are in whole or part devoted to training for gainful employment in a variety of occupations, and can be referred to generally as vocational training units. In a report addressed to the Vancouver School Board, based on a study of
twenty-seven vocational schools across Canada and the United States, the problem was approached by dividing all such institutions into three main groups. The division is applicable to the presentation of this study, and will be used accordingly.

The first group includes the ungraded junior vocational schools for non-academic students from Grade 8 to approximately Grade 10 level. The students have demonstrated clearly by their performance in elementary school that they are not capable of absorbing a general high school education by reason of their slow rate of academic learning, and are generally "problem cases". The average age on admission is fifteen or sixteen years. It should be understood that although the student body is made up of "problem cases" unsuited to other school settings, obstreperous students are not admitted.

The second group includes the high schools offering pre-employment vocational training for students from Grade 9 to Grade 12 inclusive. Students are admitted at the Grade 9 or Grade 10 level, and the course carries them to the end of Grade 12. No vocational training is attempted at the Grade 9 level. There is some training introduced at the Grade 10 level, but most of the strictly vocational training is carried on in Grades 11 and 12. The course leads to a high school diploma.

The third group includes the ungraded post-high school pre-employment vocational training schools for students from Grade 12 to approximately Grade 14 level. The majority of students are

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high school graduates when admitted. The age range for a given school was from fifteen to sixty years during the year 1945-46, and the median grade for the same group was Grade 12-B.

The Student

Not too many years ago, vocational training institutions were considered to be a haven for the weaker students whose interests and learning abilities are not of the academic variety, but who possess vocational or practical skills and abilities which are just as useful and valuable as the academic skills in which they have no interest.

During more recent years, however, these institutions have been recognized as having an important place in the educational programme, and their true value has been more realistically made use of. This value, with a subsequent growth in prestige, has attracted a much higher quality of student. Admission requirements vary, but in many of these training schools they are sufficiently demanding that only those applicants who show the most promise of success in their chosen field are accepted, insofar as the degree of success can be predetermined. Furthermore, they must maintain a specific level of achievement.

In most modern schools, student participation in the planning of vocational courses is non-existent. The content of the basic courses, as well as that of related courses, is selected by the school in conjunction with the labour-management committees concerned. Indirectly, it is possible for a student

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or group of employees to influence the planning of courses by working through labour or management. Student participation in general, however, is restricted to a choice of courses offered as the result of consideration by labour, management and the school.

Although there is no uniform method of testing applicants, some testing is done. At the Vancouver Vocational Institute, for example, all applicants are subjected to a battery of three tests, and additional tests if necessary. The results are used as a guide or indication as to the individual's true interests and general aptitude or ability. On the strength of these tests, the school is able to direct the various applicants into the specific fields of training to which they are most suited.

It will be observed from the preceding comments, with reference to types of training units, that students to some extent are selected for junior vocational training schools on the basis of their slow academic learning ability. They are admitted to these schools because they are incapable of absorbing a general high school education, but appear to possess a mechanical ability which may and often does exceed what normally would be expected of their academic peers.

In the majority of high schools offering pre-employment vocational training, students are selected from the top half of the elementary school graduates only. The remaining high schools only demand that their students have successfully completed their elementary schooling. As indicated in the report referred to earlier, it is evident that the easy way to develop a good
school is to insist on accepting only good students, and that this particular group of schools do their best to exclude all the poorer students they can.

In the graduate schools, requirements for admission are only partially academic, and are determined on the basis of each individual involved. At the Vancouver Vocational Institute, students are selected from four main groups of applicants: (1) students who have completed their high school education, and who wish to take short, intensive, practical courses before entering desired trades; (2) people who require upgrading in their own particular trades; (3) people who, due to injury or lack of interest in their present occupations, wish to rehabilitate themselves in some new line of endeavour; and (4) New Canadians who wish to familiarize themselves with the local conditions and customs before seeking employment. Applicants for training at this particular institute must be at least sixteen years of age and have a Grade 10 educational standing, or its equivalent.

Physical Facilities

Although the buildings and equipment required for the efficient operation of a vocational training programme should be designed to meet the needs of a planned curriculum and a given number of potential students, the actual procedure is too often makeshift in nature. In the majority of successful institutions, the planning of plant and programme is a co-

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1 Vancouver Vocational Institute, Calendar, effective July 1, 1954, Vancouver, B. C., p. 1.
ordinated arrangement, one influencing the other.

During his inspection of twenty-seven operating vocational schools, the Principal of the Vancouver Vocational Institute noted that the buildings for the most part are of the factory type. Power, light, heating and other facilities are carried in the main walls of the building, and in this way do not interfere with the flexibility of classroom and shop accommodation. Many of the buildings are built in the form of a hollow square, while others are built in the form of a series of "H" sections. Both these types of architecture increase the amount of natural lighting, but it is noted that they are much more expensive to build than the more standard type of structure.

Recreational facilities, gymnasiums, auditoriums and conference rooms are considered necessary in the high schools for purposes of mass meetings of the adolescent student body, physical training and athletic functions, and as part of the over-all curriculum. In the post-high school training units, however, such facilities generally are not considered necessary, as the student body is mainly adult in make-up and is not in need of the psychological boost so essential to the younger element. It is interesting to note that in most schools, regardless of the type, storage space for supplies and equipment is inadequate.

1 Goard, op. cit., p. 6.
The construction of buildings for vocational training purposes is conditioned by many different factors, but it should be noted that much expense may be avoided in the long run if the buildings are made as flexible as possible, so that classrooms and shops used for one purpose may be converted to other uses as training requirements fluctuate with the cyclical changes that occur in economic conditions.

If vocational training schools are to meet the challenge of the constantly changing supply and demand of the industrial world, the equipment in use must be kept up to date. Most institutions of this nature in the United States are well equipped with modern machinery, through the acquisition of war surplus stock of every description at a negligible cost, but in Canada the situation is generally much different. Steps have been taken to alleviate the need for modern machinery in this country, but there has been little evidence of any truly effective progress on an extensive basis.

Shop equipment varies a great deal, partly because of the catch-as-catch-can means of obtaining this equipment that prevail, but in many instances because of the stated policy of schools that, where more than one machine of a certain type is required, they deliberately choose machines of a varied make in order to provide a greater training experience for the students. This preference for a variety of equipment appears to be the accepted policy in most vocational training schools.
Staff

The principal of a school, and particularly of a vocational training school, is always very realistically aware of the direct ratio that exists between the quality of his teaching staff and the competence of his graduates. Effective organization is necessary, but buildings, equipment and the training course itself are lifeless without the spark of good instruction.

"Experience has shown again and again that the only man who is worth selecting for a prospective instructor is a thorough master of his job". He is the most important single element in the vocational training programme. He should not be too young or too old, he should be a first class man on his job, and should be adaptable and able to change from production to instructional conditions. In summary, the qualifications of a vocational training instructor should include the following: (1) he must be acceptable to the trade (normally at least five years trade experience is required); (2) he must be a master of his craft; (3) he must not be too old (he must be capable of absorbing further education and of adapting himself to changes in techniques of the trade); and (4) he must have qualities which mark him as potentially a good teacher.

For the most part, vocational training instructors are selected from the trade. A trade committee selects four or

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five candidates, and the school selects the one they feel is most suited to the job in question. At the Vancouver Vocational Institute, an advisory trade committee in which labour and management are both represented, must agree with the Institute's choice before the applicant is finally accepted.

The salary range quoted below represents the average salary paid to vocational training instructors in twelve out of a total of fourteen Canadian and American cities visited in the course of the study of twenty-seven schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimum Salary</th>
<th>Increment</th>
<th>Maximum Salary</th>
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<tr>
<td>$249.42 per month</td>
<td>$10 per month</td>
<td>$414.75 per month</td>
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</table>

In the majority of vocational training units, new instructors acquire "professional training" in one of two ways, or a combination of both: (1) they are instructed by staff "teacher trainers", or (2) they take further training at a recognized school.

Opportunities for the instructional staff to maintain contact with outside industries vary a great deal. In the more academic schools, there are no opportunities provided; whereas in the schools directed more specifically toward vocational training, arrangements are made for such visiting from one half day per week up to "as much as is required".

Programme

All planning for programmes, regardless of the type of training unit, must be done in terms of specific situations.

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1 Goard, "Report on Vocational School Inspection Trip", p. 14
No two areas of employment will be identical, nor will the conditions in any one area remain static. Programmes, like buildings, equipment, and staff should be sufficiently flexible to permit or allow for change when change is warranted. To be effective, programme planning requires the co-operative efforts of all persons concerned. "The operation of a programme is frequently successful or otherwise in accordance with the care with which the planning is done."

