

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BOYS DISCHARGED
FROM THE MANITOBA HOME FOR BOYS.

Being the Report of a Group Research Project
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Degree of Master of
Social Work
1960.

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ABSTRACT

This is a limited study of one hundred and six discharges of the Manitoba Home for Boys, concerning the problem of recidivism. The area of study involves such aspects as age at initial offense, type of crime committed, family structure, and Indian background. Recidivists are compared to non-recidivists within this group after relevant data was obtained from pertinent case records, and compiled on a schedule.

Major findings are, that a large proportion of these boys recidivate, and are later committed to adult correctional institutions, and that there is no significant difference between these two groups within the range of factors studied.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The indispensable contributions of our faculty thesis advisors, Professors M. Roger and M. Robins are hereby recognized with deep and sincere appreciation. We wish to express our gratitude also to Mr. William Zimmerman, Senior Probation Officer at the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court, for his interest and his help, as well as to Messrs. A. J. Kitchen, Director of Corrections and Inspector of Jails, of the Province of Manitoba, Bruce Jones, Superintendent of the Manitoba Home for Boys, S.B.H. Littlewood, Superintendent of Headingly Jail, C.E. Des Rosiers, Warden of the Manitoba Penitentiary, and to Assistant Commissioner S. Bullard, Commanding R.C.M. Police, Division "D", and Mr. R.T. Taft, Chief Officer of Police, City of Winnipeg for their kind co-operation.

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CHAPTER 1

The rapidly rising rate of juvenile crime throughout our country has directed the attention of police, parole officers, welfare agencies and all interested persons to the many facets of the problem of the young delinquent. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics involved, it would be necessary to examine all aspects of this entire problem area. It is impossible in a study of this nature, however, to do more than look at one aspect of concern. It is hoped that the findings thus obtained can be added to existing knowledge, resulting in a somewhat clearer picture of juvenile delinquency.

One of the major problems in the correctional field is that of recidivism. What makes a person become a recidivist? There have been many theories offered as an answer to this question: psychological, sociological and genetical. But while each has shed some light on the problem and opened up new areas for exploration and research, there seems to be no final answer. If a solution of the problem is at

all possible, it seems likely that it will be arrived at by the combined efforts of many disciplines working together in this multi-causal area.

In our concern with recidivism, attention has been drawn to the number of boys who spend periods of confinement in juvenile correctional institutions and then go on to commit further offences with subsequent incarceration in adult correctional institutions. At the same time, there are others who appear to make a sufficiently adequate readjustment, in that they are not committed to adult penal institutions. This study sets out to examine certain characteristics of these two groups; to determine in what respects they differ, and in what respects they are similar.

It is stated in Benjamin Fine's "1,000,000 Delinquents" that "...approximately 50 per cent of the boys who come to the country's training schools as juvenile delinquents end up as adult criminals. In 36 state penitentiaries in the United States, between 51 and 53 per cent of the inmates have previously been sent to state training schools."¹

¹Benjamin Fine, 1,000,000 Delinquents, New York World Publishing Company, 1955, p. 315.

In this study an attempt will be made to determine if this trend exists in Manitoba, and if so, can some of the common factors be identified. The boys chosen for this study are those discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys (M.H.B.) during the calendar years 1953 and 1954. So that a comparative study group might be obtained, the boys will be allowed a period of five years during which time they may, or may not, become incarcerated in adult correctional institutions. This period of time has been chosen to correspond with numerous studies, including that of the Gluecks¹ which show that boys who repeat offences are likely to do so within five years.

It is recognized that this study is subject to a number of limitations. In the first place there will be a limited number of boys in the study group, although the number should be sufficient to show a trend. Furthermore, available data will be restricted to files rather than personal interviews (it would be presently impossible to locate the boys) and the files are neither uniform nor complete.

¹Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1939.

Also, it should be noted that the study of files prohibits an examination of emotional factors.

Another limiting factor which will be encountered during the course of the study is related to offences committed. Early delinquent activities of boys from remote rural areas usually lead to unofficial reprimands from police authorities, but with the exception of the offence resulting in the boy's committal to M.H.P., there will be very little record of these previous offences.

The boys in the study will be primarily from low socio-economic homes--usually higher income families are able to make other provisions for delinquent children.¹

The recidivists will include only those who are admitted to adult correctional institutions. It will not include those who commit further offences and are fined, placed on probation or parole, or returned to a juvenile correctional institution. Also some offences may be committed by the non-recidivists and not be detected.

The five year period of study is a further limitation, since some of the boys could conceivably still be juveniles, some will be adults for a much shorter time

¹The Jewish Social Quarterly, Vol. XXX, No. 2., Winter, 1953, p. 134.

than others, and some may be committed to an adult correctional institution after the five year period.

This study will not take into consideration the influence of the court experience, the juvenile institution, or the parole situation, each of which will have a bearing on the delinquents subsequent behaviour. It is felt that this would involve an assessment of these services which is considered beyond the competence and scope of this study.

The basis of committal may not be uniform as some of the boys will have been sent to the M.H.B. for lack of other plans. A further factor is the disposition of a person convicted in adult court. The judge has a number of alternatives in this respect, and it is conceivable that there would be variations in sentencing in different courts, and by different judges, with the result that some who commit a certain offence will be considered recidivists by virtue of the courts' disposition, whereas others, because they are not sentenced to prison, will not be considered as such.

Some of the boys may have left North America since discharge from the Manitoba Home for Boys (thus eliminating an adult record), some may be deceased, and others may have been permanently committed to a mental institution, thus precluding any

possibility of them being incarcerated in adult correctional institutions.

The area of this study will be limited as stated in the hypothesis:

The greater number of boys discharged from a juvenile correctional institution are later committed to correctional institution for adults, and they show certain traits and circumstances in their earlier life experience which differ from those of the boys who are not committed to adult correctional institutions.

