ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

WITHIN A PENAL INSTITUTION

A study of some of the important factors in the transition from a punitive to a treatment method in the Regina prison, Saskatchewan.

by

Hugh Graham Christie

Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment

of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

in the

School of Social Work

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

School of Social Work

1952

University of British Columbia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANADIAN PRISON SYSTEM	
	Penal Philosophy. The British Prison — a description of British practice prior to the twentieth century and the commencement of the Borstal system. The average Canadian prison — a description of the practice in Regina prison prior to the Saskatchewan Penal Commission Report	. 1
II	ADMINISTRATION IN A TREATMENT PRISON	
	Lines of authority a description of the lines of authority in the treatment prison at Regina. A discussion of the responsibilities and qualifications of staff during the transition process in the Regina prison. An analysis of this method which leads to the suggestions for an improved administration found in the job specifications in Appendix A.	. 22
III	THE CLASSIFICATION PROCESS	÷
	Equipment and staff used in classification. Procedure used by the Regina classification team. Some of the fundamentals which seem to contribute to successful classification and treatment	, 52
IV	STAFF DEVELOPMENT	
•	The importance of recruitment and personnel practices. Orientation as a part of training. Training method used in Regina prison. The place of training in a treatment institution	∌ 6 8
V.	EVALUATION OF THE TOTAL PROCESS	
	A review of philosophical and general factors which seem to contribute to the total effectiveness of the Regina treatment institution. Possible future trends	81
		14
Appendic	ces:	
A_{ullet}	Job Specifications	94
В•	Bibliography	108

ABSTRACT

The problem of setting up a prison method which can avoid brutality, provide treatment, and exercise the necessary control, has been tackled many times without success. The punitive prison depends on brutality for control. The treatment prison cannot function or provide control in an atmosphere of brutality. Because the two systems are almost completely incompatible, and because changes in prisons are difficult and slow, this transition, when attempted by the usual administrative methods, has resulted in chaos. This study is an analysis of a successful transition from a punitive to a treatment approach carried out in the Regina prison, Saskatchewan.

A description of the British prisons of past centuries and the all too similar Canadian prisons of today, is given as a starting point for the study. Administration, classification, and staff training, are singled out as the most important elements in the proper functioning of a treatment institution. An analysis of the trial and error process involved in the perfection of work at Regina in these areas is recorded. Job specifications, made possible by an analysis of this work, are included as an appendix.

The analysis of the Regina material is based on the writer's experience in administering prisons and his visits to twenty Canadian penal institutions.

The findings of the study lead to an assessment of standards which endorses the general method used in administration, classification, and staff training. Specific suggestions for improvement are made through the revision of job specifications and staff qualifications. The study is concluded by a prediction of future trends.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is a description of the application of social work methods to the program of an average Canadian prison. The experiment is unique in that it is, as well as being a most elementary application of social work, one of the most advanced attempts at scientific prison treatment ever recorded in Canada.

Many who have taken part in the brutalizing system of punishment which is still the dominant characteristic of Canadian prison programmes, have recognized the need for more humane methods. Many prison administrators have, over the years, made great personal sacrifices in their attempts to institute more satisfactory methods. To those whose vision made change inevitable, and to those whose sacrifices provided the knowledge for each increasingly more successful attempt at reform, may I here make acknowledgement for the social work profession. To all staff members who took part in the Regina experiment who will find their work praised and criticized without fear or favour, may I tender thanks for their contribution, for without them, such a noteworthy attempt at prison reform would have been impossible. I wish to acknowledge the courtesies extended to me on various occasions while reviewing twenty Canadian penal institutions.

I am particularly grateful to members of the faculty of Social Work at the University of British Columbia who gave time and advice which was particularly helpful in a field where there are few authorities today.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANADIAN PRISON SYSTEM

The latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century were comparatively rich in penological theory. The gathering of vital and other related statistics having been initiated, it was becoming increasingly clear that there was a relationship between environmental factors and personality development. Quetlet, the "father of statistics," maintained that the criminal was only a factor in the crime process. The criminal was the agent who executed the criminal act, the act being the culmination of a long series of events in which the criminal's participation was only incidental. Feri, in support of the interesting but rather superficial sociological views of his day, stated that a given society would produce only a certain amount of crime, the degree of saturation possible being calculable through study.

Almost paralleling these studies in point of time were those of the group who believed that organic factors were without question the major causes of crime. Lombroso saw the criminal as an atavistic being who reproduced in his person the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity and the inferior animals. Goring, in studying English criminals, was impressed with the stupidity evidenced in the acts which resulted in the committal of most prisoners, and felt that a large percentage were feebleminded. He does not acknowledge, however, that his work did not include the more intelligent group of criminals who, not being caught, usually enjoy a position in any culture seldom subject to examination.

These conflicting theories regarding the relative importance of heredity and environment as causative factors in crime were never completely resolved.

Instead, they were blended to produce the dominant theory today which considers

both heredity and environment in their usual interrelated form, to be the causative factors in crime in varying degree. Whether a genetic or an environmental factor will influence a person toward crime will depend on the appropriateness of the factor to the total situation.

The Early British Prison

A study of British penal development up to the turn of the century discloses an amazing ability on the part of the British governing class to capitalize on the Englishman's pride in his birthright and his unquestioning acceptance of tradition. He appears to not only have put up with outrageous and appalling conditions for himself and his fellow man, but also, after he had insisted on correctional legislation being passed, seems almost to have felt wicked if he was so disloyal to his ancestors as to insist on its implementation. In spite of all the changes in theory advocated during this period, retaliation, retribution, and punishment remained. Any changes in program up to the beginning of this century were changes in degree, rather than changes in basic principle. To understand the English prison, it is necessary to realize that they had always operated as separate, uncoordinated, and uncontrolled units. All prisons were, in theory, the King's, but in name only, as their administration was carried out by local authorities of widely varying understanding and interest. The close association of crime with sin, and the dominance of the so-called religious approach, is seen in the prevalence of church-controlled prisons. Manorial, city, municipal, and county gaols were also common and were operated for the profit of the gaoler and sponsor. The practice in British prisons was as varied as their gaolers, but, although it is safe to say that all of them employed various forms of torture and extortion, they never attained the severity of the continental inquisition. John Howard, of British prisons, writes "A prisoner in another of these gaols

was tormented with thumb screws. The grand jury took up the case, and remonstrated to the proprietors: but in vain." As late as 1765 the British Privy Council noted with concern but did nothing about the fact that the Bishop on the Isle of Ely was keeping his prisoners chained on the floor on their backs. Such practices were all examples of the milder type of general practice used to ensure minimum costs of confinement and to extort the cost and a profit for the inmates care and salvation.

Probably the most influential single factor in determining the character of British prisons was the fact that they were expected to finance their own operations through fees extracted from prisoners. The keeper of the prison had to make enough from his wards to pay his own wages and the operating cost of the institution. A small allowance of food was sometimes allowed by the local authorities, and charitable donations were also dispensed at the pleasure of the gaol keeper. The major costs of operating the institution and the salaries of the staff had to come from the avails of the inmates.

This situation resulted in fees being charged for admission, attaching and removing chains and leg irons, food, straw, separate accommodation with or without female company, liquor which was on tap in most prisons of the day, and even for the turning of the key on release. If not paid, this indebtedness resulted in continued confinement until available resources, hunger, or death, settled the account. Syndey and Beatrice Webb in quoting from the report of an eighteenth century medical doctor on the condition of London gaols in 1776, mention this fundamental fault of the system and its result. The first concern of the eighteenth century gaoler was naturally to avoid incurring expense. Hence

Howard, John, The State of Prisons, J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, New York, p. 16

the use of irons and chains for safe custody, instead of walls and warders; the immuring in the underground dungeons and windowless garrets; and the herding together in roofless yards, of prisoners of both sexes and all ages, healthy and sick, innocent and guilty; hence also the indescribable lack of sanitary accommodation, the scarcity of water and the non-provision of food, clothes, or firing. The felons in this country lie worse than dogs or swine, and are kept much more uncleanly than those animals are in kennels or sties. The stench and nastiness are so nauseous that no person enters there without risk of his health and life."

John Howard struck a familiar, but unresponsive note, when he wrote of Irish prisons which, like England, had laws requiring better treatment but indulged in similar malpractice. "Even boys almost naked, and under the age of twelve, are sometimes confined a year or two for these fees, though amounting to no more than about forty shillings. How surprising it is that any kingdom can endure such injustice."

Apart from the filth, physical neglect, and extortion common to prisons of the day, the moral degradation which they promoted was almost unbelievable in a democratic Christian country. The Webbs quote a description of conditions which evidently could have been repeated many times in describing eighteenth century prisons.

"Clerkenwell Bridewell, though originally intended only to punish idleness by labour, has by the interest of the keeper, been made the receptacle of felons, and is thus become the seminary of wickedness in all its branches. The idle apprentice, as soon as he is committed to this house of correction, becomes the associate of highwaymen, housebreakers, pick-pockets, and strolling prostitutes, the witness of the most horrid impiety and the most abandoned lewdness, and generally leaves whatever good quality he brought in, together with his health, behind him. The men and women prisoners are all together till they are locked up at night, and have perpetual opportunities of retiring to the dark cells as often as they please: the women, indeed, are generally such as do not need much solicitation to this commerce; but as the county

Webb, Sydney and Beatrice, English Prisons Under Local Government, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, p. 19.

³Howard, John, The State of Prisons, J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, New York, p. 151.

allowance is no more than a pennyworth of bread and some water every twentyfour hours, and many of them are totally destitute both of money and friends, they would have no alternative but to become prostitutes for subsistence or perish with hunger. When the time of confinement limited by the sentence is expired, the prisoner, though she may be detained for her fees, is not entitled to the county allowance; so that some have been kept a fortnight in this prison without any food at all besides what they could procure either from charity or from lust. But this is not all, the gatekeepers and other petty officers of the prison consider all the women prisoners as their seraglio, and indulge themselves in the promiscuous use of as many of them as they please. There are also two wards called the bawdy houses, in which the locker, for a shilling, will at any time lock up a man and woman for the night, and he is so solicitous to encourage this practice for the sake of his fee that he addressed the author of the Reasons, after he had been three days in custody, in these terms: When you have a mind to have one of these girls that you fancy lie with you all night you may have her; the custom is to pay for her bed and tip me a shilling; but this lewdness is not only practiced by one prisoner with another, but by people that go thither on purpose, so that the place may be considered a great brothel. kept under the protection of the law for the emolument of its ministers. Many dissolute persons resort thither, especially on Sunday, and after having singled out a girl, and treated her in the taphouse, they are conducted by the locker, under pretence of showing them the prison, to a private place where they remain undisturbed as long as they please. It is also a mart where those who subsist by keeping prostitutes in their houses, come to supply themselves with the numbers they want. It is common for the keeper of a bagnio or his servant to come to this place, call for a bottle or two of wine, look over the girls, enquire when their times are out, and having made choice of such as they think fit for their purpose, they pay their fees and take them home."4

As in most cultures, the knowledge of disgraceful prison conditions contributed too little to their correction. British prisons continued their course with some better and some worse modifications up to the beginning of the present century. The situation in America in 1776, made the continued transportation of convicts to that country impossible, and an alternative to the American prison colony had to be found. Many suggestions for state institutions were made from the "Panopticon" Jeremy Bentherm to the more commendable plans for constructive work and after care of Sir William Blackstone and Lord Auckland. These strivings, which characterized the period of private endeavour toward penal reform, should be given the credit for the Prisons Act of 1791, about

Webb, Sydney and Beatrice, English Prisons Under Local Government, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, p. 22.

which, unfortunately, nothing was done. Instead, a number of old sailing ships were moored at convenient points and used as prisons. Of these "hulks", the Webbs write, "Of all the places of confinement that British history records, the hulks were apparently the most brutalizing, the most demoralizing and the most horrible. The death rate was appalling, even for the prisons of the period. Though the convicts had the advantage of working in the open air, the cruelties to which they were subjected by day, and the horrors of their association by night, make the record one of the very blackest." However, the discovery of Australia made possible the resumption of the transportation of prisoners and the establishment of a prison colony destined to extend the bounds of civilization and lay the foundation for a further extension of the empire.

Although the situation had been eased by the founding of a new penal colony, the state of prisons was not improved, and the job of penal reform again was left to be carried on by private interest. The influence of women's groups had not been felt to any extent up to this time, but the conditions for women in prison played an important part in the early 1800's. Elizabeth Fry, probably the best known woman follower of John Howard, in her visits to women's prisons, found disgraceful conditions. "Vagrants and disorderly women of the very lowest and most wretched class of human beings, almost naked, with only a few filthy rags almost alive and in motion with vermin, their bodies rotting with the bad distemper, and covered with itch, scorbutic and venereal ulcers; and being unable to treat the constable even with a pot of beer to let them escape, are drove in shoals to gaols, particularly to the two Clerkenwells and Tothill Fields; there thirty and sometimes near forty of these unhappy wretches are crowded or crammed together in one ward where, in the dark, they bruise and beat each other in a most shocking fashion. In the morning, the different wards are more like the Black Hole in Calcutta than places of confinement in a

⁵Webb, Sydney and Beatrice, English Prisons Under Local Government, Longmans Green and Company, New York, p. 45.

Christian country." This doctor's report of the situation in London illustrates the conditions which, together with the inspiration of the penal work of her fellow Quakers in America, spurred on Elizabeth Fry and other reformers and resulted in the Act of Parliament in 1835 which ushered in the era of national supervision.

The period of national supervision from 1835 to 1877, because it provided for national inspection of gaols, brought before the English parliament the many points of controversy which previously had been overlooked as a responsibility of the local unit, and, therefore, of no concern to the central government. This period is characterized by the weak and futile attempts of the central government to enforce its regulations, and extensive discussion concerning proper methods to define what the regulations should be. Confinement in separate cells was decided to be more desirable than the old congregate system, but when associated with complete isolation was almost as destructive. silent system, which allowed no speech between prisoners, although advocated by many, was found to be impractical and damaging to the inmate, but was continued. Dietary schedules were laid down by the central authorities but were not adhered to. An increase in prison population, actually prior to but including this period, was attributed by many, to be a result of the comparatively attractive conditions in gaols. Deterrance became the watchword and the "tread-wheel" and the "crank" as the means of exacting measured discomfort and labour, although considered detrimental to mind and body, were continued as the easiest work to administer without complaint from business interests. National supervision was found to be ineffective in itself in bringing about change and disgraceful conditions continued under limited local administration. It is probable that this non-

⁶Webb, Sydney and Beatrice, English Prisons Under Local Government, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, p. 19.

compliance with the rules of the central authority would have continued but for the necessity at this time of finding a means of lessening the financial burden on the local areas. The political necessity of reallocating responsibility, therefore, provided the incentive for the new government to legislate, in 1877, for national control of all prisons.

The central administration rapidly took over or closed the local prisons and instituted a mechanically precise, and uniform system, designed to deter crime by a neat, impartial, but brutal system of punishment. This lack of humanity, the severity, the continuous use of the tread-mill and the crank, the exclusion of prisons from public scrutiny, and the steadily rising incidence of crime, had resulted in the appointment of the committee under Herbert Gladstone whose most interesting and valid statement was his condemnation of the principle of treating all men the same. This principle of uniformity of treatment is still being wrongly accepted as practical, because of its relationship to the idea of human equality. Probably the greatest contribution of this period was its research on the value of punishment, which is well stated by Fox in his comments regarding the findings of Gladstone's committee of 1894 when he wrote: "After 30 years' experience of this policy in the most favourable circumstances, it had shown that, in a practical sense, it did not work. The prison population which had at first fallen, was steadily rising, and careful inquiry had shown that recidivism had not been reduced but was increasing. It was held that the prisoner subjected for long or often to this regime, was sent out of prison brutalized, embittered, anti-social, and unfit to take a decent place in society. This experience, indeed, confirmed what had already been suggested in other directions -- as on the abolition of the death penalty for felony in general or of corporal punishment in the fighting services -- that the volume of crime will not be favourably affected by severity of punishment -- punishment, that is to say, conceived in the sense of

physical or mental severities and degradations; and that to increase the severity of punishment in this sense is likely to lead to a progressive hardening of the class against which it is directed, till measures of greater and still greater severity are called for." After careful study, this conviction was stated as being firm in the minds of Gladstone's committee and some of its influence is seen in the developments in the early twentieth century. However, the faith to proceed with this conviction conclusively, and carry out a diametrically different approach for a corresponding thirty years, was lacking. The Commission's compromise in their recommendation that the first part only of a man's sentence should be on the old basis of punitive labour and separation, indicated their lack of true conviction and their fear of dispensing with the idea of instilling in every prisoner a wholesome dread. The ensuing years to the present day, where the British system is reflected in Canada, have shown this age old ambivalence. An example of this unfortunate philosophy is seen in the quotation by Sir Godfrey Lushington, permanent Under Secretary of State for the Home Office, who, after acknowledging the truth of the statement by Church and Bench that reform was not compatible with a regime directed to deterrence said: "I regard as unfavourable to reformation the status of a prisoner throughout his whole career; the crushing of self-respect, the starving of all moral instinct he may possess, the absence of all opportunity to do and receive a kindness, the continual association with none but criminals, and that only as a separate item among other items also separate; the forced labour and the denial of liberty. I believe the true mode of reforming a man or restoring him to society is exactly in the opposite direction of all these. But, of course, this is a mere idea; it is quite impractical in a prison. In fact, the unfavourable features I have

⁷Fox, L. L., The Modern English Prison, George Routledge and Sons, Limited, Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, 1934, p. 96

mentioned are inseparable from prison life. The effects of this complacent resignation which characterized correctional work in Britain in the nineteenth century can be seen as our endowment in the Canadian prison system.

In spite of these mixed emotions, the pressure for reform in England was sufficiently great at the turn of the century to result in the Borstal experiment. From this beginning, Britain's penal system progressed appreciably but Canada, separated by an expanse of ocean and fond memories of home, cherished the nineteenth century heritage.