In general, the types of training offered in the junior schools involves trades requiring no great mental agility, or sections only of a skilled trade suited to the level of the student. These schools are set up in an attempt to meet the educational need of students with a slow academic learning rate. This group of students is unsuited to the regular type of education offered at secondary levels. They are numerous enough that an attempt must be made to devise a programme to fit their abilities rather than to expect them to fit an arbitrary curriculum which makes no concessions to their less than average academic ability.

The junior vocational training school idea is founded on the fact that a special vocational ability can and usually does exist in spite of an apparent academic lack, and that many types of occupations are accessible to and best filled by students of this type. The report referred to previously is sufficiently cautious, however, to point out that (1) the trainee must be

alert enough to profit by the training and become employable, otherwise the training is wasted, and that (2) the number of occupations applicable to this group is not unlimited. It is emphasized that this type of vocational training can be offered only to a fraction of the slow academic learning students found in any school population. The remainder of these students will eventually find their way into occupations suitable to their capacities but which require no preliminary school training to make them available. This latter group, therefore, should not be in a vocational school. Their place is in a definite division of the regular school system, or in a separate school, devoted to the general education of slow learners.

In the majority of high schools offering pre-employment vocational training, regular monthly meetings of trade committees are held in order to correlate the school programme with the cyclical changes that occur in economic conditions. Full time "co-ordinators" are employed in this regard, and it is also their responsibility to ensure that graduates are suitably employed. The length of courses leading to a high school diploma is either three or four years, dependent upon whether the student is admitted to the school at the Grade 9 or Grade 10 level. The actual shop course, however, extends over the last two years. Some preliminary work leading to the selection of the course takes place in Grade 10, but in general the complete specialization of the student in his elected shop course occurs in Grades 11 and 12. The programme emphasis is on a daily
three hour shop period, and the remainder of the school day is devoted to the study of science, mathematics, drafting and other subjects related to the trade which has been elected. The provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 set the pattern for training in all vocational schools in the United States. One of the conditions imposed by this Act is that not less than three consecutive hours of the six hour school day shall be spent in actual shop work in the trade elected, and, although some American schools are not covered by this Act, no vocational school offers less than a two hour shop period per day.

The high school vocational training institutions also offer courses for apprentices, either in the day or evening. In general, the schools in the eastern part of Canada and the United States offer apprentice training during the daytime, while in the western half of the Continent this training is carried on in the evening. The length of these apprenticeship courses is four hours per week, thirty-six weeks per year for four years. The content of the courses, for the most part, includes related trade information pertaining to the particular trade the apprentice is following. It is noted that the trend in this type of training is very definitely toward day rather than evening courses.

In the graduate schools, the length of the course is determined largely by the time required for individual instruction. Every effort is made to integrate the training with the demands of industry, and the dominant atmosphere is one of

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trade training rather than schooling. Instructors are selected from the ranks of the trade being taught, and all courses are subject to the approval of trade committees. From the viewpoint of the student, the measure of success or failure in this type of training institution is the success or failure of the existent job placement facilities.

As far as the general programme is concerned, the length or brevity of any one course is dependent upon the type of course and the type of training school in question. The more highly technical the trade or skill, the longer the course; and, conversely, the less skill required, the shorter the course. The example used to illustrate this point, in the report referred to previously, was that in one specific school a course in baking requires only four months, whereas it requires eighteen months to complete a course in the machine shop. In the junior school for slow learners, all courses are short term, and usually terminate after a twelve month period or when the student is placed on a job. The high school courses are all long term, and usually extend over a three year period because they are given in conjunction with general high school education. Although there are some two year courses in graduate schools, the great bulk of them are short term in nature. At one such school, ninety percent of the courses are short term.

As indicated above, the length of the courses in the junior schools is from one to two years, or until suitable employment can be obtained. Approximately one half of the school day is spent in active shop work, while the balance of the day is
utilized for remedial reading, remedial English, remedial arithmetic, and general training for citizenship. The programme includes the following types of shop training:

- Cobbling
- Tailoring
- Cleaning and Pressing
- Barbering
- Elementary Woodwork
- Elementary Sheet Metal
- Elementary Machine Shop and Motor Mechanics (body and fender work mainly)

In the high schools, a wide variety of courses is offered as shown in the following table. The first column indicates the courses offered in all twenty-seven schools visited by the Principal of the Vancouver Vocational Institute, the second column indicates those offered in a majority of the schools, and the third column indicates those offered in a lesser number of the schools visited.

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<tr>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machine Shop</td>
<td>Foundry</td>
<td>Linotype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet Metal</td>
<td>Aeroengines</td>
<td>Steam Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Mechanics</td>
<td>Air Frame Mechanics</td>
<td>Barbering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auto Body and Fender</td>
<td>Plumbing</td>
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<td>Mechanical Drafting</td>
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<td>Building Construction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabinet Making</td>
<td>and Pressing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patternmaking</td>
<td>Watch Repairing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>Retail Selling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio Repairing</td>
<td>Photography</td>
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<tr>
<td>House Wiring</td>
<td>Nurse Assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baking</td>
<td>Plastering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>Bricklaying</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tea Room</td>
<td>Painting and Decorating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Sewing</td>
<td>Janitor-Engineer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Millinery</td>
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<td>Millinery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stenography</td>
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<td>Business Machines</td>
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<td>Bookkeeping</td>
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<td>Home Service</td>
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<td>Cosmetology</td>
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<td>Commercial Art</td>
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<tr>
<td>Architectural Drafting</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrial Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing Trades (except linotype)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In the graduate schools, training is offered in a great variety of occupations, including day and night apprenticeship training and trade extension courses. The majority of courses offered at the Vancouver Vocational Institute, for example, are related primarily to the service trades because of the economic characteristics of the local area in which most graduates will be employed. If job placement becomes too difficult in any one field, the course is dropped from the curriculum after the issue has been discussed with the Advisory Trade Committee created to assist and advise in all matters pertaining to the training programme.

The Vancouver Vocational Institute, a graduate type of training school, is operated by the Vancouver Board of School Trustees. The number of students admitted at any one time is limited in order that individual attention and close supervision may be possible. Courses given in this particular school vary in length from ten weeks to twelve months. They are all practical in nature, but are supplemented by a thorough study of the principles involved. The student is considered ready for employment when he has achieved a sufficiently high standard to qualify for a job placement in his chosen trade. The courses now being offered at this Institute are shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auto Body and Fender Repair</th>
<th>Marine Engineering</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auto Mechanics</td>
<td>Navigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbering</td>
<td>Plumbing and Heating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Culture</td>
<td>Power Sewing</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Vancouver Vocational Institute, Calendar, effective July 1, 1954, Vancouver, B. C. p. 4.
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Bookkeeping  Practical Nursing  
Carpentry  Secretarial Practice  
Chef Training  Shoe Repairing  
Diesel Operation  Stationary Engineering  
and Maintenance  Television  
Drafting  Watch Repairing  
Electricity  Welding - Gas or Electric  
Machine Shop

Other Characteristics

Although the buildings used for vocational training are generally of the factory type, there has been some variation in the methods used to provide classroom and shop space. The use of steel partitions, secured by means of bolts to the floor and ceiling, is one method of providing classroom and shop space, and a second involves the use of high steel mesh fences to enclose the shop areas. These fences are readily dismantled and moved from one position to another. In the same institutions, classroom accommodation is provided by the use of light wooden frame walls and ceilings. This style of architecture provides poor insulation for sound and/or fumes, but does duplicate factory and industrial conditions and is, therefore, considered to be quite suited to the job of vocational training.

Largely as a result of experimentation in training programmes during the Second World War, new aids to teaching have been developed which have had a marked influence on the field of vocational training. The use of film strips, motion pictures, and other means of visual education are methods and techniques which should not be overlooked in planning programmes for the future.
The average ratio of students to counsellors and co-ordinators in the various vocational training schools is reported as 29\(\frac{4}{1}\) to 1, but the figures are somewhat deceiving. In most schools, the counselling is done by the Principal, and the ratio is arrived at on this basis. In many schools, however, the Vice-Principal is responsible for guidance and placement, and in still others there are Personnel Officers who handle this particular aspect of administration.

There are certain fundamental principles to follow which are part of generally accepted vocational guidance programmes. All vocational training schools follow some of these procedures, and a few employ many. As one authority expresses the need for more comprehensive planning, however, the essence of the need lies in the requirement that vocational training be supplied only "for jobs existing either at that time or when the training is completed; for jobs existing in the area which the training provisions serve; and to persons able to take advantage of the training supplied".

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Chapter II

Impediments to Treatment in a Correctional Setting

Gainful employment is vital to the rehabilitative process, and is the objective of vocational training both in and out of prison. The correctional setting, however, presents impediments to treatment and training, which are not applicable to the outside community.

Custody

In spite of all its negativism, custody is essential in one degree or another in all correctional institutions. The inmate of a prison is a different person than he would be in the community, and, because of this phenomenon, what would be a normal population in the community becomes an abnormal group peculiar to the prison world.