In seeking the answer to this hypothesis, five supporting hypotheses have been presupposed. First,

a large proportion of the boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys are later committed to correctional institutions for adults.

Whereas we have seen that approximately 50 per cent of the boys coming from training schools in the United States end up as adult criminals,¹ it is expected that similar findings will be obtained in Manitoba. In this instance criminality will be equated with incarceration in an adult correctional institution. With this initial premise some of the specific aspects of recidivism will now be considered.

These recidivists started their delinquent behavior at an earlier age than the non-recidivists.

There is much evidence to suggest that most children are under the age of sixteen at the time of the first

¹Supra 1, p. 3.

offence, and that juvenile delinquents tend to become recidivists. Glueck, in his study of one thousand delinquents¹, reported the incidence to be 63.5 per cent. Healy and Bronner, in a study from the Judge Baker Foundation Centre², reported 61 per cent in Chicago and 21 per cent in Boston. Other statistics indicate that one half to two thirds of the men and women who embark early on delinquent careers persist in this behaviour at least far into their adult lives. If it is true that the majority of criminal careers begin either in childhood or during adolescence, the question is raised whether the actual age at the time of the first delinquency is any indication of the tendency toward recidivism. In his book dealing with the after conduct of discharged offenders, juveniles and adults³, Glueck reported that all but 45 of the juvenile delinquents had been seriously delinquent before arrest, and that

¹Eleanor & Sheldon Glueck: 1,000 Juvenile Delinquents, Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1939.

²W. Healy and A. Bonner: Treatment And What Happened Afterward, a study from the Judge Baker Foundation Centre, Boston, Judge Baker Foundation, 1939.

³Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck: After Conduct of Discharged Offenders, London, McMillan and Co., Ltd., 1945.

the mean age for the first, or early delinquency was only 9.7 years. In any event, it does seem that age might be a factor in recidivism, and this study attempts to shed further light on this.

The recidivists, as juveniles, tend to commit different types of offences from the non-recidivists.

In this regard the study will attempt to learn if the type of offence a juvenile commits is a clue to his later criminal career, or lack of it. Accordingly, one would suspect that the non-recidivists would tend to commit minor, or less serious offences than the recidivists. Precisely, it would be expected that recidivists would be more likely to commit offences involving violence, against person or property. While no previous studies were found to support this contention, this study will seek an answer as to whether or not the type of offences committed as juveniles has any bearing on subsequent recidivism. Concern in this area will be further explored in the next supporting hypothesis.

These recidivists tend to continue to commit certain types of offences.

"Recidivism studies generally reveal that certain types of offences are more likely to be committed or repeated by recidivists."¹ This report further points

¹Federal Prisons, 1957: A Report of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, pp. 49-50.

out that theft, burglary, robbery, car theft and forgery are often cited as being the most recidivistic crimes. Auto thieves and forgers are two of the largest and traditionally most recidivistic offence groups. On the other hand, homicide, assault, sex offences, embezzlement and income tax frauds are offences not likely to be repeated. This study will attempt to show whether the recidivists in their adult criminal careers continue in their earlier pattern, insofar as type of offence is concerned.

In studies of juvenile delinquency a persistent theme is the effect of the home. For example: "Of the 1,800 delinquent children studied at Bellevue Hospital.....60 per cent were found to come from broken homes."¹ This finding seems identical to the 1939-1940 Glueck study of one thousand Boston slum families: "sixty per cent of the homes in Group 1 were broken,"² this group being the one where a high incidence of serious delinquency was found in the children of every family compared to

¹Marjorie Rittwogen, (M.D.) Sins of Their Fathers, New York Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958, p. 33.

²Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck: After Conduct of Discharged Offenders, London, McMillan and Co., Ltd., 1945.

Group 11 where no delinquency was found. Thus, although no specific literature could be found relating recidivism to this factor of the home, the following two considered guesses were ventured, and are used in this study as supporting hypotheses.

- (a) More of the recidivists than non-recidivists come from families which do not show normal family structure.
- (b) More of the recidivists than non-recidivists have been placed apart from their natural parents at some time, prior to committal to the Manitoba Home for Boys.

It was felt that if broken homes were proven to be a factor in juvenile delinquency in other studies, then it should be reflected in this study of recidivism. Furthermore, question was raised about the boys who may have been placed in foster homes or non-correctional institutions (i.e. apart from both natural parents) prior to committal to M.H.B., and the relationship of this type of placement to recidivism. It is realized that the physical absence of one or both parents is not the total answer, for example poor relationships may exist in a home which has normal family structure, but this study does not have adequate material for an assessment of such emotional factors.

The boys considered to be of Indian background are more likely to be recidivists than those of non-Indian background.

This final supporting hypothesis was chosen because of general concern in Manitoba and elsewhere, regarding these persons of Indian background. At the 1960 Indian-Metis conference held in Winnipeg it was learned from Indian and Metis leaders, as well as other interested persons, that these people lack opportunity and face discrimination in education, employment, and overall living conditions. A study completed in 1959 under the direction of Mr. Jean Lagasse on the situation of Indians and Metis¹ further adds to recognition of the problems encountered by those persons of Indian background. Here one sees that the boy of Indian background has a number of racial and cultural handicaps: He is part of a minority group; he is consistently in low socio-economic circumstances; and he is part of a group to whom society has given exceedingly low status. Accordingly, it was felt that Indian or Metis boys who leave the M.H.B. and return to this situation, are more likely to become recidivists than boys of non-Indian background. Actually the life circumstances that any boy returns to, is an important consideration, and it would be enlightening to generally

¹Jean Lagasse, The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, Winnipeg. The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959.

explore this factor, however, the Indian group more clearly lends itself to such examination.