The Average Canadian Prison (Regina Prison Prior to 1946)

There were many influences on the early Canadian prison system. Most of its direction, however, came from men who had received their orientation to law in England and therefore favoured British methods. The Canadian Criminal Code was a schedule of punishments designed to fit the most common crimes in England. It had been unsuccessfully suggested to the British Parliament in 1878 by Sir James FitzJames Stevens. It was altered slightly, and hurriedly, to suit the needs of Canada for a law at the time of confederation and has remained ever since with sufficient change only to ensure its continued use. This inherited background has had a strong effect on the Canadian prison system of today. The English prison system has made some progress during the past fifty years. With few exceptions, the Canadian system has remained stagnant.

The Regina Gaol, up to 1946, was undoubtedly, in many ways, an average Canadian prison. Being a provincial institution, it had probably been subject to broader scrutiny and greater demands for reform than some of the local institutions in eastern Canada. However, the fact that Saskatchewan has not had

Swebb, Sydney and Beatrice, English Prisons Under Local Government, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, p. 221.

the financial resources to promote this reform, no doubt tended to limit its development, so that it was little better than the average. The Regina prison is located seven miles from the city of Regina. It has an average inmate population of one hundred to one hundred and fifty and an annual turnover of up to one thousand prisoners per year.

The Regina staff, as in other prisons in Canada, had no knowledge of the prisoner except the name and sentence contained in his warrant of commitment. In many cases the prisoner had been picked up as little as a few hours before, had been run through the machinery of the court, had been awarded the punishment laid down as fitting his crime, and moved from the local police cells to the gaol for imprisonment. The experience is a terrifying one for the less calloused, and the first offender -- as he jostles on the truck benches from the police cells to gaol with his fellow convicts many thoughts soar through his mind. He feels that he has changed caste. He is in a new world over which he has no control. He detests the stench of his companions—their stale liquor and soiled clothes but he huddles close, grasping at any morsel of instruction or guidance he can obtain from his more experienced bed fellows. He approaches the admitting desk. full of fears at his unknown but obviously inferior position; but, overcome by futility or anxiety, he covers any feeling of weakness with an air of aggressive defiance. The professional quietly waits his turn while the new man is classified as a "bad one." The old timer has nothing to lose, so he often gives the right answers; but the newcomer, with strong family ties tries to protect the family name with an alias, thus increasing his delinquency. The youngster had heard in police cells that if he was of juvenile age he would be sent to a juvenile institution for an indefinite period of up to five years, but if considered an adult he would be given a short, definite sentence. He, therefore, falsifies his age. He does not want his family or employer or school chums to know he was

stealing, and caught, so he also withholds information about this. The admission books of Canadian gaols record all this material with meticulous care; but these treasured volumes are so full of discrepancies that they are often worse than useless.

Modern study and classification during the reception period in Canadian gaols, as at Regina, was unknown. There were no facilities to find out why a prisoner was maladjusted, and no facilities to give the treatment if it were known. Some prisons used the old congregate type of sleeping and living accommodation. Age and youth slept together, and sex perversion was rampant. In Regina, as in most other prisons however, an attempt was made to place men according to their usefulness to the prison, and the degree of custody required to ensure complete security. Placing men according to their training needs was considered impossible. A blood test was compulsory on admission but the doctor only called once a week and for emergencies. Regular checks for disease or physical condition by the doctor happened rarely and then only by chance. Drug addicts were given no consideration in weaning. If the habit was broken, no attempt to find the initial cause of maladjustment, and no attempt to provide essential after-care was made. Alcoholics, who developed the D. T.'s, were placed in a bare cell with a prisoner placed outside to watch them. The prisoner reporting sick was frequently told to die and prove it and sometimes did. Dental appointments, which involved an extra guard and a possible trip to town, were rare. Teeth that hurt were not filled but pulled, and teenagers leaving prison with few or no teeth were common.

All personal effects were collected and signed for on admission. A gaol number was assigned, and fingerprints and photographs were taken and sent to Ottawa immediately on intake. Clothing was untouched in the case of the man

committed for a few days. In all other cases, however, a shower was given and personal clothing removed and substituted by the usually well-worn khaki issue marked in black letters-"Regina Gaol." Little concern for size was taken as "you ain't gonna be seen by nobody." The shoes, which had been used by released prisoners, were seldom in pairs as they never wore out at the same time. When the uppers wore out, old leather gloves were used to patch up these cripplers. Personal clothing was tagged and placed in individual bags to rot or multiply until a few days prior to release, which was often a year or two later. In later years, clothes were sterilized on admission, but were not washed or pressed. The record of previous convictions, which were returned by Royal Canadian Mounted Police Fingerprint Section, Ottawa, indicated, as did the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, that over seventy percent of prisoners were returning to gaol, and that prisons, though restricted to terms under two years, were mixing first offenders, ex-prisoners, ex-penitentiary men, and the professional convict, regardless of type. The principle of treating all men the same was considered to be such a just concept that it could not help but eventually result in a wholesome response from all inmates. The idea of every treatment being as different as every individual's different needs, was not considered.

The physical facilities of the institution were set up to provide the bare essentials of life, and good custody. There was no reception unit to allow a gradual orientation to prison life. Individual cells were used for most of the prisoners, but a large basement dormitory, partly beneath ground level, was used for short term repeaters and for "sobering up." The other half of the basement contained twelve isolation cells, which could be darkened, and two other cells adjoining the gallows, for men awaiting execution. The twelve isolation cells had no facilities; buckets being used for toilets, and a straw tick on the

cement floor usually serving for a bed. The one hundred and twenty-six regular cells were built in three tiers back to back, with cells facing out and separated from the windows by a blank pit from floor to ceiling. Each cell was about ten feet by six feet. They were built of solid, but porous, whitewashed masonry. These cells were equipped with a toilet, wash basin, and iron slat bed. Straw ticks were usually supplied. Meals consisted of an unbalanced, monotonous, and starchy diet with no butter allowed. The institution had two showers which worked. One was covered with the usual slime which collects on unwashed facilities, and the other more efficient apparatus had the advantage of a shower head made of a slit tobacco can. Men were allowed one shower and two shaves per week. The shaving could not be done by the man himself in case he used the blade to attempt suicide. Toilets were faulty in that sewer gas bubbled back into the cells. Various devices were used by prisoners to cover these seatless sewers which were only a few feet from their bed. All meals were also eaten in their cells.

The large farm attached to the gaol was well equipped with horse-drawn equipment, which had little modern training value. However, a large amount of grain, pork, milk, eggs, and vegetables were produced. The institution sold the grain, pork, and the cream off the milk, to private concerns and the guards, but skimmed milk and some vegetables were available in large quantities for gaol use. The one thousand acres of gaol farm provided the only vocational training besides the maintenance of the buildings. Recreational equipment was considered an unnecessary luxury. A few old tennis ballswere allowed for softball games; the prisoner's hand being used as a bat. The chapel was a large bare room used for indoor exercise as well as religious services. The need for elaborate physical equipment is often considered to be small. However, a review of the average Canadian gaol up to the present, indicates an inhuman sacrifice of human health

and morals for the sake of perpetuating an economy which, because of the extra deterioration allowed to the total structure, is questionable, even on financial grounds. Boilers, after being condemned, were operated for years on half pressure. Even then, there could be no assurance that the prisoner firemen on duty would not one day be scalded to death, and other damage ensue when the boiler exploded. The unsanitary nature of open drains in the basement was not considered important. The fact also that, in the much-used basement, a twenty-foot tank, holding tons of water, had holes filled with wooden pegs, and could be pierced with a small hammer, was of no concern. The laundry washing machines were prison made and unable to handle the work. The inmate shoe repairing caused crippling discomfort. Shoes were repaired with the most meagre equipment and, as mentioned, when the toe joints finally wore through the uppers of the shoe, the remains of old gloves were used to patch the holes. The miserly administration of penal institutions has been a common fault of governments, and the ingenuity and resourcefulness of wardens and their staffs in their attempts to offset this unnatural poverty, has been nothing short of amazing.

The staff of the Regina Gaol seem to have been chosen for their ability to carry out orders, and their previous usefulness to the political administration. No job specification outlining the duties and the qualifications necessary to adequately fill positions, were in existence and many appointments, some good and many bad, were made on a political basis. The present warden, for example, who received his position originally for his ability to do the job, was relieved of his position when the government changed, but was, of course, returned when policital reverses befell his successor. The routine nature of prison jobs in the past, has made it an ideal place to provide jobs for party supporters, and has resulted in many well-meaning men finding themselves in positions which they were never suited to fill from the point of view of aptitude or example. These men

seldom had a grade school education and were often cynical, sadistic, and insecure. Being unable to find other positions which could be fitted so readily
to their inabilities, they remained as prison staff, and in so doing, limited
the effectiveness of prison work even at its elementary and punitive level.

The regimen of Canadian prisons varies as markedly as does the situation when five hundred men sit eating in one room, in absolute silence, to the equally unnatural situation where they eat in their cell with no other surroundings than their bed, toilet, and wash basin. The philosophy and atmosphere which devised both methods is, however, the same, and the following description of the Regina Gaol programme, during the past four years, is, therefore, an adequate example of the average Canadian prison.

The first activity in Regina was the awakening of the early trustee chore men. If they were on duty in the kitchen or barns, they would arise at five a.m., and after breakfast, proceed to the kitchen or to the farm. A prisoner on the regular farm chore gang would be awakened earlier than the regular prisoners, and after breakfast, would proceed, after the change of shift at seven, under guard to the farm. The guard would pick up the earlier group, and proceed with his gang of approximately twelve men to do work which would ordinarily be done by one farmer and one hired hand.

The remainder of the prisoners were awakened by the large brass gong on the square, and were further aroused, where necessary, by guards who went the rounds to make sure by voice and digs that the men were dressed and ready for breakfast. At seven the prisoners were fed, one corridor of twenty-one cells at a time. As the keeper banged the gong, the lever releasing all doors in a corridor at once was pulled, and every man stepped out of his cell in line. At the second sound of the gong on the square, all men marched down in single file onto the square and faced in line. At a signal from the keeper, they turned simultaneously and marched around to receive

their food which was served cafeteria style through the iron bars separating the kitchen from the square. The prisoner, since his hands were going to be full, placed his bread between upper arm and his body, whether his clothes were those of a stoker fireman or a piggery man. He next picked up a bowl of soupy oatmeal porridge. The mixture was always thin because the skimmed milk and sugar were added and mixed in the cooking pot to ensure equality and ease in serving. The milk was always watery. It was first skimmed by the milking men who made illicit butter because none was served in the institution to prisoners. It was then officially skimmed as the cream was sold in town and to the guards. It was then skimmed by the cook in the kitchen for staff meals. The remainder was used for inmates. The prisoner next placed a saucer containing three unsweet ened prunes or boiled dried apples on top of his porridge bowl. He then took, in his remaining hand, his metal or enamel cup of coffee, also pre-mixed with milk and sugar, and climbed as high as twenty feet of steps, in some cases, to his cell or drum as it was more frequently called. Here he sat on his bed, his stool, or his toilet, conveniently placed to use the bed as a table, and picked at his lonely fare. Many men could never eat, and many who did felt a hard lump where a relaxed feeling of satisfaction should have been. Pepper was not allowed as it might be thrown in a guard's face during a prison break, and salt was not allowed in glass shakers for fear someone might use the glass to gash his wrists or commit suicide. When the meal was finished, the toilet received, the remaining slops and the dirty enamel and tin dishes were tossed out between the bars onto the cement-floored corridor to be picked up by the men on kitchen duty.

At 7:45, the men to be employed on work gangs were unlocked individually and reported on the square. They were checked off here by the keeper and inside guards, on duplicate gang lists prepared the night before. At 7:55 the

bell was rung and the outside guards, having received instructions re their work, in the outer office, came in, equipped with revolvers in hip holsters, and checked over their lists and gangs. They searched their prisoners, signed the slip taking responsibility for their custody, took the copy, and proceeded to the job. The ridiculous arrangements which resulted from the unsurmounted problems of custodial management were the most noticeable feature of the work programme. Twelve men would go to haul hay on the windiest of days and with two broken pitchforks. Men would weed miles of carrots by hand where only a few dozen carrots existed. Snow would be shovelled at thirty-five below zero while horses and grader stood idle. Men tramped snow to facilitate horse traffic. Men with frozen feet, when refusing to go out again, would be placed on five days in isolation on bread and water. The majority of men, who were always left inside, polished the bars and cement floors, worked in the laundry, kitchen, and boiler room, or sat in their cells or corridors where they were turned loose to swap experiences or read. The guards supervising, borrowed the prisoners! cheap literature and sat and supervised. This period of loose intermingling of all types was probably one of the most demoralizing parts of the prison programme. Its unconstructive nature seemed to not only promote poor relationships between prisoners, but also involved the guards. Dope was sometimes smuggled in, and tobacco, the currency of bribery in all gaols, was a constant cause of delinquency. Prisoners who had smuggled in money, would pay a guard to bring in tobacco. The guard would then report the illicit possession of tobacco to another guard who would seize the tobacco. Both money and tobacco would then be split. Guards would frequently receive half of a large bill in return for getting it changed. Visiting day was often a better day for the guards than the prisoners. In the afternoon, the prisoner who had worked outside was considered to have had his

recreation. The men who had stayed indoors all day were, however, given fifteen minutes in an exercise yard made secure by fifteen-foot concrete walls. Recreation consisted of walking around at arms length in a circle for fifteen minutes with no talking allowed. In recent years, as mentioned, recreation was introduced and softball was played using a tennis ball and a hand for a bat.

Lunch and supper were served in the same manner as breakfast, and after six o'clock all cells would be locked, and prisoners would remain, with few exceptions, until the next morning. The odd silent film was shown by an outside group and the library of donated and cast-out books supplemented, to some degree, the cheap novels allowed in the prisoner's mail. The men were locked in on Saturday noon and were allowed out for meals only, until Monday morning. The only exceptions to this were essential chores and two short church services, one Catholic and one Protestant, both of which enjoyed the presence of guards sitting on high stools on either side of the alter with hats on, to ensure good discipline.

The most common punishment for rebellion against the methods of the institution was isolation either with or without light, and with a limited supply of bread and water. When this treatment failed to subdue, prisoners were sometimes hung by their handcuffed wrists on the bars of their cells. Excessive defiance might require being hung with feet off the ground which has been done for up to five days without being taken down for eating or toilet. Noisy men under these conditions have been gagged by various methods, but it will serve no purpose to describe other similar incidents common to many Canadian prisons. I have seen instances in other provinces where men were placed in a dark cell on bread and water for ninety days and women for thirty days. The average lay person finds this hard to believe. On the contrary, one can be sure that when treatment alternatives do not exist, the above-mentioned primitive

methods have to exist when prisoners are kept under control.

Provision for after-care was seldom planned, and, except for a few cases where the warden went out of his way to make special arrangements, men went out in ninety above and fifty below with no place to go, One Dollar in their pockets, and, if loaned a gaol coat to go into town on the truck, were relieved of it before being given their freedom.

Unbelievable as it may seem to the reader, the visitor of those days, and even to some members of the gaol staff, other Canadian prisons operated on the same basis. Many must feel that every other prison in Canada must be better than the preceding description. However, any prison, regardless of location and staff, which operates on a philosophy of punishment and does not have a treatment technique to use as an alternative, must inevitably, at one time or another, face the same problems which forced the situations described on men no more brutal and no less understanding than the average prison staff and many laymen.

It was a growing awareness of the above fact that lead the key people in education, mental hospital, work, mental hygiene programs, church organizations, and societies interested in general social reform, to press for an examination of the prison field. Their hope was that adequate study by skilled people might disclose some alternative to present prison methods which, as they were being practiced, represented a denial of the basic Christian philosophy on which was founded their way of life. After a great deal of public interpretation through every group in the province that could be interested, a petition was presented to the government of the day to conduct a study with a view to finding and instituting a more humane system of treating prisoners. In reply to these requests, the government set up a three-man penal commission with Dr. S. R.

Laycock, now Dean of Education for the University of Saskatchewan, and a Director

on the board of the Mental Hygiene Association of Canada, as the commission's chairman. The Saskatchewan Penal Commission submitted its report to the government in the Fall of 1946.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION IN A TREATMENT PRISON

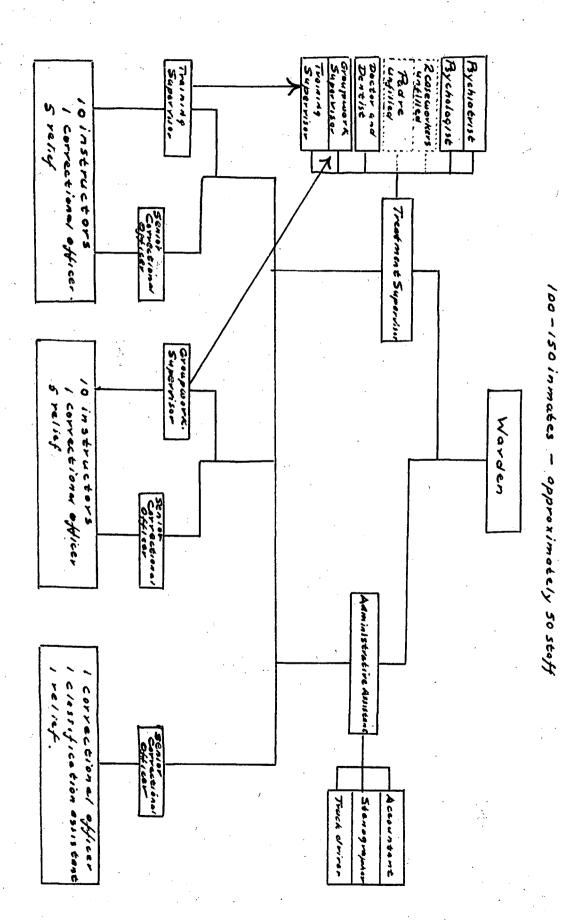
The Saskatchewan Penal Commission Report, through its specific criticisms of the existing system, made it quite clear that reorganization of the prison administration was an essential. Although the members of the Commission left no doubt concerning the trend which administrative reorganization should take, they were careful to be sufficiently general to avoid specific recommendations which might act as stumbling blocks. One of the recommendations made, with the intention of avoiding further conflict of philosophy, was the transfer of all penal institutions to the Department of Social Welfare. Another major recommendation was that a professional person be appointed to the position of Director of Corrections. The person in this position was to be responsible for the reorganization of all correctional work in the province. One of the first projects attempted was the reorganization of the administration at the Regina prison.