Isolation from the community, as the combined result of distance and the use of walls and fences, adds to the problem of rehabilitation. The fact that the public and the delinquent are emotionally isolated from each other is fundamental in the antisocial behaviour on both sides, and physical isolation obviously further detracts from the ultimate objective, which is to get them together.

The walls and fences can be removed, and have been in the case of the younger and more normal population, as evidenced in the use of Borstal institutions and minimum security industrial schools. With the increasing use of fines, suspended sentences,
and the probation service, however, the more normal group are no longer being sentenced to correctional institutions. There will always be treatment services which can only be provided in an institutional setting, but as the alternatives to imprisonment are expanded still further, the make-up of the prison population may tend to deteriorate to the point where a group of more seriously disturbed offenders will be incarcerated. With this trend, the need for walls and fences may increase, rather than decrease, out of pure necessity. The negativism will remain in spite of the obvious barrier to rehabilitation it presents.

The presence of firearms presents a seemingly insurmountable obstacle to that relationship which is the very essence of treatment and training. For the hostile, aggressive psychopath, an armed guard adds further emphasis to his conviction that society hates him. In the case of the more normal inmate, he is looked upon as an unnecessary irritation. There is nothing represented by firearms which can be considered as a gainful contribution to treatment and training. Nevertheless, when working with certain groups of offenders, the absence of firearms invites breaches of custody, which in turn lead to greater limitations in liberty. To the degree that armed guards and similar custodial restrictions are necessary, the negativism which usually surrounds their use will remain.

The difficulty of building an appropriate atmosphere for the absorption of the maximum of training is also related to such problems as the authority relationship centred around the use of uniforms. The staff in uniform becomes closely associated
with the hated policeman, and the negative feelings are like a wall which will not allow any flow or acceptance of knowledge from the uniformed staff to the inmate. The intensity of feeling in this situation surrounding the use of uniforms is unique to the problem of teaching in the correctional setting.

The immediate answer would appear to be the elimination of the uniform, and this has been done with success in the correctional institutions for youngsters and the less disturbed adults. Observation of the experience of two hundred new recruits at Oakalla Prison Farm over the past two years, some with and some without uniforms, has indicated that two very clear cut situations frequently evolve. In some instances, the inmate associates the "civilian" with an anti-uniform, anti-authority, psychopathic or convict philosophy, and the identification that takes place is destructive to rehabilitation. In other instances, the plain-clothed instructor, faced with the problem of controlling a dozen or more psychopathic and hostile inmates, finds that without the vestige of authority represented by the uniform, he frequently is unable to control the situation, and this results in a consequent disrespect, lack of discipline and generally degenerative atmosphere. Within the group of recruits who wore uniforms, it was found at Oakalla Prison Farm that those with an appropriate personality and approach had little difficulty in establishing a real warmth of relationship and even a respect for themselves, and subsequently for the uniform or the authority which it represents. In the prison setting, the staff member who can wear a uniform or represent authority or society and also establish a relationship, can train...
and produce progress in his inmates. The instructor who is dependent on civilian garb to create a relationship is too frequently identified by the inmate as a person who is anti-social, and cannot move from this situation to allow personality change. When control is found necessary, or when he differs with the inmate, he is also helpless and inadequate. The uniform is a help to many staff in providing that necessary initial control, and, where the uniform is not identical to the policeman's garb and is properly worn and supported by a real warmth of feeling for the inmate, it can serve a useful purpose in the long run. The deciding factor in whether or not the use of uniforms is an impediment to treatment and training, is dependent upon the personality of the staff member involved and upon the types of inmates under supervision.

As in the case of most aspects of custody, the use of bars as a means of confinement is both a curse and a blessing. The effect of the bars for the novice may well be detrimental to the point of being traumatic. Their ever-present shadow is a constant reminder of a punishing, punitive society. The impersonal relationship involved between the guard and inmate as a result of this physical barrier is not conducive to treatment, and tends rather to unite the inmate population in its hostility toward the administration and the society it represents.

As time goes on, however, many inmates evidence an understanding of some of the more positive features inherent in the use of bars as opposed to other means of confinement. As
difficult as it may be to accept this fact, most prison architects maintain that bars are far superior to any other form of prison architecture. The maximum in ventilation and natural light which is attainable, as compared with the use of solid walls, for example, is an obvious advantage that cannot be achieved under any other architectural design or structure. Bars meet all the requirements for good custody, without unnecessary irritation to the inmates, many of whom literally cannot stand living in the closet-like cubicle type of cell for extended periods. Nevertheless, in spite of the comparative advantages of bars, the endless confinement they symbolize as they clash in the inmate's face, tends to over-shadow what positive value has evolved as the result of treatment and training.

The general lack of trust implied in custody, whether it be walls, rifles or uniforms, is at its peak in the prison philosophy of never letting an inmate out of sight at any time unless he is confined within his own cell or is in some position where he has no liberty to abuse. Although the principle is modified to the degree that the administration is certain no abuse will take place, the inmate must still feel the apparent absence of any faith in him during his progress to the point where he can be trusted. The realization that this oppressive atmosphere is not conducive to either the easiest methods of control or the maximum in therapy or educational absorption has induced many administrations to relax their controls. The result, in terms of rampant sex
abuse in a setting where adults do not see or mix with the opposite sex for years at a time, is inevitable. Gang control, and the forced subserviance of the weaker inmate to the cunning tyranny of the professional convict, is common in penal institutions. "Homosexuality causes more quarrels, fights, knifings and punishment in prison than any other problem". The sex orgy, the brutality, the protection rackets, the pay-offs, the indescribable fear of the many inmates who must submit to the "con" boss and his gang's methods are not worth the freedom of movement and absence of scrutiny, detrimental as they may be to the prison educational and treatment programme. The protection of the individual, therefore, requires a type of supervision sufficiently restrictive that it is difficult to interpret it to the new or disturbed inmate as anything but a complete lack of faith. Such supervision, however, is a basic principle in any well-run institution. Without it, treatable individuals would be educated vocationally only to be degraded morally. The negativeness of complete supervision must be accepted as a part of the problem of the instructor who must deal with the incarcerated offender.

The impersonal relationship which is so evident in the contact between prison officers and inmates is also recognized as a detriment to training. The traditional prison officer has had drummed into him the absolute necessity of remaining impersonal, detached, and uninvolved to the extent that any relationship which could be associated with treatment, warmth, identification,

or an acceptance which might further the communication of knowledge, becomes almost impossible. This situation is not an administrative error. The current stage of development of prisons requires this method of operation. The prison officer of today, and of the next decade at least, is not trained in education or social work. He is not skilled in the art of using relationships in a constructive way, or in recognizing what might be a relationship which would be destructive to personality. If he becomes involved, therefore, he can do immeasurable harm to the inmate and, what is more to the point, to himself and the administration. The series of steps from an expression of warmth to a sympathetic extra effort to contact a relative, to an outside message, and to smuggling contraband, has placed more than one officer in the clutches of a psychopathic group. It is not the rare exception. It is the logical outcome of a contact between a psychopathic inmate and an untrained guard. His only protection, short of professional training in handling disturbed people, is the impersonal relationship which, though it stands in the way of the easiest type of training, is not in contradiction to social work and education. This impersonal relationship is only an elementary stage in the development of good social work principles. An example of how an impersonally trained officer would react to a situation is demonstrated as follows: The officer in the presence of other inmates who would like to challenge his authority is profanely chastised by an inmate:
He does not become involved in a relationship, therapeutic or otherwise, with the inmate: He quietly waits until the inmate has expressed himself thoroughly: He then quietly says, "Go to your cell": If he does not go, he says, "You will be disobeying an order if you do not go to your cell": He refers the situation to higher authority in the rare cases that have not conformed by that time. The officer has not been abusive. He has treated the inmate with respect. He has not antagonized him unduly. He is not out of harmony with education or social work principles, but he is at his optimum level - an elementary stage, which, because of its impersonal characteristics, minimizes the greatest single element in the encouragement of treatment and training and the positive relationship.

Attitude

Vocational training cannot eventuate in the rehabilitation of the offender unless there is a quality of acceptance existent in the public group with whom he comes in contact, which supplements and finalizes the rehabilitative process.

In spite of the popular belief that the public's attitude toward the delinquent is so punitive and antisocial that he has little or no opportunity to use his vocational skill, or to achieve a harmonious relationship with society in general, it can be argued that it may not be as necessary to influence the public at large as it is to provide leadership. Public apathy may not be as much a question of lack of sympathy for penal reform as it is a lack of understanding. The point is made that
leadership from sources of power within the government, supported by an informed opposition party, and from key people in the community who would have some influence on the government, should provide the incentive for public support.

Due to the complexity of government today, the public has difficulty in expressing itself adequately on all public issues. However, because of the developing social climate, the public is ready for leadership in areas of social concern. In some instances, with reference to penal administration, public policy may lag behind public opinion, and it is rather necessary that political leaders and top administrators should be satisfied that they are giving the kind of programme which the public approves, but are not articulate about it.