Preparatory reading which was done in this study was mainly in research work that has taken place in the field of Corrections. It is interesting to note that practically all of such studies have been completed within the last decade. Many perceptive articles found in journals of criminology refer to these major studies. A review was also made of masters' theses in social work which dealt with juvenile delinquency and recidivism. A significant matter illustrated in the bulk of the reading is that many areas of juvenile delinquency have not been explored, and even the few causative factors which have been isolated are subject to controversy. This, of course, points up the need for much additional research. In the second chapter of this report a presentation will be given of the most pertinent material.

In chapter three the method and procedure of this study will be dealt with extensively. For now it might be well to reiterate that the data was primarily obtained from files at the Winnipeg Juvenile Court House and the Manitoba Home for Boys. Therefore this study was restricted to very limited areas of the boys' lives, those which would be embodied in files which are not specifically designed for re-

search. A schedule will be prepared and completed on behalf of each boy in the study group as a means of gathering the necessary data. Efforts will then be made to obtain information not available in the files from the superintendent of M.H.B., provincial gaols, and the R.C.M.P. fingerprint section.

Then in chapter four an analysis will be made of the data obtained. Since this material will be primarily used for comparative purposes showing characteristics of the recidivists and non-recidivists, extensive use will be made of tables to portray this most clearly. A specific interpretation of such material will also be included.

In the fifth chapter the findings will be summarized and related to the supporting hypotheses. The results thus evaluated will permit conclusions to be drawn with respect to the hypothesis. Finally attention will be directed to any inconclusive answers which suggest the need for further study.

CHAPTER 11

The study's focus was on the problem of recidivism in the group of boys that have been sentenced to the Manitoba Home for Boys. There was little material found which was related specifically to recidivism and consequently, the search for information was quite extensive. As a result of this search, there was an appreciation of the magnitude of the entire problem of juvenile delinquency. A vast number of factors were found to be related to the problem.

Robert M. MacIver says: "Wherever we find a high rate of delinquency we can be sure that the root trouble lies not in the youth themselves, but in the social and environmental conditions to which they and their families have been exposed."¹ From statements such as this, it was realized that this study on recidivism would be a small and limited part of the entire problem.

Recidivists were defined by David Reifen in

¹R.M. MacIver; "Juvenile Delinquency" The Nation's Children, White House Conference on Children and Youth, Columbia University Press, New York, 1960.

his article, "Observations of the Juvenile Court in Israel" as those who had committed offences and came to court more than once.¹ The Canadian Journal of Corrections, in the 1959 issue, defined a recidivist as "an offender who commits more than one indictable offence."²

The 1957-58 edition of the Canada Year Book mentions recidivism once in relation to juvenile offenders, "In 1955 approximately one in every four children brought before the courts failed to heed the first warning, and made at least a second appearance."³ Recidivism is mentioned in the 1959 edition under juvenile delinquency for the year 1957, ".....911 of these 8,075 were reported as having been found delinquent one or more times in previous years."⁴

¹D. Reifen, "Observations of the Juvenile Court in Israel," Social Service Review, Vol. XXVI (June 1952), p.202- 213.

²Carmier, "Presentation of a Basic Classification for Clerical Work and Research in Criminology," The Canadian Journal of Corrections, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1959, p. 30-31.

³Canada Year Book, 1957-58, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, Ottawa, 1958, p.329.

⁴Canada Year Book, 1959, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, Ottawa, 1959, p. 326.

The Canada Year Book was also helpful around the classification of offences into offences against person, against property with violence, against property without violence, forgery and uttering, wilful and forbidden acts in respect of certain property, and other delinquencies.¹ It contained ideas as to the complexities involved in this type of study and the limitations of the statistics which were helpful in determining the limitations of this study. "It is difficult to get accurate and comparable data from all reporting sources and the Dominion Bureau of Statistic's totals can be only as accurate as the reports turned in. Some 9,000 sources reported to the Bureau."²

The statistics of recidivism in the Canada Year Book did not include the boys whose misdemeanors had not been reported to the courts, nor those cases handled unofficially by the court where the judge or probation officer would make an adjustment without filing a legal record of the offence. H. Barnes says "about seventy per cent of our crim-

¹Ibid., p. 305

²Crime and Punishment, Citizen's Forum, 113 St. George St., Toronto, March-April, 1960, p. 7.

inals presumably the most clever and dangerous majority are never caught."¹ Here we see another limiting factor in this study.

As part of a symposium on prison reform, G. B. Vold tried to find out whether prisons do reform convicted persons by examining material from the U.S. Department of Justice, and the U. S. Department of Commerce, the Glueck's "After Conduct of Discharged Prisoners", "Five Hundred Delinquent Women", and Jerome Davis "Report of the Legislative Commission on Jails with a Special Study of the Jail Population of Connecticut", and others. He concluded that "If a current report for the country as a whole were available, it would probably show that approximately three fourths of those committed to jails and workhouses have been previously committed."²

McCulley and Jaffary did a study on "Crime and its Treatment" for Canada. They looked at many aspects of crime and its treatment, but came to a similar conclusion as Vold concerning recidivism

¹H. Barnes, "Shall We Get Tough, Or Be Sensible in Facing The Increase of Crime?" Federal Probation, Vol. 23, June 1959, p. 29-36.

²G. B. Vold, "Does The Prison Reform?" The Annals of the American Academy, Vol. 293, May 1954, p. 45.

"some 75 per cent of the cases are recidivists, having served time earlier in municipal, provincial, or federal institutions."¹

In attempting to determine whether or not the boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys will become recidivists, a five year testing period has been chosen. An Austrian study², published in 1946, indicates that most offenders repeat in the first five years. Of those who committed their first offence between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, 49.5 per cent repeated in the first five years, and this increased by only 12.8 per cent in the next five years. Most of the boys repeated in the second year after their offence.

