

CRIMINAL OFFENSES AND SOME RELATED FACTORS

A Study of Some Socio-Economic and Cultural
Factors Present in the Backgrounds of
Criminal Offenders Living in the
City of Halifax, Nova Scotia

A Thesis

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Master's Degree in Social Work

by

Kenneth Parker Bendelier

Saint Mary's University Library

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A b s t r a c t:

A STUDY OF SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL
FACTORS PRESENT IN THE BACKGROUNDS OF
CRIMINAL OFFENDERS

by

Kenneth Parker Bendelier

This study investigates the presence of low economic status, low educational achievement and broken homes in the backgrounds of criminal offenders. It is an individual thesis written solely by the investigator, who is a member of the 1965 class of the Maritime School of Social Work.

The records of 100 offenders referred to the Adult Probation Service, Halifax, Nova Scotia, between January 1 and December 31, 1962 were the source of data; information pertinent to the study being taken off on a schedule and statistical tests of significance (chi-square) carried out. To carry out the statistical testing, the 100 offenders under study were categorized into two groups; the first group contained those offenders who had committed one offense only while the second group contained those offenders who had committed two or more offenses.

It was found that the factors under study were present to a significantly higher degree in the backgrounds of those offenders who had committed two or more offenses than they were in the backgrounds of those offenders who had committed one offense only. A preponderance of the offenders in both groups were found to be in their teens or early twenties. The offenders in both groups also showed a large discrepancy between their average educational achievement in relation to their average age than did the general school population of the City of Halifax for the calendar year 1962. It was concluded that social workers need to be alert to the presence and implications of socio-economic and cultural factors, and some recommendations were offered in this regard.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Crime is by no means a modern phenomenon, although it seems to have received more concentrated attention in recent times. Society has long been confronted with the problems created by crime and criminal behavior. As with other problems facing it, society has attempted to explain and understand the underlying causes of the behavior that leads to criminal activities. In order to successfully prevent or treat an undesirable condition; whether it be in the field of medicine, the field of corrections, or in some other area of human endeavour; the causative factors must be known to those persons concerned with preventing or correcting that particular condition.

The theories and explanations of criminal behavior have reflected the frames of reference of their exponents. Cesare Lombroso, an Italian criminologist and physician of the last half of the 19th century, theorized that the criminal was a distinct and atavistic type of person. At first he stressed the theory of the born criminal. Later, however, he added three other types of criminals--the insane, the occasional, and the passionate. Although he emphasized the biological nature of human behavior, he later admitted that behavior was influenced

or modified somewhat by various kinds of environmental influences.

The environmental influences examined by Lombroso included such divergent conditions as climate and rainfall to marriage customs, banking practices, and religious organization. ^{1/}

Lombroso's theory is only one of many, over the years, that have been hypothesized as explaining criminal behavior. Obviously the causes of criminal behavior are much more complex than any single or self-evident set of causal factors. Deviant behavior, of any type, is an integral part of a dynamic social process and can be understood only in relation to the personal-social situation and the sequence of experiences and events of which it is a part. Therefore, in order to explain criminal behavior the investigator must analyze the condition of the individual involved, the influence of the social world in which he lives, and the sequence of events that preceded his criminal behavior.

Even though theories have been advanced attempting to explain criminality by singling out a specific causal factor or a syndrome of factors, the more recent tendency is to accept the premise that there is no single

^{1/} Herbert A. Bloch & Gilbert Geis, *MAN, CRIME, AND SOCIETY*; Random House, New York, 1962; pp. 87-90.

cause of criminal behavior. Criminal behavior, it is believed, springs from a wide variety of converging influences. Some of these influences, or factors, have a direct or indirect causal relation to the behavior displayed by the individual, while others are only concomitants without any observable causal relation. Any specific factor involved may fluctuate between these three degrees of relationship.

Thus, the complexity of the total situation makes it confusing and difficult to ascertain the reasons for criminal behavior. The immediate and most apparent factors may lie in deeper causes. In approaching the causes of criminality the investigator must avoid extremes and the complexity of the causes of criminality must be recognized. However, there have been numerous objective studies of the subject and the body of findings derived from these studies can be used to gain a better insight into why individuals commit crimes.