Bromberg makes the point that the public are so antisocial toward the offender that, in spite of modern treatment and training, he very frequently cannot be convinced that society will ever accept him. Confronted with an attitude that is vindictive and punitive, the delinquent does not have the opportunity to discover that society could support him, and he them, if only they were both emotionally free to understand their mutual problem.

It is interesting to note that, as a result of the clinical study of hundreds of convicted offenders and of community groups, it was demonstrated that the personality differences within the antisocial group are very similar to those encountered among the law-abiding population. The same study established the fact that the offender himself does not recognize his attitude as being

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antisocial, and that he insists on being considered closer to the law-abiding citizen than to another offender. In brief, the theory expounded on this specific aspect of delinquency is that the offender is not unlike the non-offender; that his problem is one of personal conflict, the essential features of which are only secondarily related to society.  

Adequate leadership may provide the solution. Public enlightenment is not entirely wanting, as evidenced by the growing acceptance of social workers, probation officers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and the good work of many groups and societies operative within the community.

Staff

The final key to the success or failure of any rehabilitative programme is the staff available to do the job. Effective organization and adequate facilities are essential, but these alone will not rehabilitate the delinquent.

The attitude of the public and of governments will determine the calibre of personnel hired to staff correctional institutions. If the emphasis is on custody only, there will be guards. If, however, the emphasis is on treatment and training, there will be correctional officers. The latter term is used to describe the officer employed in modern treatment and training institutions today who has knowledge, not only of custody, but also of the specific area in which he contributes to treatment and training.

Although staff members are presently being hired and paid as

1 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
guards, the current interest in treatment and training locally is such that they are expected to do the work of highly skilled and capable people. The instructor in a community vocational school, where personnel standards are at a much higher level than they are in prisons today, must be both a tradesman and a teacher. He is expected to be a first class man on his job, but at the same time be adaptable and able to change from production to instructional conditions. The modern correctional officer must be a tradesman, a teacher, and more. He has the added responsibility of foremanship, the use of authority, and the maintenance of good custody at all times. More trade training shops have been the scene of violence and destruction, as the result of inadequate custodial precautions, than any other area of our penal institutions. The cost in dollars alone in the recent riots at the Walla Walla or Kingston penitentiaries has been estimated to be over one million in each case. There has been no attempt to estimate the cost from the viewpoint of the inevitable deterioration in public or government support of treatment and training programmes across the entire continent. These riots, like most others, left the trade shops in a shambles. As if his responsibilities as a tradesman, teacher, and custodian were not more than sufficient, the correctional officer must also be a social worker in part, as he is expected to understand the causes of maladjustment and to play his part with the various professional members of the larger treatment team. All of these he must be, but with no more financial incentive than the wage of an unskilled labourer.
Facilities

The facilities existent in the correctional institutions of today are usually unbelievably inadequate for the job of vocational training. The average prison is a honeycomb of cells, with no space for the expansion of vocational work. The academic work that is accomplished frequently must be done in the inmate's cell. The last vocational building constructed at Oakalla Prison Farm, now the Young Offenders' Unit, was made into living accommodation before shops could be installed. In most instances, the buildings at Oakalla were built years ago, after the pattern of the older penitentiary systems, when it was believed that repentance and solitude or work in cells was the answer to the delinquency problem. Shops and class rooms for vocational training were unheard of, and completely new buildings must be erected, therefore, before much can be accomplished in this area. Private residences have been made over, but even when these approach being adequate, the absence of equipment, visual aids, and other modern methods of education are conspicuous by their absence.

Peculiarities of the general setting

In addition to the peculiar problems of a custodial nature which beset the instructor and therapist, there are factors more closely associated with the man and his sentence which bear comment. Although inmates of correctional institutions can be serving sentences of from days to life, the majority are serving sentences of six months or less. The time element, therefore, is

a problem in presenting a complete course or programme of training. The problem of working with a minimum of time for adequate training opportunities is further complicated by the fact that the men are arriving at all times to commence their studies. A course can seldom be set up with any hope that the beginning group will remain intact until it is completed. Inmates are continuously being admitted and released throughout the course, making any continuity of instruction difficult if not impossible to achieve, and reducing the training process to the most costly and inefficient type of operation. The individual nature of instruction is in some ways an advantage, but the difficulty involved in providing it is characteristic of the prison setting.

The conglomerate nature of the student body is another factor to be dealt with. In the larger institutions, the selection of a more homogeneous grouping is possible. In the smaller institutions, which are considered essential to treatment, the class too frequently includes the old, the young, and the middle aged. The normal individual, the neurotic, the psychotic, and the psychopath are represented in the class as in the general population, but with an intensity of problem which makes their conglomerate make-up a factor to be reckoned with in attempting to find staff who can handle the situation and make instruction effective.

Another difficulty faced by instructors in the correctional institution is the fact that many of the students are adults, and quite sensitive about being taught from the same text books or by the same methods as the younger element. The Canadian
Legion courses were of great assistance in this regard, both to the men in the armed forces and to some prison administrations, where they were used for purposes of inmate training. At Regina Gaol in Saskatchewan, under authority of the Department of Veterans' Affairs, the courses in question were used extensively. The veteran group in the gaol at that time (1949) represented seventy per cent of the total inmate population. The average disturbed prisoner is like the older man who thinks he is beyond the age when he can learn rapidly. The fact that vocational training is usually an afterthought rather than something he has planned for, and the fact that in many instances it is a case of re-training to the point that it becomes a patch job rather than a basic change, are both of great consequence in the prison setting.

All the problems discussed heretofore are increased in intensity by the particular problem of the individual inmate. His personality disorders handicap him, and so reduce the effectiveness of the training programme. His family and the community are so distant that he does not gain the support from them that he would in the normal community training programme. Many institutions are built to increase this isolation and detachment.

The barrier to community support for the student inmate is no less a problem than that of hiring good staff to work in remote locations. The rural or inaccessible area faces a considerable handicap in labour market situations. It is difficult to hire teachers for remote areas even though the salary may be
attractive enough. Institutional salaries are not sufficiently attractive to counteract adverse or difficult living conditions. There is little incentive, therefore, for qualified instructional staff to give up their ready contact with the normal community, university, summer school, conventions, and other obvious advantages of urban life. This particular problem is not as relevant to the situation in British Columbia as it is in other areas, but it cannot be ignored. Regina Gaol, for example, is only seven miles away from the centre of town, yet there are periods during the winter months when the highways are impassible, and the only means of travel is by the use of snow shoes. British Columbia is not without its severe winters, and, although transportation is seldom at a standstill, the remote areas are the first to suffer. There will always be some applicants who prefer a rural setting, but the problem is one that must be considered in a study of correctional administration. Conclusion

The foregoing discussion of the increased difficulties encountered in the operation of an effective vocational training programme in correctional institutions was not intended to imply that the job is impossible. Rather, it was intended to define the problems clearly in order that they might be dealt with. Though overcome to a degree in some programmes, they have not been met to the satisfaction of all the disciplines working in the correctional setting to date. The newness of this particular area of treatment and training, therefore, is a factor to be acknowledged. One of the most recent attempts to eliminate these
problems of the correctional setting, which continue to plague
the vocational instructor, has been the separation of insti-
tutional staff into two or more distinct groups. In the Ontario
Reformatory at Guelph, where vocational work is at a peak, the
guard operates as an overseer in the shop. As a representative
of society and the administration, he represents authority. The
vocational instructor on the other hand, with no custodial and
a minimum of administrative responsibilities, is free to play a
much more charitable role. To the inmates, he is unrelated to
the guard and all he stands for, and may be favoured because he
is one of them rather than a member of society.

It is essential, therefore, in the final analysis, to
synthesize the concepts of training, treatment and custody.
Without this synthesis, little of a rehabilitative nature is
gained. Teachers, guards, and social workers must be part of
a team or family who do the total rehabilitative job. Their
specialization is only a part of that totality.
Chapter III

Vocational Training Programmes at New Haven, Young Offenders' Unit, and Oakalla Prison Farm

New Haven

The New Haven Borstal institution, from a vocational training point of view, is the most intensively operated institution under consideration. It accepts for training a population of forty youths selected from the six thousand or more people committed to institutions in this province each year. Because these boys have little in the way of deep personality problems, they can measure up to a high standard of performance with a minimum of psychiatric support. The New Haven Borstal then, is characterized by strict discipline, individual attention, counselling services of a father and son type, but little in the way of intensive social case work, group work or psychiatry usually found necessary in institutions dealing with more disturbed people. The abnormalities found in correctional institutions are existent in their least damaging degree in this type of institution.