The Gluecks also chose the five year testing period. Their first research project consisted of the study of the adjustment of 510 convicts from the Massachusetts reformatory in Concord during a five year follow up period. In their study of "One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents"³ from the Boston area,

¹J. McCulley and S. K. Jaffary, "Crime and its Treatment," Encyclopedia Canadiana, Vol. 3, The Gralier Society of Canada Ltd., Ottawa, 1958, p. 152.

²Roland Grassburger, Die Losung Kriminal Politischer Probleme durch die Mechanische Statistik, Wien, Springer-Verlag, 1946.

³Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, One Thousand Delinquents, Harvard University Press, 1939, p. 4.

the Gluecks found that 88 per cent of the juvenile delinquents continued their misconduct during a five year period after official treatment of the cases by the Boston Juvenile court.

The literature was helpful in formulating the hypothesis and supporting hypotheses. "A survey conducted by the New York City Youth Board showed that less than one per cent of the two million families in New York produce more than seventy-five per cent of our juvenile delinquents.....From 20,000 multi-problem families come three quarters of the children taken into custody each year as juvenile delinquents.¹ Studies such as this helped in the formulation of the general hypothesis and the supporting hypotheses five and six.

Thomas Manahan's "Family Status and the Delinquent Child" was also very significant around these two supporting hypotheses. "In statistical adjustments of delinquency, data for age, ethnic and neighborhood biases have shown that the children with intact families have a clear and persistent advantage over those from broken homes."² Manahan goes on to

¹N. M. D. Rittwag, Sins of their Fathers, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1959, p. 188.

²T. Manahan, "Family Status and the Delinquent child" Social Forces, Vol. 35, March 1957, p. 253.

discuss recidivism and he points out that some studies have revealed a greater degree of recidivism among children from broken homes. He gives the following statistics for juvenile cases in Philadelphia. "For white boys the percentage of all cases in the recidivist class increases from 32 where both parents are married and living together to 38 where the father is dead, and the boy is living with the mother; to 42 where both parents are dead and the child is with a surrogate family; to 46 per cent where the parents are living apart and the child is with the mother; to 49 where the parents are divorced; to 55 where the boy is living with his unmarried mother."¹

H. Frum's study on "Adult Criminal Offence Trends Following Juvenile Delinquency,"² contained information related to the fourth supporting hypothesis. He discussed the offence sequence pattern that were followed by adult recidivists who began their official criminal histories before eighteen. Frum outlined several sequence patterns; first, the progression in property crimes from petty stealing

¹Ibid., p. 257.

²H. S. Frum, "Adult Criminal Offence Trends following Juvenile Delinquency, The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 49, May-June 1958, p. 29-39.

to more serious offences (ninety per cent of those who started with petty crimes against property ended up committing property felonies); juvenile forgers persisted as adult forgers; fifty per cent of the juvenile burglars persisted as adult burglars; and juvenile truancy and incorrigibility were often the starting point for adult criminal histories.

The Gluecks on the other hand, in their study of "One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents" found that there was but slight association between the nature of the Juvenile delinquencies of the group and the kind of offences for which they were first brought into adult courts.

The information in the study done in 1959 under the direction of Jean Lagasse on "The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba"¹ was helpful in formulating the seventh hypothesis, that the boys considered to be of Indian background are more likely to be recidivists, than those of non Indian background. The study pointed out some of the social, economic, and cultural handicaps which the boy of Indian background encounters, and after a consider-

¹Jean Lagasse, The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, Man. 1959.

ation of these factors, the supporting hypothesis was formed.

This study of recidivism among the boys at the Manitoba Home for Boys is the first one done of this institution. Indeed, few studies relating specifically to recidivism were found. However, studies such as the Glueck's "One Thousand Delinquents", which had some significant aspects for this study, were most helpful.

There were a number of other articles and books which helped to provide general information for the background, and setting of this study. They will not be discussed here, but will be listed in the bibliography.

CHAPTER 111

Sampling methods will not be used in this study as the entire universe will be examined which, in this case, will be the total number of boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys during the calendar years of 1953 and 1954, or 106 cases. This list of boys, discharged in each of these respective years, will be made available through the Juvenile and Family Court in Winnipeg.

The next step in the method of procedure of this study will be to isolate the recidivist group, or those boys who were admitted to adult correctional institutions prior and up to 1958 and 1959. These two years were selected to allow for the five year period following discharge from the Manitoba Home for Boys. To obtain these, the total number of 106 cases comprising our study group will be compared with the records of the Winnipeg City Police Register, Headingly Gaol, and the Manitoba Penitentiary, to determine whether the boys have been admitted to adult correctional institutions in Manitoba. For further verification the list will be submitted to the Officer Commanding "D" Division (Man.) Royal Canadian Mounted Police. As the names will be

checked against the Manitoba records only, there is a possibility that additional recidivists might be found if they were checked against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police records, Finger Print division in Ottawa. However the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Manitoba state that "it is somewhat unlikely that many of the individuals under review would have convictions in another province."¹

It should be emphasized that conviction of an indictable offence and subsequent incarceration will be the criterion used, since for the purposes of this study those who have been committed for minor offences will not be considered as recidivists. It has unfortunately been found to be impossible to find a clear definition of an indictable offence. The legal definition states only that an indictable offence is one which can be proceeded against by indictment, each indictable offence being specified as such in the Criminal Code of Canada. The purpose of the term "indictable offence" is therefore to exclude from consideration minor offences, such as traffic violations and overnight lockups for

¹Letter from Insp. J. A. A. Thivierge, Officer i/c C. I. B., R. C. M. Police, P.O. Box 922, Winnipeg, 1, Man., Mar. 9, 1960.

drunkenness. Those boys who were transferred directly from the Manitoba Home for Boys to an adult correctional institution will be considered to be recidivists.

