

# YOUTH CORRECTION: INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES FOR TREATMENT

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The goal of the Youth Correction Authority Act is to protect society by returning the greatest possible number of youth offenders to the community as law-abiding citizens. That goal represents nothing new in the realm of progressive penology. It is the aim of probation, parole, the indeterminate sentence, diagnosis and classification, vocational training, and all other forward looking procedures whose rapid expansion has distinguished this century. In spite of these admirable developments, however, the statistics show that the prison population continues to swell, largely with recidivists recruited among youths, to tumorous proportions in the side of society. Our preventive and our correctional machinery are not yet good enough and we can afford to overlook no measure that will enable them to get better results.

The contribution towards the strengthening of correction proposed by the Youth Correction Authority Act is not another piece of legal machinery to take the place of any effective method or agency for handling youth offenders. The Authority is not even intended to work apart from or in competition with existing institutional facilities. On the contrary, its purpose is to bring into an integrated system all procedures and agencies that have proven effective in returning youth offenders to good citizenship, in order: (1) that every youth offender in the state may be assured of the particular treatment that seems likely to do him the most good; (2) that each procedure and facility may have a chance to produce the maximum results and not as now be hamstrung by the chaos of the system and the inconsistencies of treatment described in a preceding article by Mr. MacCormick. The Act builds upon and seeks to make the most of what we have. Much of the trail it follows has been tested by successful pioneers.

To examine some of the most promising developments in the field of penology which could serve as precedents for a Youth Correction Authority is the purpose of this article. The existence of the institutions and procedures to be discussed testifies to the range of possibilities open to an Authority without requiring it to go beyond the limits of tested experience.

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*The Prisoner Is Human*

All the procedures that furnish precedents for the Authority program rest on an effort to understand each youth and to deal with him in terms of his individual needs. That approach is fundamental to successful rehabilitation. It dictates the procedures and agencies envisioned in the Youth Correction Authority Act. It carries a vital implication that needs emphasis because the implication is sometimes ignored.

Individualization of handling implies that each youth, even though he has committed a crime, is an individual human being and not just an individual specimen. By and large the public still clings to the traditional concept of the convicted man as something evil and generically different from the rest of us. This attitude is nourished by the inevitable newspaper play-up of the doings of the vicious criminal, which leads the public to accept him as typical instead of exceptional. But the discredited school of criminology which held that criminals represent an inferior or degenerate type still casts its stifling shadow over some penal procedures, institutions, and personnel—even some of those who would perhaps deny it.

The weight of evidence and of informed opinion indicates that the percentage of criminals who becomes so because of mental abnormalities or personality peculiarities is small. The majority of convicted men are like the rest of humanity. Particularly is this true of youth offenders. Most of them have the same needs and the same responses as all young people. They are often irritating in their behavior as all adolescents are often irritating and for the same reasons. They give the prison administrator the most trouble. They react most unfavorably to unimaginative repression by force. Their need for understanding guidance is greater than that of any older group.

*Continuity of Treatment*

The approach to each youth offender as an individual human being calls first for continuity of treatment. Every step in the process must be aimed at the common goal of successful reestablishment in society, must relate rationally to what has gone before, and must respond to the individual's needs. To insure such continuity of treatment requires that the youth shall be under the control of one authority through all steps in the process. In no other way can the treatment process be kept continuously subordinate to the needs of the individual. Under the chaotic correctional systems of most states, with each element, each agency, operating independently of the others, each step in the process tends to become routinized, each agency to become institutionalized. When that happens the rehabilitative purpose usually becomes secondary in importance to the routine or to the institution.

Now, what are the major steps in the correctional process once a youth is convicted? For our purposes they can be considered under three major categories:

1. Diagnosis and classification.
2. Training and disciplining procedures.
3. Reestablishment in the community.

## INTEGRATION IN NEW JERSEY

New Jersey furnishes the earliest and still, perhaps, the best illustration of the integration of these major steps under one authority. In that state the Department of Institutions and Agencies,<sup>1</sup> created in 1918, is believed to have more complete control over the individual after conviction than any other state-wide agency in the country. The Department operates all state correctional institutions for all age groups. For many offenders it determines the term of imprisonment. The paroling machinery operates within the Department and the Department provides supervision after release.