New Haven was patterned after the English Borstal System, and, after some preliminary difficulties, became well established under the leadership of Mr. Rooksborough Smith in 1947. The site was located in the greater Vancouver area, but in one of the less central and more rural sections of the large municipality of Burnaby.

The buildings used centre around a large old residence made over to provide offices, kitchen and dining room space. A large
two-storey building nearby provides trade shop space on its lower floor, and dormitory space above. A small gymnasium is built on the east side of the dormitory building and, except for small farm buildings, a line of four small one-room cottages, extending west of the main building, complete the plant. The atmosphere of the setting is unofficial, relaxed and, if a little haphazard looking, its plan and appearance represent modern ideas concerning a socializing type of setting. New Haven is small and comparatively costly. Its per capita cost is approximately $7.50 per inmate per day.

The staff at New Haven are, for the most part, non-professional people, and in-service training has been the accepted method of preparing new staff members for duty. They total fifteen in number. The administration is headed by a Director, who was initially responsible to the Attorney-General, but now reports to the Inspector of Gaols. He is a graduate of the Toronto School of Social Work, and has had extensive experience in Borstal work as it is practised in England. Under the Director are four Instructors, six Supervisors, a Bursar, a Chief Supervisor, a Housemaster, and a Social Worker. The farm instructor has a university degree in agriculture, the cooking and baking instructor is a master cook, the two trades instructors are qualified industrial arts men, and the social worker is a Bachelor of Social Work. Apart from the Director and the Social Worker, however, none of the staff has professional training in any of the social disciplines.
New Haven's general programme is reminiscent of a private school. The daily routine is wholesome and active. The "lads", as they are called, rise at 6:30 A.M. and report for morning calisthenics. They have breakfast at small tables, with a headmaster in charge of the blessing and dining room behaviour. They report to work at 8:00 A.M. sharp, have lunch in the dining room at 12:00 noon, lounge until 1:00 P.M. and carry on again until the dinner hour. The evening period includes regular school classes, hobby work, physical training, sports, and general recreation, and all the lads are in bed and quiet by 10:00 P.M. The private school atmosphere is increased by the use of such terms as headmaster, lads, et cetera, and by the use of different coloured ties to designate the stage of progress they have achieved toward their release or parole allowed during the latter part of their indeterminate sentences.

This institution is reasonably well equipped with vocational shops. There are only four trades offered, but the Administration maintains that these are sufficient to cover every possible need. It is the Director's contention that character building and the formation of good work habits are more important than trade training. His expressed philosophy in this regard is that the trade training which may be acquired as a result of the programme at New Haven is incidental to the end objective, which is rehabilitation, and that this can best be achieved through the building of character traits and the development of good work habits. He admits that a complete absence of vocational training in favour of a routine maintenance work programme would
make the job of rehabilitation much more difficult, but makes
the point that if trade training does nothing but teach a trade
it does not contribute to the rehabilitative process.

All new admissions to New Haven undergo a period of orien­tation lasting approximately one month. During this period they
are employed as cleaners and general maintenance workers. They
are exposed to a limited amount of psychological testing, aimed
chiefly at determining their individual interests, abilities and
needs, and finally are assigned to a shop or training area
chosen as a result of the classification process. The actual
orientation period may fluctuate, according the number of new
admissions arriving, but, once the assignment has been made, the
classification and subsequent placement tend to remain fixed.
The only recognized reason for changing the classification or
placement is that a boy has been misplaced as a result of poor
screening in the first place. The reasoning behind this rather
rigid policy is based on the Director's conviction that re­
classification, and the resultant change of placement, disrupt
the treatment programme to the extent that it is not conducive
to the teaching of good work habits, and that the specific
nature of the trade training is relatively unimportant.

In addition to the recognition of individual interests and
needs, the length of sentence and the intelligence rating are
also used as guides in determining placement. It is considered
to be more or less a waste of time, both for the institution and
the individual concerned, to place a boy in a training area if
his sentence is very limited or if his intelligence rating falls
below the accepted standard. In either situation, the individual is assigned to a shop, not for training purposes, but in order to work on a routine production basis.

The metal-work shop offers instruction in bench tool work, lathe operation, and the turning and planing of surfaces, et cetera. In addition to this universal shop routine, instruction is also offered in various sub-trades such as sheet metal, forging, acetylene welding, and ornamental iron work. The wood-work shop deals chiefly with cabinet making, but includes some training in the theory and practical aspects of construction. Both of these shops are capable of providing machine shop drawing for the occasional trainee who may be interested in this specialty. The instructor in charge has his Industrial Arts School Certificate, and he also has had training in the regular curricular routine. His assistant instructor does not have these academic qualifications, but they are both experienced tradesmen in their own right.

The Administration places a boy in a shop on the basis of his expressed interest in a specific trade, but this is not done for vocational reasons. They are adamant in their contention that the acquisition of good work habits and acceptable character traits are far more important than trade training. They agree that trade training is useful, but only as a means to an end. Hence the deliberate limitation in the trades that are available. The metal and wood-work shops are considered valuable as a medium for teaching good work habits. The farm, and its associated sub-trades, are used to accommodate those boys who are considered
to be incapable of learning a skilled trade. The kitchen appeals
to others, and at the same time provides a learning experience
for those boys found suited to that medium. A boy who tests
high in the personal-social field is classified as kitchen
material. According to the Administration, this leaves only
the business and scientific fields of endeavour uncovered.
The Director states that they are at a bit of a loss as to what
they should do with boys who fall into this classification,
but they are able to accommodate one or two in the Bursar's
office as a means of meeting their needs. He agrees that this
particular area of the New Haven programme is one that would
benefit from expansion.

Young Offenders' Unit

The Young Offenders' Unit, unlike the New Haven Borstal,
accepts a group of up to seventy-eight disturbed youths for
treatment and training. Although an attempt is made to reach the
same high standards of performance before the completion of
training of each inmate, the method of achieving that objective
is much different. This group, because it is made up of dis­turbed people, must be given a continuing case work service to
make it possible for the individual to absorb training. Without
this intensive case work and group work, the continuation of a
successful vocational training job would be exceedingly difficult.
As the training programme develops, however, it supplements the
psychiatric help to the point where the individual, at the time
of release, should be able to manage on a sufficiently independent
basis to carry on in the community. The obvious problem is the
recruiting and training of a calibre of staff capable of synthesizing the custodial, educational, and social work functions of their jobs. This synthesis is difficult, but it does appear to provide the most hopeful possibility for the successful treatment and training of the true delinquent.

The Young Offenders' Unit is located on the grounds of Oakalla Prison Farm. The building, like the programme, is quite separate from the main section of the larger institution. The architecture is modern, and the general outside effect is one of efficiency, neatness, and attractiveness in structure. The ground floor centre front is the entrance, which leads directly to the office section. Immediately above, on the second floor, is the kitchen unit. On either side of this central portion on both floors are units housing thirteen boys each. Each unit has its own bath and toilet facilities, and a table for general use and the partaking of meals. The basement area houses the motor mechanics, carpentry, and book binding shops, and two Quonset buildings outside and behind the main building house upholstery and radio shops. Half of the ground floor of the main building is used for academic classes, church groups, and indoor recreational programme. A play field, for use by the boys of this Unit only, adjoins the buildings, all being enclosed and separated from the other Oakalla buildings by a high chain link wire fence. The social work and vocational programme of this institution is intensive and expensive. The per capita cost is approximately $7.00 per inmate per day.

The staff of the Young Offenders' Unit, like New Haven, are
primarily non-professional people, and in-service training has been the acceptable method of preparing new staff members for duty. They total twenty-nine in number. The Unit functions as an integral part of the Oakalla Prison Farm administration, but enjoys a good deal of independence in its daily operational routine. Following the administrative pattern of the parent institution, the treatment and custodial personnel operate as a team, and are jointly responsible for the programme as a whole. The senior treatment person is the Classification Officer. He is the only graduate social worker on the staff. The Chief Custodial Officer, in addition to custody, is also responsible for the administrative routine. The dual administration throughout is unique and important, but since it bears little relationship to the discussion of vocational training it need not be developed here.

The large group of nine group workers who team up with the twelve instructors is the main difference between the organization of the staff in the Young Offenders' Unit and that at New Haven. The morning work programme is directed by the Chief Vocational Officer, who operates in the capacity of a training supervisor. He is a versatile and competent tradesman, as well as an experienced instructor. There are ten Supervisors in charge of the various shops and classrooms. The afternoon socialization programme is directed by the Senior Group Work Supervisor. His group work staff consists of eight Supervisors. The dual nature of the general administration carries through into the operation of both morning and afternoon programmes. A custodial
The remainder of the staff consists of the cook and the custodial officers in charge of the night shift.