After identifying the recidivist group, it will be possible to assume that the residue of cases form the non-recidivist group with the limitation that some will remain undetected in further crime, or may be fined, placed on probation or parole, or returned to a juvenile correctional institution. There may also be a small number who will have committed further crimes in other provinces of Canada, and in other countries.

The basic units of classification to be used for this study are the two groups, recidivists and non-recidivists. For the purposes of this study a recidivist shall include those boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys and subsequently committed to an adult correctional institution within five years of discharge, and those who have been transferred directly from the Manitoba Home for Boys to such an institution. A non-recidivist shall mean those boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys who are not subsequently committed or transferred to an adult correctional institution within

five years of discharge.

The term "discharged" shall include those transferred from the Manitoba Home for Boys to an adult correctional institution, those placed on parole, and those released outright.

An adult correctional institution shall be considered a prison as defined by the Criminal Code of Canada.¹

In order to answer the questions that have been posed in regard to these two basic groups, certain more specific classifications need to be set up in order to analyse the particular aspects of interest in this study. First the age at the time of the first recorded delinquency will be tabulated, with the tabulations in two year intervals from six to eighteen.

The age of the subject will be computed as that at the time of his last birthday.

Delinquent behaviour is an act committed by a juvenile delinquent as defined in the Criminal Code.²

¹Canada, Criminal Code and Selected Statutes, Elizabeth 11, c. 51, sec. 2, sub sec. 31 (1954)

²Canada, Criminal Code and Selected Statutes, Elizabeth 11, c. 160, sec. 2, sub sec. 1 (1954)

In determining the types of offences, the classification system as contained in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics Publication on "Juvenile Delinquency 1957", will be used. This corresponds to the classification used for adult offences in "Statistics of Criminal and Other Offences", the offences listed being similar, the actual wording slightly different. Both tables use the classification, against the person, against property with violence, and against property without violence. The juvenile classification uses the term "wilful" and "forbidden" acts in respect of certain property, and forgery and uttering; while the adult counterpart uses malicious offences against property and against currency and forgery.

Family structure will be classified as normal or abnormal. Normal family structure, referring to those home situations where the child has lived continuously with both his natural parents prior to committal in the Manitoba Home for Boys.

A further classification will consider those boys who have been placed apart from either or both natural parents and those who have lived continuously with either or both parents, prior and up to the time of their committal to the Manitoba Home for Boys. Those placed apart implies that they have been placed in schools, institutions, foster homes, or other settings.

The most typical offence¹ committed will be classified in each case both as juvenile and adult where applicable. From this information we can determine whether recidivists tend to commit similar types of offences, more serious, less serious, as determined by the Bureau of Statistics on "Juvenile Delinquency," offences being listed in descending order of seriousness.

Those of Indian background will be classified as recidivists and non-recidivists, and those of non-Indian background will be classified in a similar manner in order to compare the rate of recidivism. A child described as being of Indian background is one who is considered to be of Indian or Metis descent. There is a limitation in the use of the term "Indian" since it is contingent on the subjective judgment of the original interviewer, and in the absence of valid information, may reflect prejudice.

In order to obtain the necessary relevant data in regard to the two basic groups, recidivists and non-recidivists, a schedule will be drawn up, and the above information recorded for each of the 106 cases. (See Schedule Appendix A) Since the major-

¹"typical offence" shall mean that offence most frequently committed. Where different types of offences are committed in equal number, the first type of offence listed on the schedule shall be considered typical.

ity of the boys will be residents of the City of Winnipeg, the information to complete the schedule in these cases will be taken from the files of the Winnipeg Juvenile Court. The files of the boys from the rural areas will be located at the appropriate centres in towns and cities where the original hearing was held. In order to ensure as complete data as possible it will be necessary in some cases in which the information on the files is meagre, to read the files of the Manitoba Home for Boys and to personally interview the superintendent of the institution.

The main sources of information from the Juvenile files will be the face sheets where available, the social histories, the chronological recording, the charge sheets, and the warrants of committal. The Juvenile files will be read by the members of the research team, and the data compiled on individual copies of the schedule. There will be two types of data recorded on the schedule. The first will be identifying information:- name of child, parents names, last known address, and birth date, which will enable the files to be located and the recidivists traced. From the information as to date of birth it will be possible to compute the age at the time of the first recorded delinquency.

The second type of information will pertain to certain circumstances in the background of the juvenile which the group wishes to study, namely Indian origin, and placement history in order to determine whether either of these is a factor in rate of recidivism.

Finally a table of offences corresponding to that used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics will be provided on the schedule, and the information completed from the Juvenile Court Files. A similar table will be completed by the research team from information from the records of the Winnipeg City Police, Headingly Gaol, the Manitoba Penitentiary, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, "D" Division, Manitoba, in order to identify the offence for which the recidivist has been incarcerated in an adult penal institution.

The data thus obtained will be analyzed in such a way as to confirm or deny the stated hypothesis and sub-questions, and tables will be drawn up to illustrate the findings.

Recidivists and non-recidivists will be compared in relation to the various characteristics and presented in tables with percentages.

In order to determine whether age at the time of the first recorded delinquency appears to be a

factor in recidivism the two groups will be compared on this basis. (see Table 1)

The type of offence will be used as a basis for comparison to show whether recidivists tend to commit a different type of offence from non-recidivists, as juveniles. (see Table 11). Similarly it will be possible to examine the crime tendencies of recidivists to determine whether they tend to continue to commit the same type of offence as juveniles and as adults, or show a different pattern. (see Table 111) (only non-comparative table).

A comparison will be made between recidivists and non-recidivists according to family structure, in order to determine whether this factor affects the rate of recidivism, and similarly it will be possible to show whether placement apart from one or both parents affects the rate of recidivism. (see Table IV).

And finally, recidivists and non-recidivists will be compared as to Indian or non Indian background to determine whether this aspect affects recidivism. (see Table V).