First as to sentencing. In sentencing an offender 16 years or older for a crime which the statute makes punishable by imprisonment in the state prison, the court has a choice of three dispositions: (1) it may grant probation; (2) it may sentence to the state prison, fixing a maximum and a minimum sentence within the limits prescribed by statute for the offense; or (3) if the offender is under 31, it may commit him to one of the reformatories on a strictly indeterminate sentence within the maximum limit prescribed by statute for the offense. In other words, for the group under 31 the Department has a type of complete control very closely approximating that proposed in the Youth Correction Authority Act, being free to release an individual any time within the maximum term.

In a cooperative effort to aid the courts to base sentence on a fairly complete knowledge of the prisoner, the Department has attempted to make diagnostic service available to the courts. It has so far been able to service no more than 50% of the state's courts in this way. Officials of the Department report that present sentencing procedures add difficulties to successful rehabilitation in some instances. The director of one of the reformatories states that boys referred to him after repeated failures on probation are generally much more difficult to rehabilitate than those whose lapses have not been encouraged by excess leniency. He was not, of course, opposing probation *per se* but lack of discrimination in granting probation. On the side of too great severity, the courts send many offenders in the 16-31 age group to the state prison, who the classification committee finds would respond better to treatment in one of the reformatories and who ought to have an indeterminate sentence. The state prison can and does transfer such commitments (upon the approval of the

<sup>1</sup> General supervision over the Department is exercised by the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies. The Board is composed of nine residents of the state, appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate for overlapping terms of eight years. At least one Board member must be a woman. The Governor, by virtue of his office, is also a member of the Board.

The Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies, appointed by the Board of Control for an indefinite term, is the executive officer of the Board, in direct charge of the entire Department and with the duty of carrying out the policies of the Board of Control. For each institution and agency under the supervision of the Department, the Board of Control appoints a Board of Managers, subject to approval of the Governor. The Boards of Managers consist of not less than five nor more than seven members. The term is for three years.

All Board memberships, whether on the Board of Control or a Board of Managers, are non-salaried positions.

The statutory provisions governing the Department are collected in 30 N. J. STAT. ANN. (1940) subtit. 1.

Department's division of classification) but no change can be made in the minimum-maximum sentence set by the court.

### *Diagnosis and Classification*

In diagnosis and classification New Jersey has also led the way in time and quality. Diagnosis is the one step in the correctional process in which individualization should be on the same scale and of the same nature as it is in medicine. In fact the collaboration in such medical centers as that at Rochester of various skills to identify a patient's malady furnishes a model for the diagnostic process in the correctional system. In the New Jersey correctional system, as well as in the federal system, and in Indiana, Michigan, Massachusetts, and New York among other states, diagnosis now emulates the medical models. In these jurisdictions each institution has its diagnostic board, called the classification committee. The committee usually includes the warden or superintendent, the associate warden, the chief medical officer, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the parole officer, the supervisor of education, the superintendent of industries, and the chaplain.

On admission, a newcomer is usually quarantined for a month, during which time each member of the classification committee subjects him to a thorough examination. The examinations and interviews are intended to build up an intelligent and rounded picture of the prisoner in order to provide the basis for a sound program of rehabilitation. Each committee member briefs the results of his findings and recommendations for presentation to the full committee when the case is called.

The picture presented includes information on the hereditary and environmental background of the offender gathered from many sources, such as social agencies, employers, and probation departments, and visits to the home, if possible. This is in addition to the facts on the boy's body, mind, personality, behavior, and capacities.