The general programme at the Young Offenders' Unit deals primarily with training and socialization. The daily routine is more closely related to life in the community than it is to the private school atmosphere of New Haven. The inmates are up at 7:00 A.M. Breakfast is served "family style" in that each group eats at one table, much as it is in most families. They report to their shops or classrooms at 8:00 A.M., and work through until 11:30 A.M. Lunch, like all other meals, is served to them in groups, and they are back at work from 12:30 P.M. until 2:30 P.M. The afternoon and evening hours are occupied with sports, hobbies, and a variety of socializing activities. The more active programme terminates at 9:00 P.M. and all is quiet by 10:15 P.M.

The Young Offenders' Unit is reasonably well equipped with vocational shops, and they do have a number of men on staff who are there to instruct inmates in a variety of trades, yet there appears to be good reason to doubt that vocational training is an important part of the unit programme as a whole, at this time.

The motor mechanics shop can accommodate a group of thirteen or fourteen boys. Although each boy is shown all parts of an automobile in considerable detail, and is instructed in the operation and repair of same, he is not given a "course" in motor mechanics. He cannot become a tradesman under these conditions no matter how long or how detailed is his instruction. His
formal qualifications are not recognized by management or labour groups, as he has nothing to offer as evidence, other than the casual skill he may be able to demonstrate.

A similar problem exists in the other shops. There is no woodworking course, as such, and although the woodwork shop can accommodate thirteen or fourteen trainees, the learning acquired is the result of working under supervision on construction projects for the institution, for staff, and for outside interests, rather than the planned objective of a training course. In the upholstery shop, the boys gain a certain amount of knowledge, but the range of their experience is limited by the type of work being done, which is presently restricted to various projects for the Provincial Gaol Service, for staff, and for outside interests. The book bindery, until very recently, was under the supervision of a fully qualified book binder. He has now accepted a higher paid position elsewhere, however, and the shop is not functioning as a training unit. However, the value of this training to a boy can well be queried, since the union's refusal to "recognize" an instructor working for less than union wages meant that the training provided had no status in the community. As was the case in the book bindery, the kitchen is supervised by a qualified instructor, but no attempt is being made to train anyone in the highly technical art of good cooking.

The most productive unit, in terms of actual guidance and training, is the combined school and radio shop. The instructor is a qualified teacher, and, although he is not licensed to teach in this particular province, his interest and ability in the art have made a definite impression on the programme. The
shop can accommodate from ten to fifteen students taking correspondence courses in a variety of academic subjects, and still others who are studying radio and wireless telegraphy. Inasmuch as the instruction in these technical subjects follows a specific routine based on recognized teaching procedures, it can be accepted that this shop is actually offering vocational guidance and training. Production is limited to the repairing of radios for the Provincial Gaol Service and for staff, but the instructional methods in use are such that a 'course' in radio and wireless telegraphy is available for the boy who is fortunate enough to be assigned to this particular shop. True, there is still no recognition of the graduate by management or labour, for reasons similar to those described earlier, but he has had an appreciable degree of formal training.

Oakalla Prison Farm

The main section of Oakalla Prison Farm, besides operating the treadmill that admits, releases, and sends back and forth to court eight thousand people a year, cares for a group of six hundred or more sentenced men. This institution faces the special problems found in correctional institutions in their most extreme form. Although vocational training is encouraged where ever possible, the difficulties are so great that whatever training time is available is felt to be most appropriately used for the improvement of staff. Correspondence courses for inmates, and job placement to allow vocational training are encouraged, but the study which follows will probably be more important for the discrepancies it makes obvious rather than the
training process it describes.

Oakalla Prison Farm was completed in 1914, and neither the choice of architecture nor the philosophy showed an appreciable difference from that used in New York State's Auburn Prison, built one hundred years earlier.

In both institutions, cells were built back-to-back in the centre of a cellhouse shell, five tiers high. Under the Auburn system, silence was enforced both day and night. Inmates worked together during the day under a strict rule of silence, and at night were locked up in their single cells. Work was intended to punish and regenerate. Silence was intended to prevent moral contamination. Although the silent system was not enforced at Oakalla, the philosophy of introspection and repentance was in vogue. Fortunately, there have been some changes for the better in recent years. The physical handicap, however, remains to limit and restrict any attempt to institute a programme which might reflect a less punitive and more positive approach.

A good number of the present Oakalla staff, like the buildings, programme and traditions, were inherited from the previous administration(s), and in many respects represent equivalent or even greater obstacles to a modern approach to treatment. Apart from a mere handful of treatment personnel in the upper ranks of the administration, the staff of 276 are non-professional. In-service training has been the accepted method of preparing new staff members for duty, but the bulk of the staff have been "prepared" for duty by orientation
primarily to the maintenance of good custody rather than to a dual responsibility for treatment and custody. The idea of a "dual approach" in prison administration was unknown at Oakalla prior to the arrival of the present Warden three years ago. Since that time, however, the in-service training programme has been further developed to the point where all staff, new and old, are receiving instruction in the basic principles of both treatment and custody.

The administration is headed by a Warden, who is directly responsible to the Inspector of Gaols, and who in turn is responsible to the Deputy Attorney-General. He is a graduate of the School of Social Work at the University of British Columbia, and has had considerable experience in penology and social work generally, both in this province and other parts of Canada. Directly under the Warden are two deputy wardens, one in charge of treatment and the other in charge of custody, and administration. The Deputy (Treatment) is also a graduate of the School of Social Work at the University of British Columbia, and has had some general experience in the fields of social work and probation. The Deputy (Custody) is an officer with twenty-two years' experience covering all aspects of custody and administration at Oakalla.

The two deputies are the senior personnel representing the "dual approach" to prison administration in this institution. Unless they are able and willing to work as a team, they are not considered qualified to fulfill the responsibilities of their respective positions. The administrative pattern
supports the principle of the "dual approach" throughout the entire operation of the prison. Treatment and custody must work as a team. Below the deputy level, there are two assistant deputies (custody) responsible to the deputy for morning and afternoon custody. A position of assistant deputy (treatment) was recently established but has not as yet been filled. Each wing is controlled by a senior custodial officer, and he is turn has a senior prison guard in charge of each shift. The administrative pattern is such that a treatment person should be established at both these levels in order to balance the "team". In reality, however, only two of the four wings are operating in this manner. A classification officer and a senior prison guard, both of whom are graduate social workers, are the two remaining members of the treatment staff. Below this level are the various classes of guards, from first class down to probationary.

Life in prison is a monotonous routine at its best, and Oakalla Prison Farm is no different than any other prison in this respect. The day begins at 6:45 A.M. Breakfast, like all other meals, is served on a "feed line" basis and is eaten in the cell. The work gangs are out from 8:00 until 11:30 A.M. They are back in their cells for lunch, and then out to work again from 1:00 until 4:30 P.M. From 6:30 until 7:45 P.M. the inmates are allowed the use of an exercise yard, weather and season permitting. At 7:45 P.M. they are locked in their cells for the night. The lights are turned off at 9:30 and the radio at 10:00 P.M. Silence is the rule from 10:00 P.M. until morning.
The programme emphasis at Oakalla is primarily on production and maintenance, although it is hoped that some vocational learning will accrue as a result of the application of interest and ability on the part of those inmates fortunate enough to find themselves in a shop where they are employed at a recognized trade. General maintenance makes the greatest demands on the inmate labour force, and includes the operation of the kitchen, laundry, tailor shop, shoe shop, plumbing shop, carpentry shop, blacksmith shop and paint shop. The operation of the farm and gardens is a second major and time-consuming project. The plate shop, although the number of inmates involved is small, presents an opportunity for the interested inmate to acquaint himself with a production routine. Licence plates are produced for the Motor Vehicle Branch of the Provincial Government on a year round basis, but the vocational training value is recognized as limited.

A recent innovation in the new Westgate unit at Oakalla, is the experiment being conducted with three hundred and fifty inmates of a less select type than those usually sentenced to New Haven and the Young Offenders' Unit. Although the emphasis is still on production and maintenance, the work tempo is equivalent to that which would be required for an intensive vocational training programme. A similar pace would not be forthcoming under the normal prison routine, but it appears to have been maintained throughout this experiment as the result of continuous support through the application of case work, group work, and recreational services. Unlike the other
sections of the main gaol at Oakalla, the programme in this particular unit is also directed toward the socialization of the inmate body, collectively and as individuals. The hours of operation are similar, but meals are eaten "family style", much as they are in the Young Offenders' Unit, and the evening is devoted to sports, hobbies, studies and a variety of other socializing activities. This method of using social work services to support a high level of work performance, may well be the shape of things to come in the correctional institutions of the future.
Chapter IV

Conclusions

Philosophical Issues

In assessing any programme related to penal affairs in Canada, it must be recognized that Canada has lagged in its development of modern correctional services. It is only in recent years that there has been some effort at the federal level, and also on the part of certain provincial governments, to do something about the offender.

British Columbia happens to be one of the provinces which is moving in penal reform. The existence of New Haven and the Young Offenders' Unit; the construction of a new Boys' Industrial School; and, above all, the appointment of a social worker as Warden at Oakalla, one of the largest prisons in the country, all indicate the growth that is taking place.