The reorganization at Regina was in no way a clear-cut operation. Although the most progressive experiments were examined, not even the pioneer work in Ontario's Department of Reform Institutions had produced an administrative organization which resulted in treatment. As a result, Regina had to go through a series of trial and error experiences to arrive at the method in existence at the time of this survey. Although the organization to be described here appears to be one of the best in existence today, it is recognized as being at an elementary stage in a rapidly developing field. Its value for the future will then be the process through which it evolved rather than its present form. Its present form, because it has a momentary value as a step to better methods, will be briefly covered before reviewing the planning which

accompanied the Regina reorganization.

Overall administration

The administrative chart on the following page describes the organization and lines of authority in existence today after four years of experimentation.



Administrative Chart for the Regina Treatment Rison

The administration of the Regina Gaol only began to take form after trying a number of fundamentally different methods. The straight custodial line, with treatment people as staff officers only, was a safe organization, but useless in carrying out treatment. The attempt to have a straight line of authority completely operated by the treatment people available today, was so unstable from an operational point of view that the results were chaotic. The administrative organization in its final form, therefore, tended to split the administration into two lines of authority. Treatment positions are given senior status in the process, but placed in such a way that co-operation between custody and treatment and its resulting benefits are made possible. Public relations and integration of the total process are the major responsibilities of the warden, but his work is broken down into two general areas. He delegates all treatment to the treatment supervisor and all custody and general administrative responsibilities to the administrative assistant. The treatment supervisor, as well as being the director of the treatment team, is responsible for the administrative duties which automatically become his lot in planning and implementing the total treatment process. He must do considerable work with the staff officers of the treatment team who, having no authority in the line, can only effect the administration through the treatment supervisor. This area of his work is a job of some magnitude, requiring a rare breadth of treatment knowledge and experience. The administrative assistant, previously the deputy warden, is responsible for the custodial and routine administration of the prison. The accountant, stenographer, and truck driver are staff officers responsible to the administrative assistant.

The work of the institution is divided into three shifts—the morning, responsible for work, maintenance, and training; the afternoon, responsible for socialization and group work programmes; and the graveyard shift, concentrating almost entirely on security. As in the higher ranks, the leadership of

the various shifts required such a unique synthesis of custody and treatment knowledge that, in the morning and afternoon programmes where both security and treatment were of prime importance, no one man was available with all the essential qualities required. The leadership of the morning shift was, therefore, shared between the training supervisor and a senior correctional officer, the former having the authority to settle a difference of opinion. All staff taking part in the morning programme, most of whom did a dual job of production and training, were under the jurisdiction of the two senior morning staff. The usual division of work found the training supervisor doing the planning, and the senior correctional officer directing the operation. In the afternoon programme the arrangement was similar with the group work supervisor responsible for the plan to be followed, and the senior correctional officer directing the routine moves mecessary. All of the afternoon staff, who were mainly group workers, were again responsible to these two senior staff who worked as the parents of the programme. The graveyard shift, being interested in security almost entirely, was headed by a senior correctional officer who had guards or correctional officers, as they were more commonly called, as assistants. It was considered good practice to have one of these men able to handle casework problems during this shift. This position was given the title of classification assistant as the material he would record as a result of night interviews would fall in this category.

This method of administration worked well with two to four runaways per year, with few absent for more than a matter of hours, as the usual security level. The treatment possible in contrast to that possible in the old type prison was a source of comment from a number of psychiatric authorities. The only way that greater treatment appeared possible was by making custodial people "staff" officers, or by completely amalgamating their positions with treatment

54 Bish.

staff. Neither of these moves would be considered safe risks in an adult prison with the present level of staff and resources available today.

Professional

Though it may, until applied to problem situations appear irrelevant, the actual process which culminated in the present administrative
structure is considered to be of paramount importance. Some of the unsuccessful
planning and thinking is therefore included, with the discussion of each position in the administration. As stated, the administrative structure in its
final form, tended to break down into two lines. The positions in the professional line of authority will be dealt with first.

The warden's position is directly responsible to that of the Director of the Corrections Branch for the total operation of the gaol. He is responsible for sufficient contact and reporting to the director to prove that he has a clear understanding, and is carrying out laid-down policy. He is responsible, within the limits of this policy, for the successful operation of the institution in all areas, from accounting and maintenance to training and treatment. This work is almost completely delegated to his two assistants, the treatment supervisor and the administrative assistant. The decisions which result in the proper synthesis of their work, are ones which require meticulous assessment. The respect for different individual philosophies, in the supervision of the two positions, seems to require unprejudiced diplomacy. These general responsibilities and the public relations work of the prison are his.

The qualifications for a warden's position have been the subject of much controversy. The warden at Regina is a sixty-three year old man. He had been a policeman previously and has been warden of the gaol for over twenty years. He is, however, an alert, active, tireless, intelligent and friendly person who has a sincere respect for the personality of his inmates,

a belief in the worth of every individual, and a faith that, properly handled, potential can be developed to eventuate in a happy and useful adjustment. He is sufficiently secure as a person, that he has been able to become, to a degree, a functioning part of the social work organization, and has made many controversial treatment changes on the basis of objective assessments. appropriate orientation to social work appears to be an essential requirement for the new position as head of the institution. His years of experience in dealing with different types of people, his leadership ability as demonstrated in the many problem situations in his experience in the prison, and his executive experience in handling the administrative problems of running an enterprise, also appear to be essential qualities for success in this position. Apart from the necessary personal qualifications, social work and administrative knowledge and experience also appear to be essential. The administrative ability of the warden was unquestionably a saving feature in many problem situations, particularly during the initial stages of transition. During this beginning period, the new freedoms which allowed some participation in democratic planning by the inmates, and the use of an approach which gave a reason for its method, encouraged well-founded criticism by the thoughtful inmate, and an ideal opportunity for exploitation by the more cunning criminal. Besides the testing process we would expect, there were many carefully prepared problems. The knowledge that the inmates, the department, and the public were not ready for more than a gradual move, and that there existed, therefore, a temporary discrepancy between philosophy and practice, allowed ample opportunity for the professional criminal to excite the new inmates, and those predisposed to express hostility, to riot. The fact was stressed that if the treatment staff really had the faith they claimed, they would allow freedom from personal supervision on many occasions. Also in the old prison, you were fed what was available,

grouched about it, and accepted it as your lot without explanation. However, in the beginning stages of treatment, the failure of the cabbage and tomato crop and the high cost of oranges all carefully and thoughtfully presented, were still inadequate reasons to the inmate for an obvious dietary lack of vitamin C after normal diet and health had been the major topic of educational films and group discussions. Feelings of hostility, from many such sources of aggravation in institutional life, often were quickly focused on one such outlet with what could have been disastrous results. On these occasions, immediate control became an essential which only the warden had the experience and the brass to command. His ability to sacrifice the individual for the total good at the proper time only, was a very evident necessity. There is little doubt from a review of events that the institution would not have weathered the stormy transition with as much calm without his steadying, though well criticized, administrative influence. On the other hand, when serious matters came before the warden's court, involving punishment or treatment for breaches of discipline, particularly when destructive and aggressive action appeared to be influencing the attitude of the whole institution, the lack of more social work background appeared to be an obvious descrepancy. The discussion of the individual problems involved, where social work theory and the interests of "good discipline" appeared to be in direct opposition, resulted too often in the necessity of the warden following a course suggested by his social workers, but which critically involved the whole institution and which he was incompetent to assess as being sound practice or not. The faith in treatment applied by this warden was commendable in most cases, but gambling at this level seems inconsistent with safe practice. The very important job, in specialized work of providing guidance and encouragement to all staff in their work as a rehabilitation team, also becomes extremely difficult if the

warden is not trained sufficiently to be conversant with the work of his key people. Careful reading, discussion of cases over many years with social agencies, executive positions on the boards of welfare agencies, a daughter who was a social worker, weekly meetings with the director to discuss social work problems, and a one-month course in a psychiatric setting, had placed this warden in a much better-than-average position to assess the social implications of his job. This level of social work training could not, however, be considered as sufficient to take the gamble out of many important decisions. With more adequate social work training and experience, he would have been able to weigh each factor accurately thereby ensuring good treatment, and the future public acceptance of the institution as a sound treatment centre.

The compromise between social work and administration found in this institutional head, appeared to work most effectively in the initial stages of transition, and less effectively as social work assumed more importance as a line of function. The material condensed above seems to suggest that, during a period such as preceded our study, and still exists in many areas today, when the government required custody and is satisfied to punish rather than treat; an administrator with no social work training would be adequate. It suggests, however, that not only the purely custodial, but also the treatment organization, cannot operate without a warden with sound administrative training and experience. It suggests finally that, because of the complexity of prison inter-relationships, treatment cannot, and will not, be done on a stable basis in correctional institutions unless the warden has, as well as administrative knowledge and experience, a sufficient knowledge of the scope and actual content of professional social work to understand and assess its validity at its level of practice within his institution.

As seen in the chart on page 24, the classification staff often referred to as the treatment team, are headed by the treatment supervisor who is the only member of the team with any authority in the line. As previously

indicated, when this position is filled by a social worker without the senior authority in the line, the institution does not operate as a treatment organization, but rather as a cold custodial unit with social work superimposed as an unaccepted and irritating, though superficial necessity. This inferior position for the most important function was seen, in the initial stages when social workers were staff people, to result in disharmony which had two unfortunate by-products. The differences of opinion between staff had almost the same effect as quarrelling parents. It resulted in damage to the inmate, who was always in the position of having to doey both sides but was able to play one against the other. The disharmony also created an unsettled institutional atmosphere which was so marked that it was noticed on many occasions within the first fifteen minutes of a visit to the institution. Inmates facial expressions, their attitude when spoken to, the warmth or coldness of their talk gave ample proof of an atmosphere which was too consistant withapoorly-adjusted inmate's attitude to society. At the time of final study, Walter Bromberg, a Nevada psychiatrist, made the comment, after a review of the institution and discussions with inmates, that the atmosphere of the institution was not only supportive to treatment, but was a therapy in itself. This appropriate atmosphere, which appears to be an essential in successful treatment, is the responsibility of the treatment supervisor. As stated, he seems to require authority in the line, second only to the warden, to create the situation which will bring a treatment atmosphere into existance.

The question of whether all treatment staff, because of their superior training, should have authority to give instruction to guard staff in the line was, at one point, a matter of some concern. The psychiatrist might well wonder why he should have less authority than a person whose professional training was less than his own. A related, and more contentious question, was

whether the same better-trained member of the treatment staff should take instructions from the lesser-trained treatment supervisor. Some experimentation and discussion took place on this point which resulted in some unanimous conclusions. The treatment supervisor if, for no other reason than to ensure an appropriate climate for treatment within the institution, must continually be planning and replanning the total program for staff and inmates. This responsibility for administrative work, unlike the warden's position, does not appear to require much administrative ability as a minimum requirement on recruitment as the warden can support the administrative area for the treatment supervisor during his training-on-the-job period. The ability, the interest, and the willingness to accept administrative responsibility. however, was agreed to be a basic necessity, as the planning of treatment within the organization had to be a practical integration of treatment and administrative logic. None of the psychiatrists in the discussions felt that they would be interested in the problems of prison administration, and none felt it would be the best way to deploy their time if they were interested.

A further requirement of this position appeared to be the ability to use people with different training as part of a diagnostic treatment team. Because harmony and team work are so important and so difficult to achieve, the unusual idea of using a treatment team, composed completely of one main discipline, was tried in another institution but was, of course, found unsatisfactory. Because it was felt that a social worker's training might be the most likely to provide the breadth necessary to appreciate all the disciplines on a treatment team, and make their co-operative functioning possible, a man was appointed treatment supervisor who had some years of experience and social work training approaching a Master of Social Work standing. The social worker appointed, fortunately, was well received by all staff. This appointment produced

unusually fine and rapid results, but the fact that the process was in its initial stages makes the observation to some extent inconclusive. The position was later filled by a masters graduate in education who carried on a good administrative job, but was not sufficiently well trained in diagnostic work to understand and make the maximum use of other treatment people on the team. It appears, from study of the process, that the treatment supervisor must, on recruitment, be a person with administration interest and aptitude, diagnostic ability equivalent to that usually found in an outstanding masters graduate in social work, and the ability to appreciate and use efficiently the contribution of the other members of a treatment team. There are wide differences between people in the same discipline depending on their personality, their school, and their work experience. This fact suggests that, as long as the person can fill these general requirements, he could be the social worker, the psychiatrist, or some other social scientist.

The psychologist on the treatment team was an East Indian who had taken a masters degree in India, and another in Toronto in psychology. He had later taken clinical training and experience in the Bellevue Mental Hospital in New York, where he took special training in Rorschach testing. The value of a battery of professions on the treatment team is seen, in this instance, where this man's use of testing and interviewing and his skill in the use of nondirective therapy, provided a stimulus to discussion and research on the relative value of various treatment techniques. His successful testing and diagnostic work, when field reports were not readily available, provided the basis for an examination of the most efficient method of doing diagnostic work under various circumstances . The level of training required for this position, like others in the team, depends on the level of work which is anticipated in the institution. However, in the work done at the Regina Gaol, he did not appear to have more than the desirable training and, after two years, had a knowledge of gaol work and other social sciences which might well be considered a prerequisite when staff are more readily available.

The psychiatrist, like the psychologist, was originally made available to the prison by the courtesy of the provincial health department through federal health grants. Although the psychiatrist was only supposed to spend two-thirds of his time at the gaol, he usually spent the equivalent of a full work week covering diagnostic, special treatment, classification conference, and staff training work. Although the institution averaged only a little over one hundred inmates and had an annual intake of approximately one thousand admissions, the psychiatrist had more work than he could do to his satisfaction. It may be that today the need elsewhere should not allow such generous use of psychiatric services except on an experimental basis. However, it seems reasonable to suggest from the experience in this situation, that one psychiatrist to an institution of this size would not be too great an expenditure if satisfactory results were to be expected.

General interest in the Regina experiment resulted in a number of psychiatrists, including the Commissioner for Mental Health for the province, taking part in the classification work at the prison. The resulting quite intimate knowledge of prison routine made it possible to obtain the judgement of a fair number of psychiatrists on prison treatment problems. One such assessment was that the level of skill required to work satisfactorily in a prison classification team would be the equivalent of a head clinical psychiatrist in the usual mental institution setting. The ability of these men to work with less-skilled staff in a harmonious way was a credit to them. It did appear obvious, however, from the few problems which they did not allow to develop, that the lines of authority could be a problem in this position. During the period when the psychiatrist was secunded to the prison by the Health Department, the lines of authority between the psychiatrist and the prison staff were often vague. The result frequently was that, at the moment when a

report was required for the court, the psychiatrist would be at a conference. It would seem that decisions regarding the importance of such activities must be made by the administration responsible for the effectiveness of the total operation. With professional staff at a premium, such matters require more than the usual tact. It does, however, seem to be sound policy to require the psychiatrist to have the same relationship of responsibility for his work to the treatment supervisor as was required of the psychologist. Detailed qualifications of the psychiatrist will not be attempted except to say, again, that his ability to work as a co-operative member of a team is important, and that he should be a qualified member of the college of physicians and surgeons of the province in which he is practising.

A medical doctor, a staff officer, conducts the routine examinations of new inmates, and is usually paid a retainer to be on call. A review of medical reports over the period, however, indicated that there were very few cases where the medical doctor, through his routine examinations, found anything of significance which was not known, found out from the prisoner in the initial social history interviews, or found in some other way. The position originally taken that all men should have a routine medical examination seems, at the end of four years of study, to be changing. It seems probable that, unless examinations increase in intensity, they probably could be omitted with far less danger than was originally imagined. It is usually necessary to assess the relationship between physical and emotional disturbances. The services of the psychiatrist are, therefore, of greater value than those of the medical practitioner who usually costs no less to employ. Routine tests, chest X-ray, etc., are given as a matter of course, but the medical examination would appear to be better handled in greater detail and as part of a more comprehensive study of the total person.

The training supervisor is placed in the line of authority, directly responsible to the treatment supervisor and the administrative assistant. He is, however, frequently required to step out of his position in the line to act as a staff officer in planning and replanning an inmate's training program with the treatment team.

Because the education officer of the prison, who later became the training supervisor, was the first trained person to be appointed, there was some feeling that this position should be the senior position in the institution. The predominance of educationists in the progressive movements in Saskatchewan and their unwillingness to recognize the difference between education meaning all knowledge and education meaning a method or process understood by the graduate in education, resulted in social work and educational functions being combined in the initial stages. The encumbent, a rather brilliant masters graduate in education from the University of Saskatchewan, found himself unable to master the diagnostic and treatment job required.