With this composite information before it the classification committee decides first whether the individual should remain in the institution or be transferred to another in the state. In New Jersey, if transfer is recommended, the case is referred for action to the Department's division of classification at Trenton. For individuals who are to be retained at the institution, the committee decides to what quarters, employment, educational or vocational training program, and special activities the individual prisoner should be assigned. At the same time it fixes a tentative future date for reassignment or to check on progress. The inmate is then called in to hear the committee's decision and to raise any question he desires.

### *Training and Disciplining Procedures*

For treating male offenders in the young group New Jersey has available two reformatories and two institutions for the feeble-minded, in addition to the state prison and the two state prison farms. Together they make an excellently coordinated, though perhaps insufficiently diversified, training and disciplining system. The unwall'd reformatory at Annandale has most to offer by way of guide and inspiration to a progressive correctional system.

Because the walled reformatory at Rahway drains off the youths whose delinquent tendencies are deeply ingrained, Annandale is able to concentrate on the more promising offenders. It takes youths between the ages of 16 and 26 who have not previously been sentenced to a state prison or other reformatory, though they may have previous court records or have been in a juvenile institution. Annandale's average population of 450 are housed in eight cottages, each accommodating from 50 to 70 men. New-comers spend the first month in a segregation cottage, undergoing examination and carrying on a fairly full program to build up physical health and accustom themselves to institutional life. Thereafter, each youth is encouraged by rewards and recognitions to work his way upwards to ever fuller participation in the community life of the institution. Success is signaled by graduation from one cottage to another, each carrying fuller privileges and greater responsibilities.

At the peak of the climb stands the honor cottage, admission to which can be gained only by the unanimous vote of the classification committee. The honor cottage puts the boys on their own responsibility. Room doors are never locked and the cottage door only after 9:30 at night. During the night hours the cottage is completely without staff supervision. The boys themselves elect a committee to run the cottage and keep things moving. In nine years this cottage has not reported a single escape.

Annandale strives to absorb every youth's time and energies with work, education, and recreation. It offers a diversity of club and hobby activities to give every boy a chance to express his personal interests. The maintenance department and state-use industries provide training in twelve industrial fields. The kitchen affords opportunities to learn five service trades. The staff makes a deliberate effort to avoid routines and to maintain an informal spirit. Annandale is believed to be the only reformatory in the country in which the men go into mess hall individually without lining up and marching in. Much stress is laid upon group morale, the adoption of standards of behavior by the men themselves which powerfully influence the individual. A counselor staff of four attempts to provide individual advice and guidance on personal and family problems.

The changing history of escapes from Annandale illustrates the extent to which successful institutional treatment depends on personnel and spirit rather than on plant and equipment. In its early years before the program was adequately developed, Annandale had an epidemic of runaways, mounting, in fact, to 58 in a single night. In the last ten years no single year has seen more than six attempts at escape and in all that period only one has succeeded. The superintendent ascribes this improvement largely (though not wholly) to the replacement of the spirit of custody and punishment by that of rewards and recognitions.

#### *Replacement in the Community*

The final step in the handling of offenders is replacement in the community. This, also, is under the control of the Department in New Jersey. Offenders in the

two reformatories for young men may be released on parole by the board of managers of the institution at any time, on recommendation by the classification committee.

A division of parole of the Department supervises all parolees from the State's two reformatories for men, its reformatory for women, and the two homes for juveniles. Supervision of reformatory parolees continues until the expiration of the statutory maximum sentence for their offense or until the board of managers of each institution issues a final discharge.

The parole officers try to find jobs for parolees. Annandale boys who are nearing parole, for example, sometimes go out with a parole officer to hunt for jobs before their release.

### *Jail Inspection and Crime Prevention*

Two other activities of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies deserve mention because of their importance to an integrated state program for handling offenders. The Department is required to inspect regularly county and city jails and detention institutions and to make recommendations covering physical improvements and care of those in custody. Obviously, the purpose of this power corresponds to the purpose behind the provision in the Model Act (Section 13, par. (2) (i)), that a court sentence for imprisonment for not more than 30 days shall be "in a place which has been approved by the Authority for that purpose." It should be noted that the New Jersey statutes now provide that jailed prisoners under 21 shall be segregated from those above that age who are charged with or convicted of a crime (as distinguished from disorderly conduct).