However, it must be acknowledged that there is no stated philosophy of approach yet evident in British Columbia. There is no legislation which really defines the intent of the government with reference to penal affairs. There is the desire to do the right thing for the offender, but the methods have not yet been clearly articulated.

Bound up with this question of philosophy, and closely related to the subject under discussion, vocational training, is the lack of any clear policy on prison labour. While it is true that vocational training may be developed without a strong prison labour programme, it is apparent that a production
programme will give meaning to training.

Problems in Rehabilitation

This study has given emphasis to the dilemma of endeavouring to foster rehabilitation within a prison setting. Any environment where people are forced to operate against their will is hardly conducive to the learning process, yet it would be defeatism to say that the obstacles cannot be overcome and that there can be no value to prison training. There will be some offsetting advantages to institutional training. For one thing, the offender may experience a sense of relief when imprisoned, because, in a sense, his battle with the community is over, at least temporarily. From the point of view of the properly run institution, he can be instantly available for participation in a treatment programme. With proper grouping, he may be able to socialize at his own pace. Even in the face of scanty knowledge, these considerations provide encouragement for the rehabilitation idea.

Issues in Vocational Programme

Keeping these philosophical considerations in mind, it is now necessary to review specific aspects of the vocational programmes within the three institutions under observation. It is recognized that the study may simply appear to be an examination of lacks within the programmes, but this may have a value in pointing up what should be done by way of improvement, and, more particularly, what should be planned for future projects.

The New Haven Borstal institution appears, at first glance,
to satisfy the first objective of good vocational training, the development of a marketable skill, in that all the lads released are immediately placed on jobs. A closer view of the placement made, however, indicates that lads are not placed on jobs which require the use of the trades they have learned in more than five per cent of cases. The Field Secretary of the Borstal Association reports that the majority are unwilling to work for apprenticeship wages, and are often not sufficiently skilled in their trade to take a responsible job in it. The fact that a high proportion of parolees are reported to be successfully rehabilitated, for a temporary period at least, suggests that an increased adaptability in human relationships has taken place. Improved employment attitudes and useful knowledge are no doubt acquired, in their average sentence of six to eight months, but it would appear that very little in terms of a marketable skill or trade can be credited to the programme.

The Young Offenders' Unit programme is not set up to emphasize vocational training, but rather stresses its case work and group work functions. Vocational training is given a recognized place in the programme, however, and the inmates do learn something of a trade, although not to the degree that it is considered a marketable skill. The knowledge gained is recognized as useful, but the facts regarding its usefulness in future placement are probably most clearly indicated in the National Employment Service's complete indifference to the trade classes attended. In the process of locating
jobs for these boys, the National Employment Service find their previous work history more useful than the report of trades training in the institution. Practically all Young Offenders' Unit releases are directed to jobs of one form or another, and it has been found that a large percentage establish themselves successfully for a reasonable period. The fact that they have been able to rehabilitate themselves again indicates that something useful has happened, and that there has probably been an increase in their ability to get along with people. The breakdown when it comes, however, seems to centre around a lack of ability to remain employed during slack seasons or to compete for an improvement in status. The contribution of the vocational training programme, as in the case of New Haven, is very indefinite other than in its role as a medium to promote therapeutic relationships. The contribution made by the vocational training programme has some value from a social work or an employment finding point of view, but there is no doubt that the trades skill provided is not up to standard.

Oakalla, typical of the older custodial prison, has no provision for a vocational training programme. Its only related activity is a series of maintenance shops, which operate for the express purpose of keeping the institution going and nothing else. Men are selected for these shops because they already know something about the work or are

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interested in the trade represented in a particular shop. Because shop jobs have a much higher priority than shovel jobs, the attitude to the trade maintenance work is most enthusiastic. Men work hard to get these shop jobs, and work hard to hold them. Liberties are greatest on trade jobs, and only the most reliable men are selected. The degree of skill acquired is unquestioned, as a man who cannot learn to do his share of the work is soon replaced by one of the many more interested or capable applicants waiting. The actual experience on practical jobs under skilled tradesmen is almost the equivalent of a fast apprenticeship, and the degree of practical skill which can be considered marketable when jobs are sought is probably greater than in either of the two vocationally equipped institutions.

Men are on their own in Oakalla, and it is therefore impossible to say whether the training received results in gainful employment in all cases, but there are sufficient placements by the National Employment Service directly from the trade shop to trade work in the community to suggest that vocational training of a very useful type has taken place. Over fifty per cent of these men are either recognized tradesmen or men who have worked mostly at one trade prior to their commitment to Oakalla. Of the total group, a high proportion obtain employment in their institution trade when they return to civilian life, but it is difficult to establish how much of the credit should be given to the Oakalla programme.

Although the method of selecting men for shop work is of
a less formal type in Oakalla than that used in the classification for New Haven or the Young Offenders' Unit, a very definite weeding process ensures a picked group for each trade maintenance shop. The resulting relationships are usually quite close, and the socialization factor is probably not completely overlooked, in spite of the emphasis on top trade performance.

As previously stated, physical facilities can be an encouraging or limiting factor in establishing an adequate programme. The facilities at New Haven have been praised, and rightly so, for their relaxed atmosphere. From a purely vocational training point of view, however, it must be said that the principle of building to suit programme was not carried out, and that a properly constructed and neat appearing vocational building, though less informal, would have many advantages over the structure now in use.

The placement of the Young Offenders' Unit building near the main Oakalla building has some unfortunate aspects, in that it is difficult to produce the positive and relaxed atmosphere required, while so close to the shadow of the Oakalla cell block. The fortress no doubt helps at times to remind the Young Offenders' Unit lad of his good fortune, but the proximity of the two buildings does increase the problem. The Young Offenders' Unit buildings themselves are bright and modern, and remind one of the neatness and efficiency associated with the good craftsman. The areas in the building which would normally be ideal for shop space, are, however, used for dormitories, and the shops are located in
the basement and in two small and rather drab Quonset buildings. The equipment provided in the Young Offenders' Unit is more extensive in most areas than in New Haven, but again falls short of the standard expected in a modern vocational institution.

The main building at Oakalla is strictly custodial in architecture and atmosphere. The attitude and feeling in the shops that are located in the main building is furtive, and is dominated by a negative "convict" attitude. In the laundry and tailor shop, this may be explained in part as the result of placing confirmed "convicts" on these jobs. Strangely enough, however, the attitude in all the shops which are located in buildings outside and around the main building is the most positive possible. The freedom gained through the shop experience adds a value to the work, and the men apply themselves with real industry. These buildings used by the main Oakalla institution include a large neat Quonset type structure for the carpentry and paint shops. The blacksmith shop is a reinforced concrete structure, though spoiled in appearance by metal roofing and wooden additions. The shoe shop and plumbing shop are part of an old wooden gaol building. The equipment in the Oakalla shops has to be good to do the continuous practical job of maintaining a large amount of buildings and machinery. Equipment, like buildings, however, is far short of the standard required for vocational training today.

In summing up the situations in the three institutions,
with regard to buildings and equipment, it must be concluded
that only the barest essentials are available. Equipment
is far short of that required in modern training schools.
The flexibility demonstrated is good in that diesel shop
equipment can be replaced with carpentry equipment, for exam­
ple, when a change in demand is indicated, but it is in­
sufficient to overcome the basic inadequacies in this area.

Instructors in the average vocational training institu­
tion should be required to have technical knowledge equiva­
lent to that required in the trade, a comprehensive experience
in their particular trade, sufficient teacher training to
ensure the use of proper teaching methods, and personality
traits appropriate to the correctional field. In other
words, they must have a good understanding of the theoretical
and practical aspects of their subject, backed up by an
ability to teach, as well as an ability to adjust to the
special situation where the classroom or shop frequently
throbs under the impact of hostile, aggressive, and generally
antisocial student feelings.

Theoretically, the staff at New Haven are expected to
measure up to Civil Service qualifications, but in many
cases they are recruited far beyond the normal qualifying
age for Civil Servants. They are, however, hand picked by
the Director for their maturity and potential as treatment
people in a Borstal setting. At Oakalla and the Young
Offenders' Unit all staff vacancies are filled on the basis
of open competition, and Civil Service qualifications apply.
Every candidate for appointment must be generally intelligent, over twenty-one and under thirty-five years of age, not less than five feet ten inches in height, not less than 165 pounds in weight, in good health, and of good moral character and habits. In all three institutions, the emphasis is on personality, intelligence and physical development. The fact that an applicant may have certain qualifications as a tradesman or instructor is secondary at best.