A social caseworker was appointed at this time also, but the positions of education officer and social worker were placed at the same level of authority in the institution. These two people, though they found it difficult to agree at all times, worked very well together but with a growing feeling by the educationist. that he did not have the knowledge to carry his weight at the top level in diagnostic and treatment work. He finally, after considering the possibility of taking social work training, decided not to start a new field and so asked for a transfer to another department of the government. The growing recognition that the top treatment person in the line of authority had to be able to do diagnostic and treatment work, and the desire to avoid the multiple supervision resulting from too many top people at the same level, resulted in the social worker becoming the senior officer with the title of treatment supervisor. The newly-recruited education officer was placed at a lower level with

responsibility for his particular specialization. In the beginning stages, this education officer handled academic classes, literary work, some films and hobby work, lectures by outside authorities, and some group discussions. Most of the work of the institution came under the farm instructor, maintenance engineer, and senior custodial officers. These men's wishes and the needs ofatwo-thousand acre farm tended to dominate the institution. The farm manager, who controlled nearly all outside machinery and work, and the engineer, who looked after all building and repairing and inside work, were considered so important that they dealt directly with the warden. The prisoners, who could operate the tractors, were chosen for tractor work and, the carpenter did carpenter work; but, the inmates who needed to learn these skills had no opportunity. However, as trades were opened up and taught by qualified instructors, they were placed under authority of the education officer. Soonkmany of the jobs handled previously by the maintenance engineer and farm staff were being brought to the motor mechanic shop and the wood work shop. The jobs were done as a training device which also had a productive value. Finally, when the programme of the education officer was sufficiently well organized and staffed to take responsibility for the total process, all work, maintenance, vocational, and academic programmes in the institution were placed under his jurisdiction. As was shown in the administration chart at the beginning of the chapter, the whole function of the program from seven a.m. to three p.m. was centered around training. The education specialist was called the training supervisor and given total responsibility for all program involving inmates. He was given a senior correctional officer to work by his side as a custody and administrative assistant in carrying out the morning program. There was difficulty, in carrying out some of these objectives as the vested interests of programmes, such as the farm, were involved. They had not been used to operating as part

of the institution or for training but rather had been used to the institution being geared to suit the needs of the farm.

In the best form it was practiced during the period under study, the training supervisor's job involved the training and supervision of the staff on his shift who were mostly instructional staff. He was responsible for carrying out the programme prepared by the treatment supervisor and administrative assistant. He was responsible for the carrying out of individual training programmes for inmates as laid down by the treatment supervisor, and for recording on the appropriate file the individual's progress or suggestions for a change of plan. General staff training on personality development, teaching methods for problem cases, and instruction in recording were carried out by the training supervisor with help from the treatment supervisor and members of the treatment team. His practical knowledge of vocational work was a decided advantage, though a practicing knowledge of the trades involved seemed unnecessary. He found himself frequently in the position of having to make decisions regarding the degree of custody which could be sacrificed for the sake of training. Although the recommendations of his senior correctional officer were of help in this regard, his ability to weigh the risks accurately and come to a decision was an obvious necessity.

In some vocational shops, the turnover of work became so rapid that it became necessary to institute a simple bookkeeping system to keep track of supplies used and articles sold, totals from which were audited and posted regularly to the master accounting records of the institution. It was necessary, therefore, for the training supervisor to assist his instructional staff with this elementary book work and to sign their orders for new supplies.

Although good vocational staff were available, it was not always easy for them to find written or text material to suit the course being given

at the institution. Although various correspondence courses, legion course material, and supplies from the Canadian Vocational Training Program were tried, it was frequently necessary to revamp or design new lecture material. Assistance to instructors in this regard was apparently necessary when academic lectures were added to the farm, woodwork, mechanics, shoe shop, tailoring and other institutional courses being given.

The education officer's job, at first, had been a matter of handling correspondence courses. Even at this stage, it had been a masters graduate in education who carried on the academic training program. However, the man who had successfully held the position for one and a half years prior to this study was a bachelor of education graduate with some work toward his masters degree, and approximately six years of varied teaching experience. His practical experience was his greatest advantage at the beginning, but his knowledge of special teaching methods for problem cases seemed to be finding greater scope as the program developed. It would appear that leadership qualities, a masters degree plus experience, plus a general knowledge of vocational training is required for the training supervisor's position.

The training supervisor's position, as it is today, seems to be one of the most complicated, yet smoothly operating, areas of the programme. The need for the senior correctional officer to remain in the line of authority is obvious at present, though beneath the training supervisor in rank, he can still report directly to the administrative assistant if he feels that, in spite of his recommendations, custody is being sacrificed. However, when the institution involved does not have to worry about custody to any extent, as in a juvenile institution, or when all instructional staff become better able to integrate custody and training, it may be possible to save the cost of purely custodial staff as part of the training programme. It does appear, that this

time is some way off, as even the present Regina plan of placing such a lack of emphasis on custody is unprecedented in a similar institution in Canada.

The group work supervisor's position is responsible to the treatment supervisor and administrative assistant for the satisfactory operation of his shift. The first attempt in some institutions, including the Young Offenders' Unit at Oakalla, was to place this position, along with the training supervisor and administrative assistant, at the same level as the treatment supervisor. The idea, in many cases, has been to give education, case work, group work, and custody, all equal opportunity. The point at which this area of program usually settled best seems to have been the same level suggested for the training programme of the institution. Although the process has been tried. it has never been given the benefit of properly trained staff for any length of time. However, going on the assumption that lay group workers with in-service training can do a job which, though limited, can be therapeutic, the experiment at Regina may still have some validity. The group work supervisor's position, while filled for short periods by trained people who had other responsibilities in the organization, was more frequently carried on by men with years of experience handling groups in institutions but nothing more in the way of formal training than the prison in-service training course. The segregation of the institution population into groups, and the passing on of sufficient knowledge of each individual treatment plan to each man to make his approach more meaningful was carried out with great difficulty through the help of the treatment team. The hour of freedom for discussion after lights out on this three to eleven shift provided a fine opportunity for staff discussion on cases, recording, and individual problems. This hour every evening for staff training was attended by the psychiatrist, psychologist, treatment supervisor and others who, by assisting with staff training, made these sessions a very useful training

experience. As in the case of the training supervisor, the question of whether the senior correctional officer, as the other parent of the shift, could work harmoniously as a partner with the group work supervisor in charge of the shift, was settled by making the latter responsible for breaking any deadlock. Harmony was encouraged by the realization on the part of both that each had their spheres of influence on which the other should trespass only with great hesitancy, and that, in a deadlock, the group work supervisor would be expected to exercise the senior authority. The understanding was always that any doubtful decisions should be referred for discussion by their superiors and that, whatever feelings existed, there would be only one official point of view and it would be presented to staff as a united front with no evidence of disharmony.

The groups in the afternoon socialization program adhered very closely to the natural group principle avoiding, as much as possible, the easier activity-centered groupings. The programmes included everything of a truly recreational nature from glee clubs and dramatics to work projects, such as building cottages. The ingenuity required by the senior group work position, in keeping staff and inmates interested who are present twenty-four hours a day in the same setting can not be overestimated. The quiet hours after ten o'clock lights out provided some opportunity for individual discussion between leader and inmate when the need for counselling had not gone beyond the group worker's capabilities. Ordinarily, the case, if not one which could be handled in a few interviews, would have to be referred for casework service. Some casework knowledge seems to be a desirable qualification in the group work supervisor's position, because he, in contrast to the group leader, has no group contacts to protect and therefore could do some screening, where this is desirable. The fine line between casework and the counselling to be allowed had to be clearly explained by the group work supervisor to his staff. The

The push necessary to put this programme over, and the necessity of physical skills and hobbies, suggests that a well-rounded physique and a broad recreational experience is desirable. The supervision of group work staff and their training, requires a masters graduation in group work. When a person with this qualification was in the group work supervisor's position, he never appeared to have any more than the necessary training. The practical decisions regarding the compromise between treatment and custody also requires knowledge and experience of institutional work of a custodial nature.

The gradual increase in vocational training, and the trend from the idea of work as hard labour to work as a form of instruction, lead to the reclassification of guard positions to instructional positions. Since all work from stoking boilers to assisting the cook was easily adapted to some sort of vocational training, the first moves toward training were not difficult. The difficulties in this area centered around the teaching method used in more advanced work and in the special care necessary in creating interest and communicating knowledge to the more disturbed and less apt inmates. The job description for the first few instructor positions tended to emphasize the trade qualifications required, and mentioned little of teaching ability or personal qualities. However, the shoe instructor allowed his principles to be rationalized to the point where he bought a watch from an inmate. The watch, which was stolen, and the court action and consequent repercussions left the instructor in an unfortunate position with regard to the moral atmosphere of his work with inmates. Another instructor illegally obtained some paint through a relative that worked ina paint concern to complete a lad's project, where the institutional red tape was too slow for him. Though it did not become common knowledge beyond his group, his ability to control the further stealing of his lads from other institutional shops, was seriously impaired. Another

officer frequently, after partying the previous night, came in smelling of liquor. He was not drunk and could carry out the mechanical responsibilities of his job well. To the lads who were confined in prison for having unsealed liquor in their possession, the similarities in their actions and the discrepancy in their treatment immediately created a barrier which, though frequently used by the group leader as a basis for good discussion, could not be considered, in general, to be conducive to harmony and good treatment. The motor mechanic, who was a first class workman but could teach nobody else, the instructor who could not accept the drunkard or the half breed, all helped to indicate what should be included in future job specifications for instructors.

At first the age of the instructor was required to be well above that of the inmates. One of the best instructors, a thoughtful twenty-one year old cabinet maker, disclaimed this principle in favour of a better measure of maturity. The finest instructor on staff during the period of study was a fifty-year old tailor whose quiet, kind manner had almost ruled him out as a person who could control prisoners. His work with the most difficult inmates in terms of good discipline, orientation of inmates, and production skill, was staggering. Inmates who had been upset trouble-makers, who felt that work or co-operative effort was degrading, made work pants after one week, jackets after a month, and became happy, well-adjusted inmates in the process.

The number of staff who could take out a group of eight to twelve inmates who refused to work and bring them back after a period of accomplishment feeling happier and more useful was very small. The insistence of the treatment approach that all men take part in some productive activity either academic, vocational, maintenance or work, brought to light the ineptitude and less commonly found ability of prison staff in this type of programme. The training of suitable men in the skills of handling outside work groups without

the use of firearms, which were removed early in the treatment process, left some doubts concerning the success of the venture. When this group of staff were operating effectively, it was readily conceded by those connected with the institution that they were as much instructors as a tradesman and should be classified and paid as such. This objective was not reached during the period of study and each instructor was paid a wage similar to that in his trade outside the institution. While this had a salutary effect on the generally lower salaries of the institution, it was an unreal measure of the most important function of this group of staff and lead to justifiable criticism and discontent. However, these cases were what were necessary to give those who had believed in the importance of these qualities, sometimes rather doubtfully, the courage and the practical examples necessary to insist on the less tangible personality qualities being included in job specifications. The skill of the instructor in his trade was unquestionably an essential but the number of skilled tradesmen who came to gaol as inmates, as well as the evidence of the above-mentioned experiments, indicated conclusively that there was a need for other more important personal qualities. Much could be given through the relationships with trade instructors, though still more of these personal relationships, essential to change, had to be supplied through the casework of the treatment team, and the group relationships of the socialization programmes

The group work positions in the institution were, at commencement of the study, filled by prison guards of the old school. Their strict adherence to written order, whether logical or not, had been their best recommendation. Their policy had been to treat every prisoner the same rather than each prisoner on an individual basis. As these men gradually accepted their responsibility for group work programme and participated in staff training, a very disturbing process in most cases took place. The conflict of philosophies was probably felt more in this area of programme than in any other section. The permissiveness

and sympathetic understanding previously considered a most dangerous method, was more than most prison guards could bear to accept. These men tended to ask for moves to night custody jobs or transfers to other government positions. One man took work as a provincial traffic officer. Others took jobs outside the government service. The outstanding feature of this natural weeding out process, which occurred in all areas of programme to some extent after staff training and supervision were commenced, was the comparative lack of open conflict or expression of aggressiveness. This was a new approach. It contained a lot of logic. It even explained a lot about themselves. It was or was not for them. Some staff, with appropriate personalities, blossomed under supervision and staff training and carried on an amazingly effective job for lay people. It was noticed in Regina as in other institutions, that a good group work program can have a settling effect so basic that all other areas of the programme can faulter with less effect on the institutional atmosphere than a break in programme in this area. A good group work programme seems to be able to hold an institution together from an administrative point of view even when the rest of the organization is in difficulty. The support of inmates by this programme seems comparable to the effect of a good family, in that it is able to support the individual against other upsets. The need for casework services to prepare individuals for group entry, and to deal with conditions which often would not have arisen with better group leadership, was probably greater than it would have been under ideal group work conditions. Certain individual problems were, of course, dealt with by the group worker during his tour of duty, but problems requiring casework of any proportion, if not spotted by the members of the treatment team in routine checks, were passed by the group worker to the group work supervisor. He, in turn, referred the situation to the proper source for treatment. While it was recognized that a casework relation ship and a group work relationship could not be carried on satisfactorily at

the same time with the same people, the degree of counselling to be considered as casework was never very clearly defined. The need for trained group workers was obvious in some of the problems which arose, but the need for group workers with the dynamic and a host of skills, was also noticed when trained group workers were unable, because of these lacks, to initiate or carry on any programme other than a passivity which eventually resulted in an institutional upheaval. The ability to create interest and promote activity in an adult group was a necessity. The knowledge of many sports and hobby skills, a fertile imagination and endless ingenuity were qualities without which the group worker's job was practically impossible.

General Administration

It was found possible, by making treatment staff aware of the importance of good custody in their work, to reduce custody and general administration to one quarter of the total staff. The following positions were considered to be in this line of authority.

The administrative assistant, as stated previously, was, after some experimentation, placed in a position in which he was directly responsible to the warden for custody and the business administration of the institution, but in a subordinate position to the treatment supervisor. This position is responsible for the custody, accounting, work schedules, transportation, and the general business of the institution. He is responsible for lectures to all custodial staff in the institution regarding the custodial practices to be observed He is responsible for all equipment necessary to safeguard security, and must check all locks, keys, firearms, emergency lights, etc., regularly. He is on twenty-four hour call in case of emergency. He is responsible for the efficiency and accuracy of accounting, clerical, trucking, and stores operations. responsible for expenditures of the institution and their relationship to the This position is responsible for safekeeping and money allocated. return of clothing and valuables owned by inmates of the institution and for

transportation on their release. The registration of inmates, the filing of commitments and other valuable papers, and many of the institution's police contacts are his responsibility.

The qualifications of the incumbent in this position at Regina Gaol were soldier and officer's army training, at least fifteen years of experience in a punitive custodial prison, and moral and physical standards which could not be surpassed for strength and rigidity. These qualities seemed to work well in the beginning stages of transition. However, his lack of knowledge of accounting and his slow, though determined thought processes, left him conscientiously working overtime to keep up with the more rapidly moving business of an institution involved in greater production and training. It would appear from a comparison with similar jobs in other institutions that a person with similar qualities but a better knowledge of accounting would have no difficulty in satisfying the requirements of this position.

The responsibilities of this position are very similar to those of the deputy warden of a punitive prison. It was not surprising to find that the deputy warden, who had been inclined to overemphasize the office portion of his responsibilities, fitted without any trouble into the new administrative assistant's position. Being a good soldier, he carried out orders and although, when in authority, he had been a stumbling block in the way of treatment, when placed beneath treatment in the line he functioned within his authority and with the mechanical precision required. The problems which did arise in this position were in the area least expected. The emphasis on treatment in every institution I have seen attempt a change has resulted in treatment being interpreted by the old guard as laxity. Many custodial men, not understanding the reasoning behind the permissiveness being used, can accept it as being nothing but careless laxity. They, therefore, assume that if they are

lax they are only being in harmony with the new approach. The deputy's only serious trouble, after becoming an administrative assistant, was to overlook his lock checking and staff training to custodial staff. The results were sufficiently disastrous to result in the night staff being overpowered and the keys to the institution being turned over to the prisoners, with fortunately only three escapes, three staff fired, and a cost to the institution of six hundred dollars.

The staff in the senior correctional officer or senior prison guard positions were already functioning in the institution as the senior custody men on shift. As shown in the administrative chart in the training and group work shifts, the appropriate supervisor was placed in a senior, but co-operative position, with the senior correctional officers. This left them free as before to receive orders and assume responsibility for custody under the direct supervision of the administrative assistant.

The responsibilities of the senior correctional officer's position involved the physical process necessary to put the program into operation. The count, searches, frisking, the checking of locks, keys and other matters of security were all the responsibility of this position. The keys to the main gate were under his special care. Advising the supervisor in charge of any deviations from good custody was his responsibility in spite of the fact that his advice might not be acted on. In cases where it appeared that his judgement concerning custody was being overlooked without proper justification, it was his responsibility to report the situation to the administrative assistant who would clear with the treatment supervisor and warden, if necessary, concerning the proper application of policy. On the night shift, since custody was the major consideration, no supervisor was on duty and the senior correctional officer was in charge. There were advantages in these men being placed on

shifts which best suited their abilities, but the avoidance of shift differentials, the wishes of the men, and the safety features involved in rotation, tended towards the placement of these three men on a swing shift. The desirability of these men knowing the program they were working with, fairly intimately is obvious. Shift rotation, however, makes this more difficult. The best men on these jobs were often company and regimental sergeant-majors who, though quiet-spoken and friendly, were firm, intelligent, methodical administrators. They were good custody men, and made mature judgements in cases of emergency. Except for the excessive drinking of one of these men, which placed him in a poor position to require proper standards for other staff, these men's qualifications left little to be desired.