The multiple causation explanation of criminal behavior is now quite generally accepted. Despite the complexity of this theory it is not impossible to ascertain and describe the important types or groups of factors that play a part in criminal behavior. ^{1/} Some

^{1/} Martin H. Neumeier, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN MODERN SOCIETY; D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1961; pp. 293-298.

of the many factors that have been studied in relation to criminal behavior are: high crime rate areas characterized by such objective conditions as physical deterioration, poor housing, poverty, family disorganization, ethnic discrimination, cultural conflicts, and excessive mobility;^{1/} as well as personal^{2/} and social^{3/} disorganization and disintegration.

Criminals are usually not handicapped by one or a few adverse conditions, but by a number of them in combination. Most individuals can overcome a few handicaps; but, if they are forced to face a series of difficulties, especially if they involve personality difficulties and excessive social pressure and deviant conditions, they are likely to get into trouble, unless they have strong self-control and are aided by constructive group influences.

In analyzing any of the groups of conditions that are thought to be of significance in the commission of criminal acts, it is preferable to regard them as related or concomitant rather than causal factors, for the causal relations are not always ascertainable.

^{1/} Clifford R. Shaw & Henry D. McKay, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND URBAN AREAS; The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942.

^{2/} Sheldon & Eleanor Glueck, UNRAVELLING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY; The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1950; Chapters 14-19.

^{3/} Sheldon & Eleanor Glueck, FIVE HUNDRED CRIMINAL CAREERS; Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939.

This particular study is concerned with three conditions that are thought to be predisposing factors to the commission of criminal acts. These three conditions are family status, educational achievement, and economic status. The main hypothesis of the study is that these factors may be stressful to the individual and may lead to personality problems which may subsequently be manifested in criminal behavior.

This particular study was undertaken as an individual thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's Degree in Social Work. The investigator is a second year student at the Maritime School of Social Work, for the school year 1964-1965.

The project was also seen as a means of learning the techniques and uses of research and statistical procedures. Further, the project was also perceived as a means of helping the student learn more about the general problem of criminal behavior, the backgrounds of criminals, their needs and problems, as the student will be employed in the probation field upon completion of his training. Finally, the student had been employed in the probation field prior to his enrolment at the Maritime School of Social Work and it was through this employment that the central idea of this project was born.

The representative group chosen as exemplary of

the criminal was drawn from the files of the Adult Probation Service of the Province of Nova Scotia. The group studied included only male adults from the City of Halifax who were referred to the Adult Probation Service, by various courts, from January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962.

It was necessary to focus only on the general area of the City of Halifax proper, due to the fact that suitable census information was not available on the areas outside of the city limits. In addition the areas outside of the City of Halifax proper are not as well defined as those within. As a result, it would be almost impossible to generalize about certain areas outside of the city limits; where, for example, homes of all economic levels may be found in one small area.

It was also necessary to focus only on male offenders due to the fact that the number of females referred to the Adult Probation Service is relatively small. This situation is due in part to the lesser number of offenses committed by female persons, but it is also due to the fact, that, as yet, the Province of Nova Scotia does not employ a female probation officer. As a result, many of the females who appear before the courts are referred to the policewoman employed by the City of Halifax.

In order to undertake a study of this nature cer-

tain basic assumptions had to be made and held constant, else the hypothesis could not be defended, or refuted. The first assumption was that certain factors are stressful to individuals in the cultural system of North America. These stressful situations may lead to personality problems which may show up in criminal behavior.

It was also assumed that criminals are those persons who are apprehended by the police, adjudged guilty by a court, and subsequently sentenced. By definition a criminal is a person who has been convicted of an offense contrary to the laws of the land, and although there are undoubtedly some persons who commit offenses and are not apprehended, it is impossible to determine who they are, and thus it is impossible to include them in a study of any type.

These assumptions relate to the hypothesis and the reasoning behind them are obvious, since if one does not assert that there are factors that are causal in the project under study, how then can any position be tenable regarding specific causal factors?

The factors under consideration in this study are family status, economic status, and educational achievement. They may be considered to be socioeconomic and cultural factors. It is not the purpose of the study to deny the importance of other types of factors, for

example; constitutional or hereditary factors; physiological factors; or psychological factors; which may be present in the backgrounds of individuals who commit anti-social acts. Their importance is recognized by the investigator, however, research in those areas is beyond the scope of this study.

In general it may be said that an eclectic approach has been used in that the reference material for this study has been adopted from various professions and schools of thought. The main theoretical orientation of the study has been that of the profession of social work and the body of knowledge associated with that profession. Concepts from sociology, criminology, and psychology have also been utilized in the study.