CHAPTER IV

In this chapter the data gathered as described in chapter three will be presented in tabulated form and analyzed.

The basic groups in this study are the recidivist and non-recidivist group of the boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys in 1953 and 1954. Of the 106 cases studied it was found that 62 of these, or 58.5 per cent fall into the category of recidivists as defined in Chapter III. This is considerably higher than the percentages quoted by Fines¹ from studies made in the United States.

As has already been stated, recidivists for purposes of this study, include only those who were sentenced to an adult correctional institution within five years after discharge from the Manitoba Home for Boys following conviction of an indictable offence. It does not include those who were convicted of such offences and disposed of by means other than imprisonment. For instance, one recidivist, upon conviction, was given the alternative of paying a fine or imprisonment, but this person of necessity or otherwise served his sentence. In other similar cases no alternatives to imprisonment were

given. In one case the recidivist was sentenced to one day in gaol in contrast to another offender who was fined \$500.00 which was paid; the former is classified a recidivist in our study, although he probably committed a less serious offence than the latter. It is also noteworthy that in two cases no disposition was given, and this could conceivably raise the recidivist rate.

In five cases in this study fines were paid as alternatives to imprisonment for committing indictable offences. This could have raised the recidivist rate to 65.09 per cent if the two cases where no dispositions were given, are included, and if our definition of recidivists had included all those who were convicted of an indictable offence.

One of the questions raised was whether the recidivist group began their delinquent behavior earlier than the non-recidivist group. Table 1 below presents the data as to the age at which the first delinquency was recorded.

In studying the onset of delinquency on the basis of the first recorded delinquency it is found that in neither group was a delinquency recorded under 6 years of age which is in keeping with the find-

ings of the Cambridge Somerville Youth Study.¹

TABLE I
AGE AT FIRST RECORDED DELINQUENCY

Age Range	Recidivists		Non-Recidivists	
	Number	Percent-age	Number	Percent-age
under 6	0	0	0	0
6 under 8	2	3.23	0	0
8 under 10	2	3.23	2	4.55
10 under 12	18	29.33	9	20.45
12 under 14	10	16.13	14	31.82
14 under 16	20	32.26	12	27.27
16 under 18	10	16.13	7	15.91
Total	62	100.31	44	100.00

The recidivists commenced their delinquent careers earlier than the non-recidivists in that 3.23 per cent started between the ages of 6 and 8, whereas non-recidivists did not start before 8 years of age. However, a slightly higher percentage of

¹Edwin Powers, "An Experiment in Prevention of Delinquency", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 261 (Jan. 1949) p. 79.

non-recidivists commenced between the ages of 8 and 10 years. Totalling the percentages in the ages 6 to 12 years, it is found that 35.79 per cent of the recidivists as compared to 25 per cent of the non-recidivists had already committed delinquencies before the age of twelve.

In further examining the above table, it is found that approximately one-third of the recidivists had the first offence recorded in the 14 under 16 age range (32.26%). In contrast the preceding age group, 12 under 14, includes only 16.13%. It is noted that the highest number of the non-recidivists committed their first offences between the ages of 12 and 14. These findings leave room for some speculation as to reasons for this variation in onset of delinquency.

Plotting these findings graphically it is found that the recidivists produce a bi-modal curve and the non-recidivists a more normal shaped curve.

The following table shows a comparison of recidivist and non-recidivist groups on basis of types of offence typically committed.

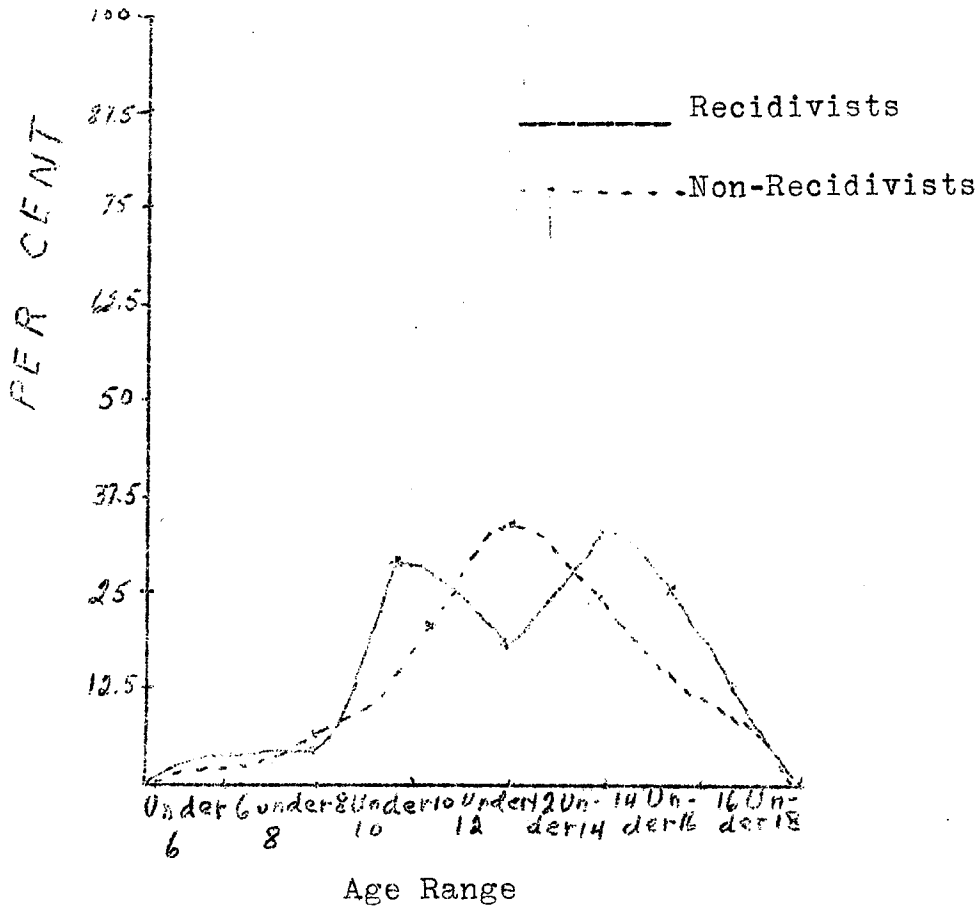


TABLE 2

TYPES OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY RECIDIVISTS AND
NON-RECIDIVISTS BEFORE COMMITTAL
TO MANITOBA HOME FOR BOYS