During the transition process, and up to the time of study, many positions had still not been reclassified or indeed changed in function from that of the old prison guard. It was obvious that the reclassification of some of these to instructional positions was only a matter of time. Other positions, however, appeared to be best left as they were. Most of these custodial positions were located on the night shift where little personal contact with inmates was likely and where maximum custody with a minimum of staff was the situation desired. It was also very difficult to convince the senior correctional officer, and old administrative group, that an institution could be run without at least a few custodial men clustered around the office and the main square to look after special jobs. Some of these eventualities might be an admission at an odd hour, changes of clothing at odd times and the many matters which cannot be anticipated in a program which is planned ahead. Most of these special problems were either met by outside changes such as refusing to admit prisoners at night, or insisting that prisoners brought to the gaol in the evening, after t the supper hour, had been fed. The remaining problems could be anticipated,

and many could be laid down as being handled by regular staff without apsetting their usual work. However, there were a few matters which had not been dealt with and because custody precautions were being abandoned only with great care, a custody officer called a correctional officer was assigned as an assistant to the morning and afternoon shifts. These men, who were of the old guard type, functioned admirably with very little added to their original qualifications. After an initial orientation course to modern treatment, many bucked the treatment program in a subtle manner. It was felt that this would be gradually overcome as time went on and so was overlooked. It did not, however, subside within six months and its harmful effects were damaging to the teamwork atmosphere desired. It was, therefore, made clear that the onus for harmony would be placed on their shoulders and that they must either support treatment or get out. In the staff where mechanical precision and few personal contacts with inmates were required, the effect was very salutary. Their co-operation, though superficial, was an improvement. Some, having been brought face to face with a situation they had to live with, made the effort required for understanding and a genuine change in attitude. Generally speaking, those men who stayed after staff training and supervision made excellent custodial staff.

Job Specifications

The foregoing discussion of the various positions and the examination of their inter-relationships within the prison administration, confirmed many ideas and suggested changes in others. These fundamentals of any administration are seen most clearly in the qualifications required for its staff and in the required specifications for each position. Though many of the original job specifications for Regina prison were revised, much of the results of this analysis have not been studied or translated into practice. The job specifications and the qualifications which this analysis suggests would be desirable

have, therefore, been included in the appendix to this study.

CHAPTER III

THE CLASSIFICATION PROCESS

Classification, in some institutions, has been envisaged as including more than a limited judgement concerning the most appropriate treatment for an individual. The classification process in Regina prison was conceived as a responsibility which commenced with reception and progressed through diagnosis to the planning and implementation of treatment. Reception was seen as an orientation which attempted to mollify, if not avoid, the hostility against society which usually exists in prisoners. Diagnosis was a short intensive process. Planning of treatment was a continuous process.

Pleasant and comparatively unrestrictive surroundings were considered to be desirable during the reception and classification period in Regina. The physical facilities of the Regina prison were poorly suited to this new purpose. Like most Canadian prisons, it had not been built by people who anticipated any such process. The first quarters used for classification were on the top floor of the administration wing and were within the security area of the prison. This space had previously been used for storage, medical and hospital facilities. The medical examination room was left intact. Three dormitories with separate toilet facilities were equipped with beds, tables, and chairs.

In a portion of a large room, light partitions were used to construct three offices for the members of the classification team. The remainder of the room was equipped with a large conference table to facilitate the educational and staff training work of the classification staff. It was felt that by having training meetings and other groups meeting in the classification unit, the focus of the institution might more readily be directed toward treatment.

The natural security of the top-floor location seemed to allow a more relaxed attitude to the problems of custody. It also allowed a view of the gardens and shrubbery, a great improvement over the usual surroundings in a prison cell. Although the dormitories provided unusual freedom and a relaxed atmosphere, they did not allow sufficient privacy and segregation for the new man. In actual practice, the feelings of new prisoners were such that an enforced group experience in the first week was either disturbing to the point of causing hostile and anti-social behaviour amongst prisoners, or an ideal opportunity for a degenerating exchange of anti-social ideas. The use of dormitories did nothing positive to increase the opportunity for a wholesome harmony between inmates, or inmates and staff.

Since the dormitories were unsatisfactory and could not be converted into private rooms, all new admissions were later housed in a corridor of cells in the main prison reserved for the purpose. The dormitory rooms were useful for group discussions and other reception, orientation, and classification functions. The difficulties and expense of providing adequate supervision made the use of dormitories for living quarters a very questionable practice.

The three adjoining offices for treatment staff, because of the flimsy nature of the partitions, were unsatisfactory for interviewing. No major changes were made in these facilities with the result that interviews were held only when other offices were not in use. Rooms that are not only soundproof but located or constructed in such a way that they provide a feeling of privacy, seem necessary for interviews. A sigh, a gesture indicating a feeling of being at ease or relaxed, is often noticed in inmates reporting for an interview when the setting is in harmony with the caseworker's job.

Although the conference table was in continuous use for orientation discussions, it was found later that staff training and group discussions were

easier to carry on apart from the classification unit. It had been thought, that to bring staff to the classification unit, would impress on them the importance of treatment in the institution. It was found that this method tended to confine treatment to one section of the prison. It was observed that the treatment principles represented by the classification unit, permeated the whole institution most effectively when members of the classification team went to groups, and to staff training, and physically made themselves felt in all parts of the institutional programme. Members of the team, in the final stages, attended the training sessions of the various staff groups at the appropriate time, incorporating treatment into the philosophy, method, or activity under discussion.

Although physical facilities can be of help, they are not as important as staff. The classification process in Regina Gaol was commenced by placing a classification officer, who was a social caseworker, in a position equal in rank to that of the deputy warden. He had authority to work with any cases he chose. and the right to expect modifications in program, where possible, to make his work effective. As stated in the chapter on administration, the custodial-minded staff were not able to plan or carry out a program they did not understand. caseworker was, therefore, inevitably doing the planning, and expecting the deputy warden to take responsibility for its implementation. The deputy warden having a different orientation, a greater regard for custody, and insufficient knowledge to do more than "hope for the best," could not agree to many suggested changes and therefore could not accept responsibility. Since the attempt to carry out classification, and the implementation of its suggestions for treatment inevitably resulted in a stalemate, the classification officer had to occupy a superior position in the line of authority where he would have authority to break the deadlock. In another institution, the deputy warden had been given the senior rank with the result that as long as the deputy conscientiously carried out his

job, and practised his custodial and punitive ideas, treatment was effectively blocked. In the Regina Gaol, the same mistake was not repeated, and the caseworker in charge of classification and treatment was elevated to a position in the line of authority called the treatment supervisor. He was placed in a position above the deputy warden hereafter referred to as the administrative assistant.

The theory established at this time was twofold. Treatment in the institution was considered to be merely an extension of classification and, therefore, should be considered as the same process under the treatment supervisor, The treatment supervisor, to make treatment effective, had to take administrative responsibility in the line of authority along with his treatment duties.

It was not long before requests for diagnostic and prognostic assessments were being received from the court and the field. As the demands increased, the classification team grew to include a psychiatrist on a two-thirds' time basis, a full-time psychologist, the consultative service of the medical doctor. The team used educational and group work personnel lower in the line of authority when matters involving these areas of program were under discussion. The necessity of all these people working through the treatment supervisor rather than all having authority in the line had to be learned the hard way. It was a short lesson inasmuch as the prisoners and staff lost no time in playing one against the other. The principle was therefore established of making all classification people except the treatment supervisor "staff officers" with no authority in the line when acting as members of the classification team. All treatment suggested by members of the team had to be simplemented through the treatment supervisor.

The question of who should be the treatment supervisor or senior person on the classification team was next discussed at great length. The Saskatchewan Penal Commission Report which had envisaged the change in correctional work in

the province was headed by an educationist. The educationist's feeling that social work was an educational process implied that the treatment supervisor should be an education graduate. Seniority, the weight of influence of people who saw education as being the key resource in treatment, and the fact of an appropriate personality, led to the filling of the treatment supervisor's job at one stage by a master's graduate in education. The valiant attempts of a person who did not know enough to know what he did not know did not compensate for his lack of knowledge. Under this leadership the classification process did not improve its level of efficiency although, thanks to his enthusiastic efforts, administrative progress and improvements in the educational program were made at this time. The psychologist on staff happened to be an exceptionally well-trained person who not only had special training under psychiatric supervision but also had some experience in institutional work. His personal status in the group as a skilled social worker gave force to the argument for his holding the senior position.

In the initial stages, psychiatric services were supplied by the large mental health clinic in Regina city and over the period a large number of men took part in the prison classification unit. Neither these men nor the psychiatrist who spent two-thirds to full time in the institution had any interest in holding any of the responsibility for the senior position as treatment supervisor and the administrative duties which accompanied the job. This would probably be the usual reaction of psychiatrists with prisons at their present level of development.

A senior group worker had never been available long enough to be considered for the senior position. In any event, since the trend to this point had been toward making classification primarily a casework function group work was not considered the ideal for treatment supervisor. The social caseworker, though only a bachelor of social work, had a number of years of practical experience

and the respect of the total group. What the qualifications of the treatment supervisor should be were never worked out to everyone's satisfaction. However, because the caseworker had seniority and was on the job, the first specification for the job was written with casework knowledge as the desirable training.

The effective operation of the classification team over the years appeared to hinge on a number of factors. The level of skill of the individual members was important. However, the speed, the accuracy, and the general efficiency of the team in classifying prisoners seemed to depend more than anything else on the degree of harmony which could be achieved in their philosophies and in their work relationships. Whether it was the personalities involved or the breadth of knowledge commonly found in a social worker was impossible for me to assess but the obvious fact was that when under social casework leadership the classification team did its most effective work. The treatment supervisor, in a small institution, has to be able to give diagnostic and casework services though, in this case, his success probably also was attributable in some degree to his group work skill in working with his classification team and his ability to take an effective position in the administration. It would appear from the four years of study that the diagnostic work and special study of the classification unit would be best headed by a social caseworker with the full equivalent of a masters degree plus experience plus an appropriate personality for working with other disciplines in an authoritative social work and administrative setting.

The psychologist on the classification team at the Regina Gaol appeared better able to synthesize his thinking with that of the psychiatrist and social worker because his knowledge was not limited to that of a psychometrist. The fact that he was able to take responsibility for specific assignments of a therapeutic nature seemed to increase his usefulness, his ability to work harmoniously

in the setting, and his sensitivity in adjusting psychometric material to individual differences. The second psychologist, also a master graduate and also paid for under federal health grants, was a psychometrist and a good researcher but did not make the same immediate contribution to effective classification.

The medical doctor, previous to the change in prison program, had been on call and attended the institution regularly to conduct physical examinations for inmates confined for more than one week. It was found that the amount of medical information gained by these cursory examinations seldom added anything to the knowledge gained by discussion with the inmates and a check of previous records. The need for better knowledge of prisoners! health and the need for that knowledge to be viewed in relationship to psychological factors led to the combination of both functions as the responsibility of the psychiatrist. The part-time medical doctor continued to handle the routine sick parade problems, any significant material being recorded and referred. The considered opinion of the medical doctor and treatment team was that any loss in straight medical information was more than offset by the increased time spent on mental health problems. The sick parades decreased to such an extent after treatment was established that the change made was further justified. The number of aspirins and other pills used at time of study is in marked contrast to the consumption in other prisons and was a point of interest to both medical men.

The religious advisers of the institution were always considered as part-time members of the classification team. However, this area was more closely covered by the regular members of the treatment team, two of whom were, besides their training as a social worker and psychologist, also trained as ministers. Although there were different religions represented on the classification team, there was a common feeling that without Christianity there would be little or no motivation for social work. This common factor in their philosophy seemed to

be the thing which, though little discussed, seemed to help promote harmony when harmony between different disciplines was hard to achieve.

The work of people such as the dentist who provided services closely related to treatment were all under the direct supervision of the treatment supervisor. They made regular reports after completing their work and were asked for a special report or called in when their counsel was required on a case.

Classification Procedure

The resources of the classification team were probably never under greater pressure than when carrying out the diagnostic portion of their responsibilities. In other American institutions such as San Quentin in California the classification staff have found most suitable a classification method spread over sixty days or more. The Regina Gaol method, partly from necessity and partly from a belief in its efficiency, settled down to a method of classification limited to and often much less than ten days duration. In Saskatchewan all correctional services, probation and institutional, were under the one branch of the Department of Social Welfare. The interest in co-ordinating institutional and field services to provide a preventive service, to act as a resource for increasing the effectiveness of probation services, and also to limit the use of costly institutional care except where necessary was therefore much keener than when these functions were distributed among a number of departments.

A diagnosis and recommendation for treatment was therefore frequently requested as a guide for the probation officer in making his recommendation to court. The court itself frequently initiated a request for an assessment of a convicted person. The large number of short sentences which were inevitable losses if diagnosis and a treatment plan were not quickly available, and the usefulness of follow-up work after short sentences when the field officer could be given direction from the classification unit all pointed to the desirability of rapid

classification.

A review of the results of classification limited to a two week period when compared to the opinion some months later when the diagnosis had been more definitely confirmedwas interesting. The difference in the general assessments of the treatment team after two months time were not sufficiently different from those made within a two week period to warrant the extra cost and time involved. Because of the fact that in Regina Gaol diagnosis and treatment were considered to a large extent to be part of the same process, errors in diagnosis were picked up almost as quickly as they would have been by an extended classification period and with no more damage to the inmate. A check in September 1951 with the deputy in charge of treatment at the San Quentin classification centre in California regarding their sixty day classification brought the response that they had had the same experience and were reducing their classification period.

Rapid classification is of course made much easier when adequate social history material is readily available. Because the largest percentage of admissions to Regina were from the Regina city court where probation staff of the Corrections Branch were in regular attendance background material was often immediately available to the institution. The probation officer in court picked up his copy of the docket at 9 a.m. and checked the office and social service index files by telephone. Because provincial law requires that all juvenile delinquencies coming to the notice of a police officer must be filed with the Corrections Branch and because a visit and continued service and reporting is required by law for at least six months as a preventive measure, central files in Regina more frequently than not give some indication of the background of the adult in court.

Since a brief record of all admissions to juvenile and adult institutions

is filed in the Regina head office of the Corrections Branch, the Branch is able to give information by telephone regarding previous diagnosis and response to treatment even before the recidivist has been seen in court. Since social service files are also checked by the probation officer from the court docket, any information from this source is also gathered up quickly for the institution. This information can therefore, when necessary, be in the hands of the gaol before the convicted person is admitted. This rapid checking of records and the readily available background material made possible through the efforts of field staff was of considerable help in facilitating the diagnostic process in the institution.

Standard forms for reporting by the police and relatives was also of considerable assistance in this regard. It was of particular value to the treatment supervisor who was responsible for reviewing each case and asking for the services he required from the various staff people on the classification team. was frequently possible for the treatment supervisor, by checking his files and using the background material available to designate quickly and accurately the routine checks necessary on admission to complete the diagnosis and plan of treatment for recidivists. Although psychological tests are used for practically all inmates, a more intensive use was made when background material was not readily available. In this regard, the psychologist's skill in obtaining quickly the significant background material from the inmate and his ability to assess the existing problem without helpof a field report was striking. Although he had taken special training in Rorschach testing at the Bellevue Mental Hospital in New York, it was a lengthy process and in actuality was used much less than such tests as the Minnesota Multiphasic, the T. A. T., the Wechsler Bellevue and other more common and less complicated tests. With these tests and accompanying interviews the psychologist was often able to add a very shrewd assessment to the

conference on cases at a very early date.

Newly-admitted men having been bathed, clothed, and placed in reception cells were taken for routine or special interviews by the various members of the treatment team and escorted to the individual or group interview being carried on by the team members. Frequent informal discussions between the three key people on the team were held during the inmate's period of classification to help direct the classification process. However, when the treatment supervisor felt that sufficient study had taken place he called the team together and after conference usually dictated the conclusions of the team on a record in their presence for transcription into the classification report.

At this session, tentative suggestions based on interviews to date were made for work or trade placement, group placement, and the general method of treatment to be followed. The member of the treatment team who was assigned by the treatment supervisor to provide the casework contact with the inmate was then responsible for the discussion and modification of the plan to confirm it as much as possible as being the inmate's own. He saw that his charge was properly received and introduced as a participant in the normal program.

The planning of treatment is, as described, closely meshed with diagnosis. Whether the treatment plan is one being prepared for probation officer, court, or institution, it will only be commenced when the classification report is first completed. Because treatment, if it progresses, involves a change in the person and consequently requires a change in treatment, a continuous check must be maintained by the treatment team. This is done through the use of a running file to which additions are made by all staff dealing with the inmate, including personal interviews by the caseworker responsible. In that diagnosis and treatment are usually only complete when the case is cured the planning of treatment appears to be not an initial responsibility but rather a continuous process.

Individual casework and psychiatric services are required in many cases before an individual is able to take his place in normal trade or group work programme. When the problem is extreme, these individuals are usually retained in a reception group operated on an interest group basis and where group interaction is at a minimum. While in this setting they can therefore be removed frequently and at odd times for personal interviews without as much detriment to the group. The caseworker is again responsible for taking out and for returning his charge to his proper location. Individual counselling, casework, and therapy are carried on as felt necessary by the caseworker responsible, who, in turn, is responsible for his judgement to the treatment supervisor.

The group work staff of the institution who were responsible for the therapeutic job being done during the recreational period did do a limited amount of individual counselling after lights out and generally when inmates were for one reason or another alone with the group leaders. Because this process, if it assumed any proportion, would tend to make it impossible for the group leader to maintain the proper relationships with his group, and because it was desirable to make a good group work experience possible, any casework of a continuing nature was to be noted on the file and referred to the senior man on the group work shift. He might be in a position to give a limited but immediate casework service but again would ordinarily refer the matter to the caseworker responsible. The afternoon program in the correctional institution was a group work process and though it appeared to be therapeutic in many cases was never what could be called group therapy. Group discussions under the name of group therapy were carried on by the psychiatrist during the reception and classification period but these sessions were not observed sufficiently to record here.

The responsibility for staff training was placed with the treatment supervisor of each institution. Although responsibility for presenting treatment

policy and certain areas of staff training were accepted by him, a large portion of the training of staff was done by the psychiatrist and psychologist on the team. This staff training process when carried on in the classification unit was considered, as mentioned earlier, an appendage to the institutional process. When members of the team met for staff training and the discussion of cases and specific problems near the close of the shift at three p.m. or ten p.m. training became part of the total process. As in social work anywhere the training process revealed many personal problems and although there was never open controversy there was a gradual and natural process commenced which weeded out some less competent staff and strengthened others. Staff training though not the first responsibility of the classification team, was probably their most important one during the first years as a treatment institution.