Attention has been focused on some of the factors contributing to criminal behavior rather than the criminal behavior itself.

The principal objective of the study is the testing of the hypotheses which for the most part were drawn from the body of knowledge now available on the topic of criminal activity. The three areas under consideration in this study have been investigated elsewhere by interested persons and many of the ideas in this study were drawn from some of these endeavours. 1/

1/ Cf. References quoted as footnotes, Chapter I, pp. 3-4.

These ideas were re-drafted somewhat for use in this study and were tested scientifically to the extent that local resources for research would allow.

Although the magnitude of criminal activity in the Halifax area has not reached that of some of the larger urban centers in Canada, it is still serious enough to arouse the concern of interested citizens. The fact that three hundred and eighty-seven cases were referred to the Halifax office of the Adult Probation Service for the year January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962, is in itself, worthy of concern. The investigator was also aware that sufficient data was available from the files of the Adult Probation Service to allow the study to be undertaken.

The factors selected by the investigator for study are not necessarily intended to represent the most current thinking or even the most important causal factors in the entity under study. Data about these factors were available, however, and they appear to have a certain degree of obvious importance among the criminal group chosen for this study.

The factors chosen for study in this project are considered to be three of the more important areas in the socioeconomic and cultural milieu of modern North American society. Broken homes, low educational achieve-

ment, and poverty are three topics which are being continuously discussed by persons in all facets of our society. This thesis represents an endeavour to arrive at perhaps more authentic conclusions concerning the relationship of criminal activity to these three factors. It was felt that if these factors were of significance in the commission of criminal offenses, then, there would be a significant difference between the presence of these three factors in those offenders who have committed only one offense, as compared to those offenders who have committed two or more offenses.

Therefore, the focus of the study will be on adult male offenders who did reside in the City of Halifax during a period which would have significance with regard to their personality development and who were subsequently apprehended by a police force, adjudged, guilty, were sentenced by the Court, and referred to the Adult Probation Service in order that a pre-sentence report, or social history, could be prepared.

The approach to the study was mainly that of statistical analysis. However, some descriptive statistics were also included to give a more complete picture of the group under study.

The major questions to be asked of the data were three in number. First, were the factors under study, evident in the cases? Secondly, to what degree? And

third, was there a significant difference between the presence of the factors in the group representing those offenders who had committed only one offense, when compared with the group representing those offenders who had committed two or more offenses?

The study used the statistical test known as chi square (X^2) to test the significance of the data.

More specifically the questions to be asked of the data were as follows:

1.) Was there a significant difference in the family status of the two groups under study?

2.) Was there a significant difference in the educational achievement of the two groups under study?

3a.) Was there a significant difference in the type of employment held by the offenders in the two groups under study?

b.) Was there a significant difference in the type of employment held by the offenders' fathers in the two groups under study?

c.) Was there a significant difference in the places of residence of the offenders in the two groups under study?

The limitations encountered in undertaking the study were, to mention only the major ones, time and the fact that case material was not set up for research purposes. In addition the study did not receive the benefits that accrue to those studies undertaken as a

part of a group project. The limitation of time was restrictive, in that interviewing of the individuals involved could not be carried out by the investigator. This procedure would have been time consuming and could not be undertaken, although it might have increased the validity of the study to some extent. The second limitation, that of type of material available, was also found to hamper the study somewhat. The records chosen for study were actual pre-sentence reports compiled by the staff of the Adult Probation Service on criminal offenders. The case records were not compiled with subsequent research in view, as their main function is to provide service to the offenders and the courts. However, the case records are designed in a concise manner and the information desired is easily accessible. On the other hand, data regarding some aspects of the factors under consideration, as well as other factors that may have merited investigation, were not available from the records.

The primary data for the study were drawn from the case records of offenders on file at the Halifax Office of the Adult Probation Service, who were referred to the service during the calendar year, January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962. These data were extracted from the case records by means of a schedule drawn up for this purpose. These data were then transposed to a coding card system to facilitate processing, com-

parisons, and statistical testing.

Publications on the topics of criminology, juvenile delinquency, mental health, and census material from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics were used as secondary data.

As this is an individual thesis the investigator was responsible for all aspects of the study.

The study can be viewed as being composed of two parts. The first part is devoted to a discussion of the general and specific theoretical concepts involved in the study. This will comprise the two chapters immediately following this introduction. The latter part will embody a brief description of the Adult Probation Service, the study's findings, and their relevance as causal factors. This will be followed by a final chapter which will be devoted to conclusions drawn from the study and recommendations made.