Type of Offence	Recidivists		Non-Recidivists	
	Number	Percent- age	Number	Percent- age
a) Against Person	2	3.23	1	2.27
b) Against Property with violence	29	46.77	21	47.73
c) Against property without violence	27	43.35	16	36.36
d) Wilful and forbidden acts	0	0	1	2.27
e) Forging and uttering	0	0	0	0
f) Other	4	6.45	5	11.36
Total	62	100.	44	99.99

A comparison of the typical offences¹, committed by the recidivists and non-recidivists show only slight differences with the exception of the type of offence designated as "other". Here we find almost twice as many of the latter group typically committed offences of this nature.

According to these findings 93.55 per cent of the offences committed by recidivists come under the first three types as compared to 86.36 per cent of the offences committed by the non-recidivists. Recidivists did not commit types (d) and (e) sufficiently frequently for these to be considered as typical offences, although such offences may have been committed by some members of each group. With the exception of one case, this is true of the non-recidivist group also.

The most numerous offences committed by both groups were against property with violence; recidivists committed more offences against property without violence. No appreciable difference was found between recidivists and non-recidivists who committed offences against persons, considered the most serious offence. In the category "other", the proportion of non-recidivists is twice as high as the recidivists.

¹Supra 1, p. 28.

The following table has reference to recidivists only. It is a comparison of the offences typically committed by them as juveniles and the type of offence they committed as adults.

TABLE 3
CRIME TENDENCY OF RECIDIVISTS

Tendency	Number	Percentage
Similar	30	48.55
More Serious	17	27.42
Less Serious	15	24.91
Total	62	100.16

The gradation of offences as to seriousness was based on a list of typical offences with the first type (offence against a person) being considered the most serious and the offences falling in the last category (other) being the least serious. This information was obtained by comparing the findings in section 8 of the schedule¹ with the actual adult criminal record.

¹See Appendix A.

It is noted that there is actually little variation in types of offences recidivists tend to commit. Nearly as many committed less serious as more serious offences with only 2.51 per cent fewer committing less serious offences. Nearly half (48.55 per cent) of the recidivists tended to commit similar types of offences.

Table 4 compares the recidivists and non-recidivists as to the nature of placement regarding presence or absence of parents.

TABLE 4

NATURE OF PLACEMENT BY RECIDIVIST AND
NON-RECIDIVIST GROUPING

Nature of Placement	Recidivists		Non-Recidivists	
	No.	Percent- age	No.	Percent- age
Lived continuously with both parents	27	43.55	22	50.00
Lived with one parent	14	22.58	7	15.91
Placed apart from both parents	21	33.85	15	34.09
Total	62	99.98	44	100.00

With reference to family background before committal to the Manitoba Home for Boys, the two

groups were compared on the basis of having lived continuously with both parents, with only one parent and having been placed apart from both parents which may include living with relatives, in foster homes, or institutions. According to these findings exactly half of the non-recidivists had not lived continuously with both parents, as compared to 58.45 per cent of the recidivists. However, the boys that lived with only one parent tend to show a greater tendency towards recidivism. (22.58 per cent of non-recidivists compared to 15.91 per cent of recidivists). Of those living continuously with both parents, fewer tended to become recidivists. (50 per cent non-recidivists and 43.55 per cent recidivists).

In this study there were eighteen boys of Indian background as defined in Chapter 3. This group is analyzed as to rate of recidivism, and compared to the rate of recidivism in the group of non-Indian background.

The results show that the popular conception that those of Indian background commit more indictable offences than others, is not borne out.

On the basis of our definition only 38.89 per cent of the boys of Indian background be-

came recidivists, compared to 62.5 per cent of the non-Indian group.

TABLE 5

RATE OF RECIDIVISM OF THOSE OF INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN BACKGROUND

Racial Background	Total		Recidivists		Non-Recidivists	
	No.	Percent- age	No.	Percent- age	No.	Percent- age
Indian	18	17.38	7	38.89	11	61.11
Non-Indian	88	82.62	55	62.5	33	37.50
	106	100	62		44	

It is also noteworthy that contrary to popular belief, only a small proportion of the boys in the Manitoba Home for Boys are of Indian background.

CHAPTER V

In general the results of this study have not proved to be as conclusive as might have been hoped. It does indicate, however, that a high percentage of boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys do go on to adult correctional institutions, substantiating the findings of numerous other studies, essentially confirming the initial portion of the hypothesis.

Considering the differences in the earlier life experiences of the recidivists and non-recidivists, these were generally found to be slight, and in some instances certain suppositions as to traits, and circumstances were found to have operated in reverse of expectations. In examining the overall differences between the recidivists and the non-recidivists, it was found that the recidivists tended to start their delinquent careers earlier than the non-recidivists; that there was no significant difference in the types of offences committed; that slightly more recidivists than non-recidivists come from homes that do not show normal family structure, and an identical proportion had been placed apart from both natural

parents; that according to the criteria pre-established for this study, Indians did not tend to become recidivists. In view of this, the second portion of the hypothesis is not clearly substantiated.

With regard to the high rate of recidivism among boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys, namely 58.5 per cent, certain questions arise. The division between recidivists and non-recidivists was influenced by certain factors such as probation and parole, sentencing and the option of fines, the disposition of which might have increased the number of recidivists. There is also the possibility that some of the non-recidivists did commit further offences which were undetected. In short, our criteria for determination of recidivists was limiting, and the actual rate of recidivism might well be higher.