Secondly, through its division of statistics and research, the Department assists in the conduct of local community surveys which serve as a basis for remedial action and preventive programs. This activity rests upon a recognition of the fact that the prevention and even the correction of delinquency and crime are primarily community responsibilities and that no state correctional agency can do anything more valuable than to help each community to discharge its own responsibility. The same belief inspires the provision in the California Youth Correction Authority Act which authorizes the Authority to initiate or aid preventive work in any community of the state.

### DIVERSIFIED FEDERAL TRAINING FACILITIES

In the federal system the power to give a fixed sentence to offenders above 17 years of age rests with the federal courts. Probationers are supervised by the administrative offices of the United States courts through probation officers attached to each court. The United States Bureau of Prisons under the Attorney General administers the penal and correctional institutions. Parole is granted by an independent parole board and parolees are supervised by the probation officers of the United States courts, in so far as they are able.

In spite of the obstacles to effective rehabilitation created by this mutual isolation

of the steps in the correctional process, the federal prison system has much to teach a Youth Correction Authority, particularly in the high degree of coordination of the varied institutions available for training and disciplining. The Bureau of Prisons now has 30 institutions organized to make possible the segregation of offenders by types and to give many of the different treatments required. Since the federal courts commit to the Attorney General and not to a specific institution, the Bureau of Prisons can transfer prisoners freely. All but two institutions have classification committees. If the committee finds that a newcomer belongs elsewhere the transfer is arranged through the central office in Washington.

To show the diversity of treatment possible, the 30 federal institutions are listed below in the 10 categories set up by the Bureau. Their location and population as of January 1941 are also given:

<i>Institutional Classification</i>	<i>Population</i>
1. Offenders Awaiting Trial	
New Orleans, Louisiana.....	349
New York, New York.....	154
2. Short Term Offenders	
Ashland, Kentucky.....	425
Danbury, Connecticut.....	324
El Paso, Texas.....	502
Sandstone, Minnesota.....	371
Los Angeles, California.....	411
(Turned over to Navy in Nov. 1941)	
Tallahassee, Florida.....	403
3. Improvable Offenders	
Older, Industrial Type	
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.....	1,431
McNeil Island, Washington.....	954
Terre Haute, Indiana.....	372
Younger, Industrial Type	
Chillicothe, Ohio.....	1,314
Denver, Colorado.....	218
El Reno, Oklahoma.....	1,025
Agricultural Type	
Petersburg, Virginia.....	768
Road Construction Type	
Du Pont, Washington.....	123
Kooskia, Idaho.....	110
Mill Point, West Virginia.....	152
Montgomery, Alabama.....	292
Tucson, Arizona.....	163
4. Habitual, Tractable Offenders	
Atlanta, Georgia.....	2,937
Leavenworth, Kansas.....	2,805
5. Notorious, Intractable Offenders	
Alcatraz, California.....	287

6. Physically and Mentally Maladjusted Offenders	
Medical Center, Springfield, Missouri .....	947
7. Narcotic Addicts (Under U. S. Public Health Service)	
Fort Worth, Texas .....	627
Lexington, Kentucky .....	696
8. Narcotic Offenders	
Milan, Michigan .....	530
Texarkana, Texas .....	187
9. Female Offenders	
Alderson, West Virginia .....	451
Dallas, Texas .....	130
10. Juvenile Delinquents	
National Training School for Boys, Washington, D. C. ....	385

SOURCE: 2 HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES (5th ed., 1942) 25-26.