In spite of the fundamental qualifications a vocational training instructor should possess, applicants who ultimately become instructors are selected in the same manner as all guard staff in all three institutions. The value of this method of selecting personnel is that it leads to the development of a good, well-rounded staff, who are capable of performing adequately in the general administration of the institution. It does not lead to the development of an efficient vocational training unit. Inasmuch as the objective of all three programmes is the rehabilitation of the maladjusted individual, the development of a staff well-endowed with personality, intelligence and physical qualifications is to be recommended. If vocational training is expected to make its contribution to the rehabilitative process, however, the staff who will be expected to do the training should also be selected on the basis of their theoretical and practical vocational knowledge, as well as on their ability to impart that knowledge to others.

Staff salaries at New Haven and the Young Offenders'
Unit ($255 - $309) are higher than in most Canadian correctional institutions, but do not compare favourably with the wage of a tradesman in the community, or with the salary paid to instructors in vocational training schools. The salary at Oakalla ($225 - $281) can only be compared with the wages paid for unskilled labour in the same community.

In all three institutions, in-service training in general correctional work is provided for staff, but trades or teacher training is non-existent. The only other training medium provided is the library, but staff development programmes must be furthered before the majority of staff members will know how to use this service effectively.

It is obvious, from our preceding narrative, that none of the three institutions in question can be classified as one of the three traditional types of vocational institutions. New Haven and the Young Offenders' Unit most closely resemble the junior school type of programme, in that academic standing is at a minimum and the younger people are enrolled. The degree of disturbance usually found in most inmates of correctional institutions would unquestionably bar them from the usual junior school type of programme, but by approaching this problem through the use of more intensive social work services, the vocational part of the programme could be considered as similar. Oakalla has little similarity to any standard vocational training programme, other than apprenticeship itself.
In spite of similarities that can be detected, the generally lower educational level of prison inmates, and the greater intensity of emotional problems, appear to be factors which would make vocational training on the basis found in any standard vocational training programme rather difficult. To be effective, a training unit would have to supply sufficient social work services to offset the abnormalities in the situation and the individual. The degree of social work services necessary to offset personal and environmental difficulties seems to indicate that these services would have to parallel in stature the vocational training programme itself.

Reference was made in chapter one to the curriculum offered in vocational training schools and, of the three institutions under study, it appears that in Oakalla at least, being a large institution, the programme could be expanded to include the following:

- Barbering
- First Aid and time keeping
- Industrial Electricity
- Janitor-Engineer
- Machine Shop
- Plastering
- Sheet Metal

There are fewer opportunities for expansion in New Haven and the Young Offenders' Unit, but there does appear to be some scope for training in the following trades:

- Barbering
- Drafting
- Machine Shop
- Sheet Metal

In the opinion of the National Employment Service, any training the inmate receives is to his advantage. Training
provides some skill which the employer can exploit and improve on. Anything of a mechanical nature will enhance employability in that it removes the individual from the labouring class. It makes the former inmate more acceptable to an employer. Although he cannot be classed or hired as a tradesman, he can be hired as a helper, and this can prove to be the first step to further training in the trade.

Some trade training can lead to employment in allied trades. For example, furnace work is closely allied with the sheet metal trade, and training in sheet metal work means that the trainee can, without too much difficulty, make his way into furnace work. In a similar fashion, janitoring and stationary engineering can be combined to provide dual skills which have employment value. Plastering is a trade which is in constant demand. An individual who obtains some grounding in this trade can find gainful employment. There is an excellent opportunity to establish a barbering course. The present system of hair cutting involves the use of inmate barbers, some of them experienced and others not, but no attempt has been made to capitalize on the obvious training opportunities in this area. Industrial electricians, time keepers with first-aid qualifications, and general construction workers are also in demand in British Columbia's expanding economy.

Although the need for flexibility has been indicated several times throughout the preceding pages, particularly with reference to the buildings and equipment in all three
institutions, it must be stressed that it is desirable in all aspects of the rehabilitative process. Wars, depressions, and the constant fluctuation of the supply and demand cycle in the world of industry, all make for changing needs and problems. Change is inevitable, and an ability to adjust is the formula for success. Vocational training in correctional institutions is handicapped by all the unique factors mentioned previously, but the problem of planning a programme that will be adequate in the face of the fluctuating market for the product of the institution, is typical of all training units. The curriculum for vocational training in the correctional setting should be no less flexible than the programme in any other training area.

The need to have a basic academic education to make vocational training effective should be recognized in the institutions studied and in any future programme. It is not sufficient to have it as an optional correspondence course self taught as in Oakalla, or as a course which eliminates vocational training as in the Young Offenders' Unit, or as a night school extra as in New Haven. Moreover, attention must be directed to appropriate administrative leadership for the total educational programme. It appears that there is a case for the appointment at Oakalla Prison Farm of a Director of Educational Services who would also provide consultant services to New Haven and the Young Offenders' Unit.
Too often the absence of an acceptable academic standing is misjudged as an indication of the offender's inability to absorb an academic education, or his lack of intelligence. Although the lack of opportunity is often a cause for academic discrepancies, it is a common occurrence in modern correctional institutions to find that what has been considered to be a lack of intelligence, is in reality an emotional blocking. The need for adequate diagnostic facilities is therefore an essential feature of any effective correctional programme. Proper classification methods, which include the use of psychometric services, tend to eliminate the above-mentioned personal misjudgements. Classification and psychological testing, as minimal as described in this study, cannot be effective and only tend to discredit the diagnostic team. Facilities for thorough classification should be increased in our present institutions, and budgeted for adequately in any new programme.

Any good classification programme should encourage the participation of the inmate in his own treatment plan. It is considered that the system as practised in New Haven and the Young Offenders' Unit could be instituted in Oakalla. Because of the great number of inmates, the process would have to be more mechanical, but could provide for a written request similar to other request forms already in use, and could allow an acknowledgement in all cases and an explanation in a sufficient number of cases to make the effort worthwhile. In any new programme, it would appear essential
for the inmate involved to be brought into a discussion, which could allow some latitude prior to the decision concerning his vocational programme.

A basic point to be considered is the need for the vocational programme in all three institutions to have a liaison with both management and labour. It is clear that job opportunities for the former inmate will be enhanced when business firms have some knowledge of, and confidence in, the kind of training provided within the institution. It is equally evident that any hostility on the part of organized labour will be a serious handicap to the man seeking a job. The participation by labour in the planning of an expanded prison labour programme, its assurance that training is of good quality, and that instructors are not a threat to labour standards, will do much to facilitate acceptance of the former inmate into the industrial community.

Closely allied to the latter point is the whole question of after-care in Canada. On the part of the federal government, at least, the Canadian versions of parole are regarded as a responsibility of private agencies, notably the John Howard Society. But it is no reflection on this organization to say that it should not be asked to bear what is essentially a public function and, in fact, it may be said that the present arrangements distort the function of private agencies, which should be concerned with pioneering and intensive treatment of selected offenders, among
other things. It is to be hoped that the present ferment in corrections at the federal level will result in a new and imaginative approach to after-care in Canada. While the federal government might conceivably inaugurate a programme of its own, it appears that a more desirable administrative arrangement would be a programme of grants-in-aid to the provinces which, in British Columbia, could result in integration of parole with the high quality probation administration now virtually extended throughout the province.

Although the permanent value of the existing educational programmes should never be underrated, it is obvious from the preceding discussion that more intensive training for inmates is required. The increase in the pace of training can only be achieved if support for the individual is supplied during his training period through case work and group work services designed to meet his individual needs. In any modern correctional institution, therefore, it is necessary to envisage a partnership of the two great rehabilitative forces, the educational and social work programmes. The good vocational training programme, besides providing a marketable skill, and lasting personal values, will provide an institutional climate which will be in itself therapeutic. The good social case work and group work programme will provide an individual feeling and attitude, without which the educational process would be limited to a special class level. An important characteristic to be fostered
in any successful correctional programme of the future, therefore, will be the acknowledgement by all that treatment is not reserved for any single discipline. Methods of treatment must be varied, but all must be dominated by a desire for team work which must permeate the total organization, from the warden to the lowest guard, and, what is more important, must reach the consciousness of any individual to be rehabilitated.
Appendices

B - Bibliography
Appendix A

Report on Vocational School Inspection Trip

The material presented in chapter one contains principles derived from a review of several books on the subject of vocational training, as well as from interviews with leading people in the field. The main source of information, however, was the "Report on Vocational School Inspection Trip", a personal study of twenty-seven vocational schools, in various cities across Canada and the United States, carried out in April and May of 1947, by Mr. D. H. Goard, Principal of the Vancouver Vocational Institute.

A list of clearly defined principles proved difficult to find in written form, and most of the material presented was obtained in discussion with Mr. Goard, who pointed out that his conclusions were also shared by Mr. E. D. King, Architect for the Vancouver School Board, and Mr. H. A. Jones, Director of Technical Education for the Government of British Columbia, who reviewed these institutions with him and joined with him in presenting the report to the Vancouver School Board.
Appendix B

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