Evaluation

An evaluation of effect of the classification process on the program of the Regina Gaol points up the fact that it was the heart of the treatment organization. Through classification for the probation officers and courts the institution was retained for those needing its care. Through initial classification it decided what immates could be treated and in which institution they should be placed to make the greatest progress for all possible. For those considered treatable with the resources available the classification team planned with immates to make their treatment possible. For those who required additional help while participating in the usual institutional program special casework services were added by the team to their usual checking and progressive revision of individual treatment plans. To make treatment a part of every institutional contact and to make prison atmosphere supportive to treatment the team made itself felt in the training of all staff and by friendly assistance in every problem involving treatment in the institution.

In the Regina situation classification was not made something apart but rather an integral part of the institution and its program. Reception quarters like the other classification facilities should have been in an area segregated from the area used by immates under care. The separate cells or rooms used during the later period were a decided improvement over the dormitory method. Interviewing rooms like the rooms finally used for group discussion should be located in such a way that their privacy is unquestionable. Tasteful surroundings and the location where the custody risk was at a minimum was a very desirable factor in that it emphasized during reception the wish to be supportive rather than punitive and destructive. The location of the main institution library and movie facilities in the classification centre was a mistake later corrected by the move to make treatment part of the whole institution rather than an outside influence. Classification facilities designed to support friendly relations within the limits placed by the necessity of unquestionable control seemed to prepare inmates best to accept responsibility for treatment.

The most important figure in classification and treatment was of course the person referred to as treatment supervisor. His influence on administration, diagnostic work, treatment, and staff training often decided their effectiveness. A review of the men who were successful and unsuccessful in penal work seems to suggest that only certain personalities can adjust well to work in an authoritative setting where control must be used as part of treatment. The clinical work of the team which requires the treatment supervisor to be able to diagnose and plan treatment suggests that a masters degree in social work would be a minimum of training necessary. The administrative ability which makes possible a wise decision when the total process requires the sacrifice of a lesser principle or individual treatment was also an obvious necessity for the senior person on the classification team. Possibly the most difficult job at times was

the co-ordinating of the work of the team members all of which represented different disciplines. Their co-operative potential represented a mighty force for treatment. Without a treatment supervisor with the strength and skill, knowledge of their common training, and who could command their respect they were as a house divided against itself. A mature caseworker seemed to fill this senior position adequately when working at top capacity. The importance of the qualities outlined being filled by a person responsible for classification and treatment in an institution is as important as whether the job should be done. Some institutions have tried experienced lay people, group workers, and educationists in this position with unsatisfactory results.

The need for great caution in the carrying out of the individual casework with inmates taking part in the regular program of the institution was noticed. As long as the inmate had a strong relationship in his group and with his group leader devastating things could happen without upsetting the equilibrium of the group and of the individual. However, when the caseworker or even the treatment supervisor began to take responsibility for decisions without keeping the group worker strong by clearing with him, a chaotic condition resulted. The group worker who had responsibility for custody, harmony of sorts, and a personal relationship strong enough to encourage confidence in him became a person of lesser importance who was better by-passed for clearance with the casework people. The tremendous pressure of confinement and the hope of working some angle for an early parole or even a change of some sort seems to accentuate a problem which ordinarily might not exist at all. Regardless of the logic of this pehnomena it occurred so regularly that top people, and the caseworkers in particular, had to be sure to keep the group worker or other person with the strongest and most intimate familylike contact strong. Prior to regular group placement of inmates the caseworker assumed this role. After regular group placement, the group worker became the "king pin" in treatment.

The classification process was more than a team working with inmates. It was the guiding force which weighed and directed every treatment force within the institution.

CHAPTER IV

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

During the initial stages of the development of Regina Prison as a treatment institution many new plans were envisaged. Although the ideas were often sound none of these plans were ever completely successful until the staff responsible for its execution had reached the necessary point of interest and understanding. Though this observation is rather obvious, it seems important to record it. Many men who were sincerely interested in the new approach because of their humanitarian point of view tried their utmost to carry out their part in the treatment process. Unfortunately, this method of "muddling through" proved to be a disillusioning process. Without sufficient training concerning the origin and development of human behaviour they had no basis for more than a blind subservience to a supposedly "better method." With no basic knowledge they frequently could not solve their problems even with supervision. Cynicism and loss of positive atmosphere in the prison was the inevitable result. Staff training which had been considered a necessity sooner or later quickly realized the position of a prior necessity before any move of any proportion toward treatment was possible.

Recruitment procedures prior to the new approach had, as in many provinces up to the present, been largely political in the prison field. If a person failed on another government job or a party supporter could not obtain employment on the open market he was frequently given a position in one of the institutions. This method of recruitment was, in many ways, ideal for a prison whose program was based on punishment. These personal failures, when placed in uniform and required to do little more than turn a key and be dictatorial and abusive, acquired a much needed feeling of superiority over their supposedly more

degenerate charges. This ideal opportunity for the expression of their own hostility on prisoners and the feeling of prestige which the uniformed position of authority gave most recruits, satisfied the needs of both the insecure staff and the punitive prison program better than any known method of comparable simplicity. The need for a different type of staff in the proposed treatment institution was, however, no less obvious than the need for a different method of recruitment to make this possible. Strangely enough the change from the political method of staff selection came about through a change of politics which resulted in the setting up of a method of recruitment more appropriate for the recruitment of treatment staff.

The revision of recruitment methods was commenced by setting up a Public Service Commission for the province which was designed and stated to be free from any political pressures. One of the first steps made by this Commission, which affected the Regina Gaol, was their review and classification of all jobs in the government service. Because of the magnitude of the survey and the newness of the idea in Saskatchewan, the review was very general. However, although these job specifications were superficial and based on the punitive system in force, certain principles were established.

A job analysis of all positions was the first move. All staff at the gaol were asked to submit an analysis of their work on forms provided for the purpose. A description of the actual moves made in completing the day's work and a breakdown into the time spent in each different type of work was required. The clerk, for example, would describe the actual books, machines, processes he worked on but would also say how many hours were spent on typing, on posting, on meeting people at the desk, all of it adding up to his total work day.

These classification questionnaires were then turned over to the gaol administration for the completion of their section of the questionnaire after

which it was returned to the Public Service Commission. After all other similar jobs in the government service were examined, all those which could be grouped together were placed in a class and a job specification written. This job specification, which described the general responsibilities of the position, the skills, abilities, training, and experience required, were used as the basis for advertising and recruiting people for the positions in this class. Provision for reclassification at the request of employer or employee on the previously mentioned reclassification form made provision for later changes in positions. This procedure, unfortunately, was sadly neglected until recently.

The principle was also established that although preferences could be given to people already on staff, all jobs had to be advertised on a province—wide, and where appropriate, national basis before selections could be made. All advertisements gave the general description of the position in question and the qualifications required for the position. A standard government application form was supplied but not necessary.

After the closing date of the competition, a selection panel on which were represented the Public Service Commission, the agency involved, and the union, screened the applicants, calling people for personal interviews when this appeared advisable. Where people lived outside the province, known representatives were used to assess various factors and when people lived at a distance within the province, applicants were invited to attend the panel, or, when possible, the panel or a member or a representative interviewed the applicant in his own locality. After what appeared to me to be a very impartial assessment, the unsuccessful applicants were notified with reasons and the best three applications, if they met the minimum requirements of the job specification, were sent on to the agency who interviewed and selected the applicant of their choice. This agency choice was then recorded and returned on a form which had

been sent with the applications from the Public Service Commission. The Commission was responsible for notifying the successful and unsuccessful applicants concerning the result of the competition. The successful applicant was then placed on probation for a specific period usually six months in length. During this period two reports to the Public Service Commission regarding his progress on the job were made, the first after two months and the latter at the end of his probationary period. If not laid off by the agency who had that authority prior to the end of the specified probationary period, he automatically became a permanent member of the staff.

It was considered advisable at a later date to add an unbiased professional member to the panel on all appointments involving social work positions. A member of the local branch of the Canadian Association of Social Workers was therefore requested by the Public Service Commission to make the fourth voting member of the panel. The even number of panel members has never resulted in insoluble impasse during the two years of experience with this arrangement.

It seems safe to assume that this method of selection has merit since, during the period of this study, only two people had to be dropped during the probation period. Both had high "paper qualifications" in addition to personality problems which had not been obvious in the panel. Within the four years under review no person who was selected by this method and passed the probationary period left or was fired from his position though many rose in the ranks by the above-mentioned competitive process when senior positions became vacant. The personality factor in staff relationships in social work was able to be considered by the fact that recommendations for or against the promotion of people to certain supervisory positions in the prison were considered by the panel when supported by conclusive written proof usually substantiated in panel interviews. The recruitment methods described were so great an improvement over the methods

used prior to this study that the striking difference may have tended to obscure its faults. However, it seems obvious from the foregoing that the principles it represents are good and that without them suitable recruitment in the government service could not be assured.

Orientation

The necessity of orienting new recruits to the abnormal physical surroundings in prison is so obvious that it tends to overshadow many less obvious
but more important adjustment which must be made by new staff. The basic difference between the particular immates and the average citizen is also important
but not so necessary during the orientation stage as an appreciation of many
superficial but momentarily more important differences brought about by the
restrictive setting.

It is necessary that the guard should realize that, even in the absence of any personal feeling of antagonism between a prisoner and himself, he is the representative of a punishing culture; and as such he stands a good chance, if he affords the opportunity, of being hit on the head. He must understand that the risk involved by his being hit on the head is not his alone. It involves the future and security of a great many others, both staff and inmates. He must realize that although certain pre-established routines are apparently ridiculous, he must accept them and practice them and save his criticism of the process until he knows more about it. Usually because of his strong feelings about the emotionally-loaded situations in gaols, a conclusive argument carries no weight until he loses some men and sees them hurt as a result or sees others suffer as a result of his action. At this time when a key is not just something to open a door but the symbol of a primitive system he had thought was past, there is no substitute for personal supervision that he can sincerely respect. If that personal contact is not existent only the most secure or the most unsuitable for social work will

not be caught up in the wave of hostility and desire to crusade against this subterfuge of social work.

The job of orienting new recruits to these abnormal situations in prison is too often seen as merely a matter of learning new routines instead of a process involving a personal adjustment the staff member must make to working with criminals. The new recruit, even when a trained social worker, must find out whether he really can see and will continue to see something attractive and potentially more attractive in the gross degeneracy to be seen in prison inmates. He will need to check his feelings of loss of status in others! eyes and his feelings of hostility when scornfully abused by inmates. He will need to weigh his ability to remain objective and impersonal in his assessment when his favourite case uses the liberty he indiscreetly allowed to steal and wreck his car. His revulsion or hostile feelings about certain types of offender and many fellow staff members will need to be understood. Again, careful supervision and the time to work through his problems without too great accompanying pressure of work is an essential without which many workers with great potential cannot grow. The usual six months probationary period is often too little time to do more than guess the outcome in senior positions accepted by new graduates. The provision for extension of the probation period to double the usual six months, where necessary, appears to be a desirable personnel practice. Proper supervision during the probation period not only hastens the day when full responsibility can be accepted by the recruit, but tends to weed out those best suited to other types of employment, and provides the beginning for staff training.

Training

Because it was not considered ethical or wise to replace the "old-time" prison staff at Regina, staff training was more than ever a necessity. The general lack of appreciation of the fundamentals of treatment, required that the first

step in staff training be a general orientation to treatment.

As a matter of necessity at that time, this was given as a series of lectures which were listened to attentively but which did not allow for the many individual staff differences. A check of this method by interviews later revealed that very little knowledge had been absorbed and that a large number of serious misinterpretations of the material took place. One service performed by the initial lectures was that they resulted in a change in prison atmosphere and a more sympathetic attitude to treatment ideas. The fact that an attempt was being made to train staff seemed to impress on every staff member more than any other single item the idea that treatment was here to stay and punishment as a basic method was out. By chance or not, the fact of staff training seemed to mark the turning point in the combat between the proponents of treatment and the supporters of punishment.

The fact that personal supervision was the lack which could have allowed for individual differences and limited the false impressions, was recognized as a fault of the first attempt at staff training. Later attempts made the treatment supervisor of the institution responsible for staff training and placed the major responsibility for regular staff training sessions with the senior treatment person on each shift. Members of the classification team and outside lecturers were utilized as resource people providing an auxilliary service.

The seven a.m. to three p.m. shift which was under the guidance of the training supervisor (or educational officer) and was primarily interested in academic and vocational training, met on a regular basis immediately following their tour of duty at three p.m. or for short meetings following lunch. The noon meeting had the advantage of not interfering with programme while on government time. The meetings at the end of the shift had to either interfere with programme or be carried out on staff time. The noon meetings were three-quarters of an hour in length and were considered to be best held at this time.

The three to eleven p.m. shift which was primarily interested in group work and socialization met regularly after the immates were in bed, the locks checked, and the institution prepared for the night. These meetings from ten to eleven p.m. were used alternately for staff discussion and recording for the prisoners! files. These sessions were the responsibility of the group work supervisor and were stated by the psychiatrist and members of the treatment team to have resulted in the most effective staff training given in the institution. Both the training supervisor and the group work supervisor were free to give personal supervision to members of their shift and frequently referred staff for further supervision on cases or individual problems to the treatment supervisor who dealt with the matter himself or arranged for contact with other staff members of the treatment team.

Assessment by the psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker, and director of corrections of the results of the training methods used on individual staff seemed to indicate that the amount of training absorbed was in a direct relation to the availability of personal supervision to the staff member. A query concerning the state of affairs to each member of staff at least once a day by his supervisor so that small items could be cleared on the spot or an appointment made for more detailed discussion, we was considered a useful policy in promoting training through personal supervision.

The in-service training referred to was, as suggested, of little real value to the average prison guard until personal supervision was available when necessary on a daily, though limited, basis. However, personal supervision seemed to play the part of a catalytic agent more than it did the major medium for communicating knowledge. The in-service training groups on agency time of three-quarters of an hour to one hour in duration and held three to four times per week were the main method of disseminating information. The treatment supervisor,

through the warden, was responsible to the director of corrections for training within the institution. The training supervisor on the morning instructional shift and the group work supervisor on the afternoon group work shift were responsible to the treatment supervisor for the staff training given. Staff from the treatment team, the custodial area, and authorities from all areas relative to practice in the prison were brought in by these people to provide the basis for group discussion. It was also noted as a result of the trial of both methods that when the responsibility for the planning of lectures and the leadership in group discussion was taken by someone in the institution, it resulted in a more natural, spontaneous, and useful session than when lectures were given by head office.

Although the group discussion method often slowed down the speed of covering material in the different groups, it was unquestionably more useful than the lecture method used in the initial stages. The interest and interaction were greater. The material discussed was closer to the problems of the individual than when material was completely pre-arranged and increased personal growth seemed to result.

The apparent change in attitude toward treatment which seemed to be most noticeable after staff training was initiated, was only one of a number of obvious indications of this effect. From the time of the Penal Commission in 1946 when a change seemed imminent, and continuing with no loss of intensity to the inception of training courses, there had been a subtle but methodical attempt to discourage any support for treatment. The first series of lectures given by the director, other head office staff, and the warden and treatment supervisor of the institution, was the writing on the wall. Their best move from that point on was either to get out or give strong support to the treatment approach. Related work experience in mental hospitals, group work, hobby groups,

and male nursing suddenly became a subject of rather obvious comment. Except at private parties held by a few, and the odd discussion after a glass or two at the Legion, everyone boasted an interest in treatment and an abhorrance of punishment that they had held long prior to the existing regime. This first series of lectures was economical to present. It gave a simple explanation of the basic philosophy behind treatment which could be grasped by a large percentage of the prison staff. It served to create a readiness which, though superficial, allowed the beginning of a more united approach to the problem of initiating a treatment philosophy in the prison.

The continuation of this method was, however, producing an increasing difference in the level of understanding of individual staff. The material following the general introduction to the treatment approach was, therefore, changed to a group discussion process with fifteen or less staff in each of the groupings described above. The content of these lectures included a discussion of the basic factors in the development of personality to the point of examining the chracteristics of normal, neurotic, psychopathic and psychotic individuals. The level of intensity of the course can probably best be judged by the fact that material comparable in level to Menninger's "You and Psychiatry" was used as a basis for discussion. This material seemed to be interesting to the average gaol staff, and within his level of comprehension when slowly and carefully presented. These courses, when augmented by discussion of cases by the treatment staff and personal supervision, soon brought many staff to the level where they were beginning to question the diagnosis of the clinic and staff training was rapidly assuming the proportions of a social work course. Trades courses, and junior college courses for night men were arranged with some small support for the person. Provision of half salary for people ready to take university training was given consideration.

In-service training had reached the point where it required fulltime staff, trained in the special problems of teaching social work and the appropriate school, field, and library facilities necessary for giving the broad basis
of knowledge essential as a prerequisite to later specialization. The possibility
of setting up a social work training centre within the welfare department was
considered and, though it had many practical advantages, it was considered by the
department head that it would cost more, be less convenient, and probably be less
effective than using the existing facilities within universities.