The mass populations of several of the institutions indicate that diversification of facilities is not yet adequate to insure effective individualization of treatment for all federal prisoners. Yet, the trend is unmistakably in the right direction. Particularly helpful in permitting the liberalization of treatment programs in other institutions is the existence of the Medical Center in Springfield, Missouri, to drain off the psychotics, the low-grade feeble minded, and the so-called constitutional psychopathic inferiors, many of whom are gross homosexuals and pre-psychotic cases who represent serious custodial problems.

The industrial reformatory at Chillicothe for young men under 26 (most of whom are under 21) provides a high quality of vocational training in many fields. Informed observers rate this reformatory among the most effective in the country.

Perhaps the most encouraging developments in the federal system are the open camps for improvable offenders. Two camps, at Du Pont, Washington, and Montgomery, Alabama, are located on Army reservations and do work useful to the Army. The other three, in Idaho, Arizona, and West Virginia, build federal highways in inaccessible areas. Naturally the men in these camps enjoy a high degree of freedom and responsibility for self-discipline. They do work that is obviously socially useful, under conditions calculated to build up health and morale. Of the camp at Du Pont, the *Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories for the Pacific Coast States*, published in 1942, has this to say:

In conclusion, both the Bureau of Prisons and the Army are to be congratulated for having developed and carried on cooperatively for over a decade a camp which has demonstrated its value from the standpoint of economy and which offers a refreshing contrast to the many maximum custody institutions in which thousands of prisoners who are good custodial risks and who are able and willing to work are being kept in deteriorating idleness.<sup>2</sup>

#### VIRGINIA'S CENTER FOR CLASSIFICATION

In the systems discussed so far diagnosis and classification take place in an institution whose primary purpose is training and disciplining. Virginia has evolved a

<sup>2</sup> At p. 146.

system for diagnosing all the state's offenders of a certain age category at a center devoted exclusively to that purpose. In spite of the age limitation, the system furnishes a precedent that seems more exactly suited to the intention of the Youth Correction Authority Act. In setting up a state-wide Public Welfare Department in 1922 the General Assembly of Virginia provided that no juvenile court could commit a delinquent child under 18 to an industrial school, jail, penitentiary, or other institution but must commit such a child to the Department of Public Welfare.<sup>3</sup> In practice, circuit courts also not infrequently commit convicted youngsters to the Department, and the Governor sometimes transfers children from the penitentiary.

The Department has assigned the care of these delinquent children to its Children's Bureau. The Bureau has set up five receiving homes in Richmond for the reception of the 700-odd commitments from all parts of the state every year. The children spend from a month to six weeks at the receiving home while they go through an examination and diagnostic process similar to that given by classification committees described above. On the basis of the diagnosis the Children's Bureau decides the disposition of the child. The Bureau does not have available a sufficient variety of treatment facilities but within these practical limits it has complete freedom of disposition of the child until he is 21 and in practice retains continuous control until the child is finally discharged, modifying the treatment at any time to accord with his adjustment.<sup>4</sup>

#### ENGLAND'S BORSTAL SYSTEM

In the English Borstal system, the worst offenders in the 16-23 age groups from all over England and Wales upon conviction are sent to the Borstal observation center near London.<sup>5</sup> In committing him, the court tells the offender that Borstal treatment is not imprisonment but an educational process. Consequently, the authorities consider it vital that the observation center should not resemble a walled and barred prison, nor be for the custody of other prisoners.

The extensive medical and psychological examinations at the center weed out the epileptic, psychotic, and feeble-minded. Final allocation of the remaining more promising offenders among the nine Borstal institutions is made by a committee that differs somewhat from the classification committees in American institutions. The Borstal allocating group includes the prison commissioner in charge of Borstal, one or two of the other prison commissioners, the governor and house master of the observation center, the head of the Borstal Association (the agency supervising parolees) and a governor of one of the unwalled Borstals.

All sentences to Borstal control are for a period of four years, of which not less than six months nor more than three years may be spent within an institution. The nine institutions vary widely in types of activity and in types of youths received. All

<sup>3</sup> VA. CODE (Michie, 1936) §1910.