In general, the findings support the supposition that recidivists start their delinquent behaviour at an earlier age than the non-recidivists. When we consider delinquencies committed under twelve years of age, normally considered the pre-adolescent period, the rate of recidivism is 11 per cent higher for the recidivists. It is interesting to note that there were no recorded delin-

quencies for the recidivists under 6 years of age and the non-recidivists under 8 years of age. This does not necessarily indicate that problems or delinquencies do not arise before this period, but rather it may be assumed that very young children are not brought to the attention of authorities. Furthermore, in the 12-14 year range first recorded delinquencies are shown for 16.13 per cent of the recidivists as compared to 31.82 per cent of the non-recidivists, but the significance of this finding is not known. Possibly this might be an area for further study.

In general, the recidivists did not tend to commit different types of offences from the non-recidivists. The first three types of offences were the predominant ones committed by both recidivists and non-recidivists, being 93 per cent for the recidivists, and 86 per cent for the non-recidivists. In these three classifications the two offences against property, normally involving theft, comprised by far the largest number, being 90 per cent for the recidivists, and 84 per cent for the non-recidivists. The remainder, offences against the person, were quite minimal and this disputes a common public fear that juvenile delinquents typically commit crimes of violence such as bodily assault.

Another significant finding in this area is that nearly twice as many of the non-recidivists typically committed offences classified as "other." Since these offences almost invariably referred to truancy and running away from home, it would seem that a number of boys have been placed in juvenile correctional institutions who might have been dealt with equally well by other means.

In looking at the recidivist group alone, as juveniles and as adults, it was found that approximately half did continue to commit the same type of offences. Those who deviated did so in equal numbers in regard to more serious and less serious offences. This tends to substantiate the view that crime patterns established in childhood, are continued into adulthood. It also disproves the theory sometimes held that juvenile delinquents progress into more serious types of crime.

The findings indicate that family structure in terms of both parents contributing to the child's upbringing is not a significant factor in determining whether he becomes a recidivist, 6 per cent more of the recidivists having come from homes which do not show such normal family structure. This might indicate that emotional factors in the home are of greater importance than the physical absence

or presence of both parents.

Both the recidivists and non-recidivists had been placed apart from both parents in equal proportion. Hence it would seem that placement in non-correctional institutions, or with foster parents had no influence on the boys' subsequent recidivism. One might have expected that being placed apart from both parents would indicate greater disturbances and problems in the boys which would have been revealed in later patterns of recidivism. Such, however, did not prove to be the case.

Another finding, not related to a supporting hypothesis, was that 7 per cent more of the recidivists than non-recidivists had lived with only one parent, which might indicate that one parent in the home has a more deleterious effect on the child than placement. This group could lend itself to further study to determine the effects on a child of such home circumstances.

The supporting hypothesis relating to boys of Indian background, namely that this group tends to recidivate in high proportion, is not borne out by the findings. Only 38.9 per cent of the Indians became recidivists, as compared to 62.5 per cent of the non Indians. This is a reversal of the popular

conception that Indians tend to fall readily into a life of crime. It is possible that the number of Indian boys sent to the Manitoba Home for Boys, approximately 20 per cent of the total might have been reduced had there been other resources available in the community. It might be noted that this study has examined only indictable offences, thus eliminating such summary offences as drunkenness with overnight lock-up. It is conceivable that a large number of Indians might fall into this category as adults. It is also possible that Indians, because of lack of job opportunities, might drift into a pattern of vagrancy after expiration of the five year period.

It must be recognized that the findings of this study are applicable only to the boys discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys and cannot be generally applied elsewhere. This is so because of the unique quality of the treatment program of the institution, and related probation and parole services in Manitoba. It has been mentioned earlier that this study was unable to analyse services within and outside the institution, and therefore this precludes a direct comparison of similar studies in other provinces and countries.

The source of the data for this study was limi-

ted to recorded material, thereby imposing certain restriction on the depth and importance of the findings. A more comprehensive view of the boys' traits and circumstances would have been revealed had it been possible to explore aspects of the treatment situation, school performance and facilities, emotional climate of the homes, intelligence levels, and job opportunities. Furthermore, this study was unable to examine the situation of the boys either before coming to the attention of the authorities, or following release from the Manitoba Home for Boys, which would have permitted a broadening of focus and enriched the findings.

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(SCHEDULE FOR GROUP III) - BOY'S DISCHARGED FROM
THE MANITOBA HOME FOR BOYS DURING THE
CALENDAR YEARS 1953 and 1954

e No.

Name of child: (surname and given)

Date of birth:

Last known address:

Name of father: (surname and given)

Name of mother: (surname and given)

Is child considered to be of Indian Background: yes.....no.....

Date of first recorded delinquency:

Types of Offence	No.	Types of Offence	No.
(a) Against person		(e) Wilful and forbidden	
(b) Against property with violence		acts in respect of	
(c) Against property without violence		certain property	
(d) Forgery and uttering		(f) Other delinquencies	

Has child lived continuously with both parents: yes.....no.....

Has child been placed apart from either one or both of his natural parents prior to committal to Manitoba Home for Boys: yes.....no.....

Check year boy was discharged from the Manitoba Home for Boys: 1953.....5

Has subject been admitted to an adult correctional institution on conviction of indictable offence within five years of discharge from Manitoba Home for Boys: yes.....no.....

If yes, check type of offence:

Types of Offence	No.	Types of Offence	No.
(a) Against person		(e) Wilful and forbidden	
(b) Against property with violence		acts in respect of	
(c) Against property without violence		certain property	
(d) Forgery and uttering		(f) Other delinquencies	

Recorder's initials...