Training beyond the ability of an institution having on staff psychiatric, psychological, and social work services was then established as a university function as long as they would supply this service. Although some people felt that the acceptance of this principle was an indication of the ineptitude of the existing professional staff, there seemed to be a gradual increase in the ability of people to recognize the interrelated but different emphasis in teaching, administration, and treatment work. The selection of people who showed aptitude and interest for social work was commenced in other areas of the department and the government accepted responsibility for one year's training at a time, paying half salary for the duration of the course. All people who took training of this type seemed to apply themselves vigorously to the task of going to school in spite of age difficulties which often made the return to study a difficult one. The judgement of suitability for social work training was, of necessity, left to a larger than usual degree to the government department involved. The results of the course were not as closely related to the industry of the student as they were to the standard of selection. Selection of people for training was often influenced strongly by a personnel officer or senior department official who was not aware of the personality factors necessary in social work. The result

was that some very loyal, but very rigid staff, took courses which, though accepted verbally, could not have been absorbed without a change of personality which was more than could be expected in a period of eight or nine months. The result was an unfortunate situation in which the one-year student returned less secure and, because of his lack of the knowledge necessary to do the new work expected of him, in a position where he was forced, and in a better position to undermine the profession. The majority, fortunately, who were secure, giving people, from the start returned from a year at the social work school having gained more than would be expected within the limits of a university year.

Evaluation

Staff development, as it finally evolved in the Regina Gaol, would seem to satisfy the immediate training needs of most Canadian prisons. Recruitment through a Public Service Commission free from politics and allowing free competition for clearly defined positions, is rarely seen operating at such high professional standards. The conclusion reached in the Regina experiment that good recruitment was useless without extensive orientation often extending for up to one year for social workers is, probably, just as true in other areas of social work; but it is more noticeable in correctional work because of the extreme situations in existence in prisons today.

The profound effect of any form of staff training in helping the attitude of prison staff toward a treatment approach seems to justify the use of lectures, the cheapest method of training, in the initial stages of transition. Lectures as a means of communicating social work knowledge seemed to be a waste. In-service training led by trained staff using a discussion method in small groups provided an effective method of training when supplemented by personal counselling available on a daily basis. It was found that if personal counselling was only made available but was hard to get it was never used.

Training on prison staff's own time caused so much unhappiness as to make it preferable to carry on training during the work hours.

It was necessary to know the limits of staff training. University training made available to the proper in-service trained personnel produced a worker who, in spite of lack of prerequisites, was able to do an excellent professional job. Staff training's most unique contribution to staff development was found in the fact that it weeded out poor staff. As a result of staff training poor staff gradually found other work or asked for transfers. The weeding out process, which took place without any conscious intention, resulted in a selection process that allowed a complete screening of staff without a man being fired.

The most important contribution made by staff training was the change in atmosphere throughout the whole institution. As Bromberg stated in reviewing the results of four years of this program, "An atmosphere such as this in such an old prison and an inmate attitude such as I have found in my questioning of prisoners is almost unbelievable. An atmosphere such as this is a therapy in itself." A staff member who is sincerely engrossed in the understanding of the members of his inmate group or class and is faithfully encouraging each one to a personal relationship which will make possible his attainment of his maximum stature, encourages staff and inmate interrelationships which can almost be felt. To create this atmosphere which seems to breath the principle of faith in and respect for the potential of every inmate, is probably the greatest contribution made by the staff training program within the prison.

CHAPTER V

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN THE TOTAL PROCESS

The work observed at Regina prison, though it could not be considered as having been exhaustive in its search for the best in institutional treatment, did examine a number of hopeful variations of programme, and did arrive at what appears to be one of the best correctional methods in Canada today. The present study, as well as personal visits to twenty other Canadian penal institutions, suggest that the Regina situation is sufficiently similar to the average Canadian prison for its final method to be applicable, with equal success, anywhere in the Dominion. What evaluation can be made at this point, of the philosophy and principles which were considered basic to the total process?

A review of the thinking existent, prior to the Regina study, and in general use today, shows that many judgements were based on a number of what might be called utilitarian philosophies. To feel that a program was successful, we had to be able to prove that there was an obvious and tangible change which was to the material benefit of mankind. Reform had to pay in the measure of commerce.

There were other philosophies, fortunately, which suggested that the sick child of the world family should logically receive extra care and to them reformation at a high price was worth it. Many of this group referred to practice in the normal family or justified the expenditure by the use of comparative figures for the care of the unreformed criminal.

Some realized that many men, if they did return to prison, did so as more responsive human beings rather than more vicious animals because of proper treatment and therefore did not begrudge the price. Recidivism was a poor measure of treatment.

The thought of many was that money spent on the treatment of criminals instead of increasing childrens' services, was money wastefully deployed in an undeserving area. Their critics suggested they had forgotten where delinquent children received their standards.

One of the later philosophies tended toward the view that the concept of the worth of the individual was a principle, important not just for the service to the individual it implied, but also for the effect the practice of the concept had on the total culture. This position recognized man as being influenced considerably by the logical development of factors beyond his control, but as being able, by his work for others, to influence his society which in turn could affect him. This emphasis on the dependence and responsibility of man to man, in many staff, gave a greater logic to the apparently hopeless work being done for some criminals.

The key staff of the Regina institution frequently discussed the philosophies on which they worked and among these top people a similar respect for the worth of the individual was one of the more important fundamentals. In this group, however, the motivation for their faith was more closely related to a religious or spiritual ideal. This common orientation by top-level people, though expressed slightly differently by each person, seemed to be very important in the coordination and level of work achieved by them as a treatment team. A prisoner was a fellow person to be helped in spite of his apparently hopeless plight; possibly even because of it. Lack of tangible results could be an argument for greater intensity or a change of assistance but no reason for any feeling that the work had not been of greater worth than that on an apparently more responsive or completed case.

A religious orientation is usually felt to be too contentious a

matter to suggest as having any part in treatment procedure. However, its apparent importance in Regina makes it worthy of mention. Jung touched on this idea when he wrote "We can get in touch with another person only by an attitude of unprejudiced objectivity. This may sound like a scientific precept, and may be confused with a purely intellectual and detached attitude of mind. But what I mean to convey is something quite different. It is a human quality—a kind of deep respect for fact and events and for the person who suffers from them—a respect for the secret of such a human life. The truly religious person has this attitude. He knows that God has brought all sorts of strange and inconceivable things to pass, and seeks in the most curious ways to enter a man's heart. He therefore senses in everything the unseen presence of the divine will. This is what I mean by 'unprejudiced objectivity.'"

Whatever the basis was for this orientation, it does appear that the unshakeable belief in the worth of even the most sordid and degenerate person and the belief in the rightness of personal and community sacrifice to make available the greatest service to those in greatest need, was, a contributing factor to this programme's success.

Probably the next most significant characteristic in the philosophy of the Regina prison staff was a conviction about the importance of the continuing responsibility of the family. This is not a new idea; but the degree to which this belief was supported in practice was unusual. Any work with an individual was considered to be an assistance to him, to his family, to his community, and to society as a whole. When a prisoner arrived in prison his family was contacted either direct, through the field staff doing probation and parole,

⁹Gollancz, Victor, Man and God, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1951, pp. 234.

or often through a private agency to place the family and the community in the picture and begin preparations for their responsibilities during incarceration and on release. In Saskatoon, for example, the John Howard Society was notified of all admissions to prison from that city and visits by social workers were made to their families to assure them of a source of help and to bring them into the picture. When the probation or after-care field staff worked with a client they made sure that the family and the community understood that the help given was a temporary supplement rather than to replace their work or responsibility. When no home was in existence as was the case with many transients, the responsibility of the community was still enforced through private and public agencies to offset the common tendency for prison to be considered an end in itself.

Background Material

The classification team at Regina, as mentioned, were required to initiate considerable diagnostic work without the help of background material. While this method of making increased use of psychometric study and interviewing proved to be a workeable method, it required a greater use of the professional staff which were already at a premium. It therefore was considered less satisfactory than the gathering of background in the usual manner. These sources of background information used at the Regina institution were developed far beyond the usual practice in other Canadian prisons.

In Saskatchewan, provincial law requires that every alleged juvenile delinquency must be reported to the Corrections Branch and further, that each case must be visited and assisted by the social worker as required, for a minimum of a six-month period. The report of each case is filed and a card index kept in head office. The original use of this service was to deal with delinquency in its easy initial stages. These files, however, supplied background material on many people before the adult court and many men admitted to the

Regina institution. The social service index, a resource, seldom, if ever used by Canadian prisons, was used on all inmates first by the probation officer in court and later by the prison where this resource was applicable.

Another source of background knowledge immediately available to probation staff or the institution was originally supplied by the institutions themselves. On the central files in head office, there was recorded a note giving the diagnosis, treatment required, and reference to original study and treatment material on all men previously on probation or in institutions in the province. This material, which in many cases recorded the result of intensive psychiatric, psychological, casework and group work services, could be checked by telephone immediately and made available to the institution, often within a few hours. A slower but often most valuable source of information, because of the insight it gave into home attitudes, was a social history information form sent to the family or relatives of the immate. A large percentage of these were filled out to provide useful information. The refusals to provide information and the reasons given often supplied just as revealing and useful background material.

The most immediate type of background information supplied was a routine social history form supplied to and filled out by the police and which could, of course, accompany the prisoner along with his commitment papers. This material often gave the local community attitude and special circumstances such as attempted suicide, which were helpful during the initial hours and days in the institution.

A further source of material which was of greater use for men from outside the province was the fingerprint section of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police offices in Ottawa. This section supplied records of previous convictions

4

registered anywhere in Canada. This record was of some value in itself but often led to further information of greater significance.

In reviewing the previous work which had been done with the men, it was staggering to observe how frequently the same wrong conclusions, and the same wrong treatment had been administered by well-meaning families, agencies, and institutions who knew nothing of the previous work carried on with a client. The importance of a nation-wide index for the use of all recognized treatment agencies in Canada can not be overestimated. Since this centre would necessarily record on the basis of people, it could well work in conjunction with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics who have been trying to get away from their present misleading method of recording statistics on the basis of convictions. It would seem that, since we have reached the point in criminal statistics where we are tabulating the "modus operandi" of each criminal, it should not be considered too soon to provide an adequate social service index of treatment material for what would appear to be an equally constructive purpose.

Treatment Factors

One of the most controversial decisions which will face any administration is the training they will have to require for senior staff. In this regard, it does appear that, in the initial stages where trained and experienced direction is available, and where the institution is still, to a large extent controlled by a punitive approach, the existing warden, if he has the sincere interest, can do the job. From the experience with the Regina warden, it also appears probable that many wardens now in the prison service could, if they were interested, take training in doses of increasing duration until they could, under the administration outlined for Regina gaol, operate a treatment institution satisfactorily. Because of the peculiarities of the prison, the level of treatment can

not be guaranteed at any higher level than the knowledge of the warden. It, therefore, seems that the trend in prisons is likely to be the same as in the best mental hospitals where this policy has been followed and a professional treatment person with the necessary administrative ability heads the institution.

This senior position for treatment personnel is only one of the many factors which ensures that treatment permeates the total process. Classification, the heart of any treatment programme, similarly must make itself felt in every segment of programme if it is to be really effective. Classification can be thought of and practised as a part of programme set apart or as a complete institution set apart. A judgement concerning the latter cannot be made on the basis of the Regina study but where classification is being carried on in the same institution it would appear to be a misfortune if the experience of this study was not used. In the beginning stages when classification was a separate process in which all areas of programme came to it for its healing influence, it was a Mecca but at a distance. When the classification team became active in staff training, program replanning, and discussion of problems on the spot, classification and treatment became one process and the prison became a treatment institution.

The same individual approach which characterized diagnosis was used in a continuous casework service which helped build up the various sections of programme and by regular revision of treatment gave every man the different care he needed. The golden rule of many wardens of punitive prisons has been "treat every man the same." In Regina at the time of study every man was treated fairly according to his individual needs and every man was treated differently.

This individual approach was also personalized. From the time that the prisoner was invited to discuss and plan changes in the proposed plan with

the treatment team to the warm relationships with well chosen group leaders and carefully chosen members of natural groupings, he was a person with status, rights, responsibilities and friends that recognized him and with whom he could identify.

The many personal and friendly characteristics of the process at Regina all combined to provide an atmosphere which could actually be felt. The attitude of treatment staff was reflected in the tone of the institution which was noticed by many visiting treatment people whose expressed feeling was that the atmosphere which had been achieved was the most significant sign of treatment and was a therapy in itself.

In observing the atmosphere of the twenty penal institutions visited, it seemed that there was a relationship between it and institution size. There are many positive factors which seem to create a proper prison atmosphere but in comparing institutions with similar advantages it does seem that the large institution must become machine-like, impersonal, and to some extent an easy prey to vice, the trustee, and many unfortunate influences too big and insidious to control. The small institution like Regina with one hundred to one hundred and fifty inmates seems to have a manageability which allows control of subtle influences which affect institutional attitude and a flexibility which makes it able to change and modify programme to suit individual needs rather than have the needs of the large institution dictate to the treatment programme.

Another treatment influence related to the size of institution was the interaction possible with the community. In Regina the programme was ideal for contacts with the community which, although they were limited in number, were recognized to be of great value. The ball games with town teams, the group singing, the visiting hobby groups, the entertainment groups, the religious discussion

groups, and the visiting instructors or lecturers, were all helpful in breaking down that feeling of isolation so damaging to the man "doing hard time."

The Regina prison unfortunately was seven miles from town, a fact which made community contact difficult. It would appear that community contacts of a type that are wholesome and encourage interaction rather than entertainment are valuable and that a location outside the city but close enough to allow community interaction is desirable for a treatment prison.

The common argument given as a justification for community contacts and other areas of program has often been the suggested need for normalcy. The attitude of the treatment people at Regina was that normalcy too frequently was used as an excuse for activity. They felt programme should be designed to meet individual and group needs. The ideal program to suit an individual might therefore be as abnormal as shock therapy, or as normal as allowing a little personal privacy and be quite wrong if judged on degree of normalcy. Proper programme is the treatment appropriate to cure the condition. Its normalcy is a factor which will like many other factors, have greater or lesser importance depending on the individual treatment required.

The attitude to custody of many people in institutional work also differed from the Regina philosophy. The belief at Regina was that custody was a responsibility which, right or wrong, was required by law. It also was a requirement which was sufficiently supported by public lack of understanding that the law if challenged would not be changed by democratic process. They therefore felt that, though runaways would inevitably happen, it was their responsibility to sincerely plan programme to avoid any runaway. Beyond the legal responsibilities accepted by anyone in prison work today, there were other more important arguments against lax custody. Anyone who has seen or felt the

experience of the runaway in our culture and has seen the change in person which takes place as a result of this thrilling and frightening adventure in which he relives the experience of expressing all his feelings of himself against society, knows the arguments against runaways. The effect of runaways on treatability is not always the same but in the majority of cases today, it was felt that the experience made treatment a great deal more difficult. It is not adequate to say that there would be no problem if we didn't chase them. They are chased. The police are required to hunt them. Society requires that they be confined as they required it in the first instance. It therefore seems logical to support the suggestion that treatment prisons must learn to keep good custody. A more important point is the fact that the Regina experience and in fact any hospital in Canada in varying degrees, has proven that good custody properly handled is not inconsistent with good treatment.

The attitude to punishment taken by most treatment people was shared by the Regina treatment staff but with an interesting variation. A study of a number of cases in which physical punishment was a highlight seemed to indicate that punishment could be a damaging thing but like all other life experiences could be useful treatment. The major factor in whether punishment was useful nr not seemed to be the relationship which continued to exist between the person punishing and the person punished. Where a good relationship existed such as in the normal family punishment properly understood only served to emphasize the point under question. Where a feeling of hostility existed between the people involved in a punishing experience, the situation usually tended in the delinquent to be understood as a further evidence of the hostility existing between him and society and so increased his problem, in many cases with serious results. Punishment, when a useful experience, had few punishing qualities. It was a difficult job to assess where it could be used to advantage. The people prone to use it

were usually the people who should not use it. The major forms of punishment were considered too dangerous for use in the Regina institution. Lesser punishment such as loss of privileges were considered on an individual basis by the treatment supervisor before action was taken.

Treatment organizations, because they avoid harsh punishment, encourage friendly relationships, and have to apply rapidly varying procedures, are often thought of as being most likely to flourish in a loose or undisciplined administration. The Regina experience seems to indicate that because of these very factors, a treatment institution must have a slightly more complicated, but a more clearly defined organization than its punitive predecessor.

A treatment programme is also frequently associated with leniency. In this regard it is interesting to note that in practically every prison in Canada, the institution has a work programme from seven or eight in the morning until five in the evening at which time cells are locked until the next morning. In these work programmes seldom do more than twenty-five per cent of inmates perform a full day's work. In contrast, the Regina institution had every man busy from six o'clock in the morning until nine-thirty at night. From seven a.m. to three p.m. every man participated in either work or trades shops. From three until bedtime at nine thirty or ten p.m., every man took part in group and individual programs of a socializing nature. Time went faster for the prisoner in Regina gaol and he liked it and felt useful but none wanted to return. The production of the treatment institution is far ahead of the prison of today which is afraid to do anything which might interfere with a private market and as a result punishes with a forced indolence more destructive than the forced labour of the chain gang.

Good social welfare usually costs money and Regina was no exception.

It was interesting to note, however, that when revenue had been deducted from expenditures, the increase in cost of the treatment organization was little more than its punitive counterpart. The cost per man was almost identical to the figure quoted by the Archambault Report as the cost of punitive custody.

Judging from the Regina experience, the future progress of prison programmes is likely to move in a ratio directly related to progress in the understanding and social knowledge of the majority of people. The uniformity of approach and the coordination necessary to work with a prison population which is frequently transient, suggests that Federal control either completely or through grants and subsidied dependent on standards, will be necessary. Since the effectiveness of prisons depends on the accessibility of the field work of many related agencies, it appears obvious that the tabulation and coordination of probation, parole, juvenile and related services will also require some central direction. The fundamental difference in the philosophy of treatment and the philosophy of criminal law as it stands today is so great that the adaptation of one to the other would be too difficult for either discipline to accomplish while maintaining peak performance. It, therefore, seems logical to expect that controversy between these two areas is to be expected and will be less upsetting where the two disciplines function as different services with a fair degree of separateness.