<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed description of the Virginia center, see Ellingston, *The Virginia Children's Bureau* (A. L. I., 1941).

<sup>5</sup> For a recent study of the Borstal system, see HEALY AND ALPER, *CRIMINAL YOUTH AND THE BORSTAL SYSTEM* (1941). See also Healy, *Youth Correction: Principles of Diagnosis, Treatment, and Prognosis*, *infra* at p. 687.

of them provide a full 16-hour day of arduous work and leisure-time activity. Once a week the Borstal boy goes on a hike outside the institution. In the summer he may go camping with his group under a house master. In the open institutions the boy may go alone or in a group to moving pictures or classes in the town. Every effort is made by the staff to establish close personal relationships with the youths. Finally, in its emphasis on return to the community as the goal of all Borstal activity and in its supervision of parolees and voluntary work by citizens in aiding parolees to find a place in the community, the Borstal system seems ahead of anything in this country.

#### TWO CALIFORNIA EXPERIMENTS

Space does not permit the listing and discussion of all the institutions and facilities in the United States that are demonstrating more successful methods of handling offenders and, therefore, furnish guides to a Youth Correction Authority. Two particularly promising experiments in the category of training facilities, both of them from California, demand some discussion here.

##### *The California Institution for Men at Chino*

The new California Institution for Men at Chino, California, was built at great cost as a maximum security institution, lowering with walls, steel doors, guard towers, and cat-walks for armed guards. It was opened in June 1941, however, as a minimum security institution for youthful first offenders under 31. The original plan called for 1200 to 1500 men, but the new program seeks to limit the maximum within the institution to 600 while five forestry camps in the adjacent mountains will care for 100 men each. The men will go to the camps from Chino for the last few months before parole.

Recognizing the crucial importance of high quality personnel, the management of Chino gave state-wide competitive examinations for the position of supervisor which corresponds to guard in other prisons. The entrance salary was set at \$160 to \$200 instead of \$130 as paid at San Quentin and Folsom. Out of 2500 applicants 700 took the written examination. Two hundred and twenty-five of these were interviewed, and of them 50 were selected to enter an eight weeks' training course. Of the 50 men only six lacked their A.B. degree and these six had part of their degree requirements worked out.

By July 1942 Chino had received 633 men by transfer from San Quentin. They are first carefully picked by the classification committee at San Quentin and then interviewed by the Chino superintendent. Although Chino has operated with a minimum of locks and regulations, only eleven of the 633 men escaped. These have all been apprehended and returned to San Quentin with additional sentences.

The institution has been taken into the Chino High School District and instructors from the High School conduct its classes without cost to the institution. The School District collects the average daily attendance allowance from the State Department of Education for this adult educational program. By last July 300 men had enrolled on a voluntary basis in 28 classes. The school program is closely geared in

with vocational training in such fields as sheet metal work, machine shop skills, auto mechanics, welding, cabinet making. Running the 2640-acre farm employs many of the men. One forestry camp is already functioning. All types of recreation are fostered under trained supervision and competition provided with outside teams. The institution's soft-ball team was recently voted into the Chino night ball league.

The spirit and intent of the Chino program are expressed in the following statement by the executive superintendent:

So far it has been unnecessary to make very many regulations. We expect the men to carry part of the load and believe that by placing this responsibility upon them we will more and more be able to approach the goal which we are seeking, that there can be no regeneration except with freedom, and that this must be a gradual process carried on by the man himself together with the staff of the institution. We are hoping sincerely that this type of program will succeed. We are not making any claims. We are just quietly going ahead trying to show what can be done by actual accomplishment.

### *Forestry Camps*

The Los Angeles County Probation Department has since 1932 operated in cooperation with the County Forestry Department several forestry camps for young offenders 16-20 years old. Well over 3,000 boys have now passed through the camps and there seems to be considerable justification for the Department's estimate that at least 75% of these boys have been returned to good citizenship.

Though the camp organization and program are easy to describe, they represent the refinement of eleven years of effort and thought, trial and error. In the wrong hands the program would be doomed to certain failure. The essential elements in organization and program seem to be the following:

1. A fast-moving program of hard work and play with all hours occupied. With all his energies and hours absorbed, the boy has no time to brood over his wrongs and no energy to divert to undesirable activities.

2. Useful constructive work. This is a factor of first importance in the success of the camps. Made work won't do. The daily job must be something clearly valuable to the community. The boy must receive pay for doing it. Every boy can see the value of preventing fires and of reforestation. The sense of his own usefulness, confirmed by the receipt of some pay for his work, increases his willingness to put in an 8-hour day. In turn, this habit of regular work, which is new to nearly all the boys, introduces them to a new type of satisfaction. Boys who have graduated from the camps have afterwards reported that they found it impossible to endure inactivity.

3. Physical well-being. The boys are given all they can eat of carefully chosen and prepared food and this wise diet combined with the hard work, play, and plenty of sleep causes the boys to put on from 10 to 30 pounds of good muscle in their four-month stay. This gives most of them a new pride in their bodies and their health, an asset which can for some boys cure an anti-social attitude.

4. The substitution of rewards and recognitions for force and punishment. This is the distinctive contribution of the forestry camps to correctional treatment. The

camps are not prisons nor custodial institutions. They do not give time off for good behavior. They provide the boys incentives to live with instead of against society and they give actual practice in such living. Instead of being disciplined, a boy learns to discipline himself. For most boys this is a new experience.

5. Individual treatment. In the forestry camps, boys are really treated as individuals with personalities and rights. The treatment is based upon a careful study of boy psychology. These needs are recognized: the need of every boy to feel secure; the need to feel that he is wanted; and the need to gain recognition.

The directors of the forestry camps find they must wage an unending struggle to prevent procedures from lapsing into routine and thus smothering the reality of individual treatment in "mass production." For this reason they much prefer a 60-boy camp to a 90-boy camp. The additional 30 boys tend to force the camp into mass routines—the forming of lines for baths, for clothing issues, and so on—which would give the camps an institutional character. In this connection it is noteworthy that none of the last four Borstals established in England accommodates more than 150.

6. High-quality personnel. To exert constructive control over delinquent and maladjusted boys without force and punishment to fall back upon requires superior men with unusual training. The forestry camp staff are not supermen, possessed of all the virtues. Obviously, they must have understanding, good will, and technical training. Because they begin as student deputies, most of them retain the idealism of undergraduates—an invaluable asset for this work. In addition, the successful counselors (and, of course, not all student deputies succeed) have one other distinguishing trait: they have the calm, unhurried poise so noticeable in our commercial airpilots and which reflects a balanced personality and superior coordination of mind and muscle. They are unexcitable men. Men with such qualifications can learn the special philosophy and special techniques in handling maladjusted boys developed by years of experience in the camps. The main task of the permanent camp directors is to give the student deputies this special training.

The six indispensable elements in the program of the forestry camps combine to produce "camp morale," a major asset in swinging new boys into line. It is boy psychology to go along with his group and to respect what the group respects. That trait explains the influence of the "gang." The forestry camps make use of it also; only they reverse the usual gang values. The boys who have been at a camp for some time, and they are always the majority, take pride in being known as good workers, in athletic achievements, and in holding a camp office.

In connection with this matter of group morale it should be noted that the aim of correctional treatment is to help an offender fit himself to live successfully with society. That is a process of acquiring certain attitudes and certain behavior habits. These are best acquired by practice. Consequently the more closely the correctional environment approximates a normal healthy social environment, the better chance the young offender has to learn self-discipline and the essential give and take of

human relationships. Individualized correctional treatment for the majority of young offenders does not, then, mean isolation from his fellows. It means only segregation from those whose influence would be inevitably demoralizing and it means association with a group small enough so that the individual will not be lost in routines and in mass custody. Association with a small group of high morale can be of the greatest value in helping a youth to find himself as a member of society. In such a group the friendship and guidance of a mature staff member will fulfil the need of many youths for particularized treatment.