It appears that unless treatment receives a serious set-back, the trend in staff will be towards greater professionalization and the best recruitment and personnel practices to make better staff possible. The top positions where social workers are now being suggested may eventually be filled by psychiatrists. The shortage of trained staff makes it likely that for many years to come the bulk of staff having contact with inmates will be lay people receiving

supervision and training on the job from professional people. The trend within institutions would appear to be towards a modified hospital setting which in
the process will be so similar as to be compared and in competition with the
practice in mental hospitals possibly to the benefit of both. The most important of many factors which will determine the speed or absence of change will be
the general increase in the understanding of people—our ability to make the
knowledge of social dynamics as exciting as the present interest in the operation
of the atomic bomb.

APPENDIX A

Suggested responsibilities and standards for the staff of a treatment prison.

Warden

Nature of Work

Employees in this class are responsible for the total operation of a penal institution. They are responsible to the Director of Corrections who will supervise their work. Although some directives will be received in written form, many instructions with regard to policy, will be received and interpreted through the medium of staff conferences with the director. The implementation of this policy in letter and spirit with the staff and resources allocated, is the responsibility of this position. Because his sensitivity to the pulse of the total institution and his staff and outside contacts to ensure coordination require so much time, he must be able to delegate his more tangible responsibilities to the treatment supervisor and administrative assistant. The work of these two senior positions is often at variance and must be synthesized for institutional harmony. It is therefore necessary that employees in the warden's class understand both the social work of the treatment supervisor, and the accounting and custody problems of the administrative assistant, sufficiently to make decisions where conflict exists. These decisions provide the precedent for institutional policy. Policy decisions made, must be in harmony with head office instructions, and must also result in effective operation.

The employees in this position must have demonstrated leadership qualities and be prepared to sacrifice their own personal safety when necessary, to control violence within the institution. People in this class are on call at any time the institution requires their presence.

These positions are responsible for personnel practices in the institution. Regular staff meetings are their responsibility. Staff orders, staff discipline, and staff relations, which result in a proper institutional atmosphere, are of major concern to people in these positions.

- 1. A faith and belief in the essential worth of every inmate.
- 2. An ability to make sound administrative decisions which, where necessary, sacrifices the individual for the general good, but a sincere interest in, and feeling for, people.
- 3. Demonstrated ability in the management of a large number of staff and men.
- 4. A maturity, supported by experience, which suggests that the gross behaviour and experiences, seen in prisons, will not distort his sense of values one way or another, or alter his attitude to offenders or staff in the direction of cynacism.
- 5. A personality which has sufficient drive to face and overcome the many pressures and disappointments of institutional work, without dismay, and which applies that dynamic in a way which supports his staff.
- 6. Good physical health, and a wholesome philosophy of life, free from excessive drinking and other related problems.
- 7. Sufficient social work training to be able to assess the validity of any suggestion presented by the treatment supervisor. Two years of social work training in an accredited school is suggested as necessary.
- 8. Sufficient accounting and custodial knowledge to be able to assess the validity of any suggestion presented by the administrative assistant. An elementary knowledge of government accounting methods, and at least two years' experience in a prison setting.

Treatment Supervisor or deputy in charge of treatment

Nature of Work

This position is responsible to the warden for the success of all treatment within the institution. Although the work of the institution is divided, at this general level, between the treatment supervisor and the administrative assistant who must coordinate their work, the treatment supervisor is the senior person, and acts as head of the institution in the absence of the warden. As head of the classification team, he is responsible for the assignments of work involved in diagnosis and planning of treatment carried out by the psychiatrist, psychologist, medical doctor and any other members of the team. He is responsible for the planning and carrying out of programme for every inmate committed to the institution. He is responsible for the placement of individuals in, and the planning of trades training, maintenance, and work programme, frequently delegated, with some direction, to the training supervisor. He is responsible for the placement of all inmates in suitable groupings for socialization, frequently delegated to the group work supervisor, after some direction. He is responsible for the continuous review of cases through files, reports, interviews, and the provision of casework services himself and by other casework staff to prepare for, and provide, services to augment the group work and training programme. The preparation of all reports for probation and parole officers, and the court, outside agencies, and the recommending of transfer of immates to other institutions, is the responsibility of this position. The organization of staff training for all staff within the institution is his responsibility. The actual instruction is usually delegated to the senior staff in the training and group work programmes. The supervision of the senior treatment and training people within the institution are his responsibility.

People in this position receive their instruction verbally and in written form from, and through, the warden. They receive supervision from the warden but must attend, with him, weekly meetings of key treatment staff in the corrections branch, and conferences outside to further their treatment knowledge and discuss common treatment problems.

Qualifications

- 1. A faith and sincere belief in the essential worth of every inmate.
- 2. An ability to carry out decisions which, though sound administratively, may be to the detriment of a minority, without losing in any way his feeling for people on staff or in prison.
 - 3. Good physical and mental health.
- 4. A wholesome philosophy of life, free from excessive drinking and other like problems for which people are committed to gaol.
 - 5. An ability to provide forceful but friendly leadership.
- 6. A masters degree in social work with the ability to do diagnostic work at the level of problems found in a gaol situation.
- 7. At least two years of social casework experience which made use of psychiatric services and good casework supervision.
 - 8. An ability to work in a friendly and cooperative way with people.

.<u>Psychologist</u>

Nature of Work

The psychologist is a staff officer directly responsible to the treatment supervisor for his work. He has no authority in the line except where assigned to a specific line function by the treatment supervisor or warden when special circumstances require such a move.

The psychologist is responsible for the psychometric testing required

for inmates admitted to the institution, the results of which are submitted, through report and classification conference, to the treatment supervisor and other members of the treatment team. He is expected to take part in classification meetings for the purpose of diagnosing and planning treatment for inmates. He may be given specific assignments with regard to the orientation and treatment of inmates. He may be required to meet with members of staff for training purposes. He may be required to take part in research assignments, or attend regular meetings for the discussion of policy and work problems for the mutual benefit of the senior staff of the corrections branch.

Qualifications

- 1. A sincere belief in the essential worth of every inmate.
- 2. A wholesome philosophy of life free from culturally non-acceptable excesses.
 - 3. An ability to work in a friendly and cooperative way with people.
 - 4. A masters degree in psychology from a university of good standing.

Training Supervisor

Nature of Work

administrative assistant for the carrying out of the training programme of the institution. The work, maintenance, vocational, and academic programmes, are all considered as types of training, and as such, are the responsibility of this position. The programme for each succeeding day, prepared by the treatment supervisor and administrative assistant, is the training supervisor's written instructions for each day's operation. He must exercise initiative in adjusting this programme to suit any emergencies, and put it into operation with due regard to

custody and training. The employee in this class must delegate custodial and administrative matters to his senior correctional officer in order that he may be free to supervise the work of all members of his staff. Supervision of staff will take the form of routine comments during his tour of duty, and personal interviews or staff lectures on such matters as course planning, recording on inmates' files, individual cases, and general course material on treatment and training methods. Persons in this position, when acting as staff officers working with the classification team, must exercise mature professional judgement in predicting the probable success of individuals in particular courses. As the senior person responsible for the effectiveness of the training program of the institution, he must be continually considering possible improvements in method and outside resources such as course material, equipment, apprenticeship, staff training, and other resources which might be available for the improvement of the standard of the training programmes.

Qualifications

- l. An ability to work on a friendly and co-operative basis with other staff.
 - 2. A belief in the essential worth of every individual.
- 3. Leadership qualities. The ingenuity and diplomacy necessary to encourage interest in adult students and staff.
- 4. Wholesome way of life free from problems related to gaol commitment such as excessive drinking and immoral behaviour.
 - 5. A masters degree in education from a recognized university.
 - 6. At least two years! teaching experience.

Instructor

Nature of Work

This position is directly responsible to the training supervisor and the

9

senior correctional officer for the standard of his work. The employee in this position is responsible to the senior correctional officer for carrying out proper custodial precautions. He is responsible to the training supervisor for the major portion of his work involving the training program for all inmates of the institution. Employees in this class are responsible for preparing training course material with the assistance of the training supervisor. They are also responsible for the care and custody of men assigned to them for instruction. They are responsible for the personal development of these inmates, for their progress in the subject under instruction, and for the regular recording of significant data for transposition by the training supervisor to the appropriate file. Participation in staff training and personal conferences with the training supervisor are necessary to increase knowledge of self, individual inmate problems, and proper methods of instruction and treatment. Simple ordering and accounting procedures must be carried out by staff in this class. The description and the scope of the trade to be taught should be recorded, and the other duties which may be required in addition as a specialist in this particular trade in the institution.

- 1. Ability to work in a friendly and co-operative way with people.
- 2. A sincere belief in the worth of every inmate.
- 3. Good health and a wholesome way of life free from excesses closely related to those for which people are committed to gaol.
 - 4. A mature personality.
 - 5. A knowledge of good teaching methods.
- 6. A thorough knowledge of the trade to be taught supported by the license authority for the trade in the province.

Group Work Supervisor

Nature of Work

The group work supervisor is responsible to the treatment supervisor and administrative assistant for his work.

He is responsible for the proper functioning of the institution as a socialization force during his tour of duty. Since his time of duty is frequently in the afternoon and evening hours he is, for considerable periods, completely responsible for the institution in all areas of custody and program. As a staff officer of the classification team, he uses his knowledge of social work to assist in judging the readiness of immates to take part in group activity, and in deciding the group and group leader who would most adequately fill their treatment needs. He is responsible, with appropriate inmate and staff participation, for the planning of a socialization program for all groups within the institution. He is responsible for the supervision of all afternoon staff, through individual interview and lectures regarding the athletic, hobby, library, group work, recording, and other abilities required in the treating of individuals in the group setting. The employee in this position is responsible for passing on and interpreting the treatment plan of the classification team to the group workers on his staff. He is also responsible for the review of case reports, interviewing, replanning where minor changes are necessary, changing groups where necessary, and frequently referring cases to the treatment team for their judgement and action where casework or further study is required.

- 1. A belief in the essential worth of every inmate.
- 2. An ability to work on a friendly and co-operative basis with other staff.
 - 3. Demonstrated leadership ability. The ingenuity and diplomacy

necessary to encourage interest in adult inmates and staff.

- 4. Good physical health.
- 5. Wholesome way of life free from problems related to gaol commitments such as excessive drinking and immoral behaviour.
 - 6. A masters degree in social group work.
 - 7. Some casework training.
 - 8. At least two years group work experience.

Group Worker

Nature of Work

The employee in this position is responsible to the group work supervisor and the senior correctional officer for the standard of his work. He is responsible to the senior correctional officer for the carrying out of proper custodial precautions. He is responsible to the group work supervisor for the major portion of his work which is to act as a group worker in charge of a group of eight to fifteen inmates. He is responsible for an intimate knowledge of the treatment plan for each inmate in his group, and for recording significant detail for the group work supervisor who reviews his work. He will plan programme for, and with his group, depending on their stage of development and through his contact with the group, and the individuals in it, make it possible for the maximum growth of the individual, his relationships to other individuals, to other groups, and to society as a whole.

- 1. Ability to work in a co-operative and friendly manner with people.
- 2. Sincere interest in worth of every inmate.
- 3. Good health and a wholesome philosophy of life free from excesses common in institutional commitments.

- 4. Extensive knowledge of, and ability in, sports and hobbies.
- 5. One year of social group work training considered satisfactory by an accredited university.
 - 6. Experience in handling groups of men.

* Page 45

Administrative Assistant

This position is directly responsible to the warden of the prison though third in the line of authority. The employee in this position is responsible for the custody and business administration of the institution. In the absence of the warden and the treatment supervisor, he would act as warden of the institution. He is responsible for custody, accounting, stores, work schedules, transportation, and the business of the institution which does not involve treatment. He is responsible for lectures to all custodial staff, and for the co-operative planning of general policy for all staff with regard to the custodial practice to be used in the institution. He is responsible for the checking of all equipment necessary to safeguard the security of the institution, such as locks, keys, firearms, emergency lighting, and alarm systems. He is on twenty-four hour call in case of emergency. He is responsible for the efficiency and accuracy of accounting, banking, clerical, trucking and stores and related operations. He is responsible for the ordering for the institution, and checking the relationship of expenditures to the annual budget.

- 1. An understanding of government stores accounting and bookkeeping methods at the level used in the prison institution.
 - 2. At least two years' experience in a penal institution.
 - 3. An intimate knowledge of custodial methods.

- 4. A demonstrated leadership ability which would be adequate to handle prison conditions involving extreme violence.
- 5. Good physical health and a wholesome philosophy of life free from any excesses likely to be his duty to check in the institution.

Senior Correctional Officer

Nature of Work

Employees in the senior correctional officer class are always responsible to the administrative assistant for the interpretation of laid-down custodial policy to the senior supervisor on their shift, and are responsible to that supervisor for the carrying out of all or any part of programme. The responsibilities of this position are usually administrative and custodial. Their instructions are received verbally or in the form of schedules to follow from the supervisor in charge. They are responsible for taking the count, checking all movement of men in the institution, all security matters such as keys, locks, frisking and searches, and may be called on to take over the handling of matters involving control of violence. He may be required to report on routine matters such as attendance or staffs' fitness for duty. On the night shift, where no senior supervisor is on duty, the employee in this position must take complete responsibility for the conduct and security of the institution.

- l. An ability to work in a friendly and co-operative manner with other staff.
- 2. A wholesome way of life free from excesses such as might be under criticism in other staff and inmates.
- 3. Exceptionally good physical condition, strength, agility and freedom from physical defects.

- 4. A thorough knowledge of all matters pertaining to institutional custody, and the use of relative equipment such as locks, keys, firearms, tear gas, handcuffs, straight jackets, etc.
- 5. Courage and ability to take command of a dangerous and violent situation such as riot, runaways, attempted suicide, with calm and mature decision.
- 6. Academic training at the high school graduation level or its equivalent.
- 7. Previous experience in handling men for example as a regimental sergeant-major.

Correctional Officer (Guard)

Nature of Work

Employees in this position are responsible to the senior prison guard and the senior supervisor on their shift. Most instructions will be received from the senior correctional officer and will centre around the custodial and administrative functions of the institution. These employees may be required to supervise groups of prisoners on routine work assignments, but more frequently will be responsible for security patrols, gate duty, routine checks of bars, screens, locking equipment, etc. and the general work involved in maintaining the general routine and security of a penal institution. These men are expected to be willing to take personal risks when necessary to ensure the proper security of the institution.

- 1. Ability to work in a friendly and co-operative manner with others.
- 2. Wholesome way of life free from excesses common in a commitment to prison.

- 3. Exceptionally good physical condition, strength, agility, and freedom from physical defect.
- 4. Ability to be calm, and obey orders involving personal danger where necessary in the interests of the institution.
 - 5. Some previous experience in handling men.
- 6. Academic training at the high school graduation level, or equivalent ability.

Accounting Clerk

Nature of Work

The accounting and clerical staff of the institution in the initial stages included an accountant who was responsible to the warden and who dabbled in stores, city pick-ups of supplies, trips to the farm to count eggs and cows and a variety of other unrelated duties. It was arranged for this man to be responsible to the administrative assistant and to confine his work to accounting, ordering, and stores which were handled at scheduled times. Although the two thousand acre farm and vocational shops involve a large amount of paper work it was considered after careful review by the government accounting authorities that this was a one man job. The original accountant did not think so and left. The next incumbent was apparently able to handle the job.

As accounting standards and methods differ markedly between provinces the only qualifications which could be given for this position are those laid down for the level of accounting expected by the department in question. Since the methods used in Regina were fairly detailed and well audited it seems fair to say that one man properly trained could manage the work of a comparable institution. This position was made a staff position directly responsible to

to the administrative assistant. He received some supervision from him and help where needed from the government specialists in that area.

Stenographer

Nature of Work

The two stenographers at the institution originally had some of their time taken up with classifying fingerprints and recording them with Ottawa. This was seen as a police function and arrangements were made for the police to do all fingerprinting and photography and the recording with Ottawa, copies of material being sent for the institution files. It was found that one stenographer could complete the remaining work in the office thereby eliminating one office member. The increased stenographic work which arose later as a result of the work of the treatment team was found to be most efficiently managed by use of dictaphone and the head office typing pool. In this regard it was found that the other institutions some two hundred and fifty miles away could use this dictaphone service and the more efficient typing of a pool of women stenographers than the male stenographer work usually found in an institution. The stemographer's position was made directly responsible to the administrative assistant though used by the warden and other staff on occasion. The relief from head office during the holiday period for the institutional stenographer indicated that a woman in this position would be practical and more efficient than using the type of male staff an institution can recruit for the price.

APPENDIX B

Bibliography

General References:

- Fox, L. L., The Modern English Prison, Geourge Routledge and Sons, Limited, Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, 1934.
- White, Leonard D., <u>Introduction to the Study of Public Administration</u>,

 Third Edition, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948.
- Howard, John, The State of Prisons, J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, New York.
- Webb, Sydney and Beatrice, English Prisons Under Local Government,
 Longmans, Green and Company, New York.
- English, O. Spurgeon, and Gerald H. S. Pearson, <u>Emotional Problems of Living</u>, W. W. Norton and Company, Incorporated, New York.
- Menninger, William Claire, and Munro Leaf, You and Psychiatry, New York, C. Scribner's and Sons, 1948.

Specific References:

- Group Psychotherapy, Edited by J. L. Moreno, M. D., Beacon House, New York, 1946.
- Trecker, Harley B., Social Group Work, The Women's Press, New York, 1948.
- The Practice of Group Therapy, Edited by S. R. Slavson, International Universities Press, New York, 1947.
- The Practice of Group Work, Edited by Dorothea Sullivan, Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, 1947.
- Public Relations of Public Personnel Agencies, A report submitted to the Civil Service Assembly by the Committee on Public Relations of Public Personnel Agencies, William E. Mosher, Chairman, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, Chicago, 1941.
- Blumenthal, Louis H., Administration of Group Work, Association Press, New York, 1948.