THE TASK OF A YOUTH CORRECTION AUTHORITY

Of course no complete model for the operation of a Youth Correction Authority exists. No one knows all the answers. A progressive correctional system must have two things: the experimental approach, constantly trying new procedures; and the critical approach, constantly testing each procedure in the cold light of its results. No Youth Correction Authority will realize its possibilities that isn't constantly moving forward in new experiments. On the other hand, no Authority need embark completely into the new. It can and should make the fullest possible use of a state's existing facilities. The Model Act gives an Authority power to use state institutions, but it does not give the power to administer or control existing agencies. How then, say some of the doubtful, can the Authority change or improve the present treatment of boys in such institutions? The answer to that, of course, lies in the Authority's power of diagnosis and commitment. It will probably send to the state reform schools only boys of like type, all needing essentially similar treatment. By that simple process it will gradually end the tragic lumping of all types of boys—first offenders, hardened criminals, normal youngsters a little wild, mental defectives, and psychopaths—which now renders rehabilitative work at most reform schools almost impossible.

To take care of those who are not sent to the reform schools, the Authority must, of course, develop supplementary facilities as quickly as possible. We know from the foregoing discussion what some of these supplementary facilities need to be. Leonard Harrison has envisioned the facilities needed by a Youth Correction Authority to take care of the 7,500 offenders in the 16-21 age group now convicted yearly in New York State. He has compared them with the present disposition of convicted youths in the State, as shown in the following tables:<sup>6</sup>

PRESENT DISPOSITION IN NEW YORK

<i>Youths</i>	<i>Number Yearly</i>
In State Institutions of the Department of Correction.....	1,467
In County Penitentiaries .....	358
In County Jails .....	1,376
In New York City Workhouse, Penitentiary and Reformatory.....	1,423
On Probation .....	2,876
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
Total .....	7,500

<sup>6</sup> HARRISON, PREVENTING CRIMINAL CAREERS (Community Service Society of N. Y., 1941) 28-29.

## ESTIMATED DISPOSITION BY A YOUTH CORRECTION AUTHORITY

Commitments mainly to existing State Institutions of the		Percent
Department of Correction.....	930	12
Assignments to nine camps.....	1,700	23
Assignments to thirteen farm stations.....	1,040	14
Under supervision in fifteen hostels.....	300	4
Under supervision in boarding and foster homes.....	250	3
On probation in offenders' own homes.....	3,280	44
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>7,500</b>	<b>100</b>

The nine camps, thirteen farm stations, and fifteen hostels envisioned do not now exist and would have to be newly established. By hostel is meant a type of club where young men would live and undergo some supervision of their social life while spending the day in normal working activities. Under the existing system in New York, the cost of correctional treatment per youth per year is \$475. Under the Authority plan Mr. Harrison estimates that it would be \$320 per youth per year.<sup>7</sup>

It is but a few years since our penal systems generally operated on the belief that men in prison must be handled with gun and club at a distance like wild animals. So long as they were treated that way, prisoners were dangerous, for brutality and force always beget brutality and force. The wild-animal theory has been discredited but the habit of repression hangs on in most correctional systems. In jails, reformatory, penitentiary, and even in some industrial schools, reclaimable boys and men decay in walled-in idleness while everywhere soil needs to be rescued from erosion, forests to be preserved, streams cleared, roads built, jobs done that can give a man a significant relationship to the community and respect for himself. That states the need and the opportunity for a Youth Correction Authority.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 28.

For estimates of the costs of Youth Correction Authority programs in small, medium, and populous states, see Ellis, *Youth Correction: Personnel Considerations Relating to the Authority Plan*, *infra* at 719. *Ed.*