To a great extent, the study has relied on tables for presentation of the data collected. A map of the City of Halifax indicating the living location of the offenders, by census tract, has been included in the Appendices to give the reader a clearer view of the area under study.

The findings and the conclusions of the study are not meant to be conclusive evidence on the factors of criminal behavior under study. However, the findings do show that a significant difference does exist between

the two groups under study in relation to the factors considered by the study.

CHAPTER II

STRESS AND STRAIN

There are many factors that are considered, by different schools of thought, to be of significance in the commission of anti-social acts. These factors can be grouped under four main headings; constitutional or hereditary factors; physiological factors; psychological factors; and socioeconomic and cultural or environmental factors. Although some authorities are inclined to emphasize one group of factors more than the others, it seems reasonable to assume that all four groups of factors play an important role in the commission of anti-social acts, as they do in other facets of life. In fact, if the background of any one particular individual who had committed an anti-social act was investigated, it is more than likely that the investigator would find that all four groups of factors were present in varying degrees, one exacerbating the others.

As was mentioned in Chapter I, it is not the purpose of this study to deny the importance of the first three groups of these factors. However, this study is confined to an examination of some of the factors in the fourth group, namely, socioeconomic and cultural factors present in the backgrounds of individuals who have committed anti-social acts, for example, offenses contrary to the Criminal Code of Canada.

This study maintains that the socioeconomic and cultural environment, in which individuals live, does have an effect on their subsequent activities, that is, a socioeconomic and cultural environment that deviates from the accepted mores and values of the community in general plays a significant role in the commission of criminal offenses. This concept will be further elaborated on in Chapters III and IV.

Thomas S. Langner and Stanley T. Michael, investigators in the field of mental health, used the conceptual framework of stress and strain to investigate the relationships between mental disorder and the socio-cultural environment. ^{1/} This study will use their theoretical base in a somewhat more limited manner to investigate the relationship between selected socioeconomic and cultural factors and one form of anti-social behavior, namely, the commission of criminal offenses. As the authors state in their study, this conceptual framework "is by no means original, having been used in one form or another by thousands of clinicians, social scientists, and laymen over the centuries". ^{2/}

^{1/} Thomas S. Langner & Stanley T. Michael, LIFE STRESS AND MENTAL HEALTH; The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1963; Chapter I.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 6.

The theory outlined below is basically their theory with a few minor modifications which the investigator feels are more applicable to the field of anti-social behavior than to mental health.

According to Langner and Michael our social environment contains pathogenic or noxious as well as eugenic factors, both of which influence the behavior of individuals. However, very little is known at this point in time about the eugenic factors, therefore, it is the pathogenic or noxious elements that are the concern of most studies. These noxious, or potentially noxious elements are referred to as stress, while the reaction to the noxious elements is referred to as strain. Because of the lay definitions attached to the terms stress and strain (they are sometimes used synonymously) it is necessary to give them clearly distinct meanings.

In designing any structure or machine, the engineer must first determine the amount and kind of stress the various parts will be required to withstand; and he must know how the various materials will react when subjected to a known stress. ...

Stresses which the parts of a structure or machine may be called upon to resist include tensions, compression, shearing stress and torsional stress. Strain is the deformation, or change of shape, produced by stress.

When a body is subjected to a longitudinal pull it is said to be under tension or tensile stress and the strain produced is a lengthening in the direction of the pull. ...Any material is considered elastic in relation to the applied

stress, if the strain disappears after the force is removed. ^{1/}

These definitions are used by engineers in terms of machines and structures but are applicable to Langner's and Michael's theory when one considers strain as being a reaction to stress. As inanimate objects react to stress, so do people react to the stressful forces in their environment. An individual's personality, that is, "the role one plays, one's social stimulus value, an assembly of traits, and a unique and priceless value," ^{2/} can become transformed because of stress. Langner and Michael are interested in the deformation they refer to as mental disorder. However, there are other ways in which an individual may react to stress; physical illness, psychosomatic illness, mental illness (of varying degree), acting-out behavior, rejection, withdrawal; or the individual may meet the stresses with which he is confronted by more positive means; through pursuit of recreational activities, religious affiliations, employment or other means. This study however, is interested in the reaction to environ-

^{1/} "Strength of Materials" THE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA; Columbia University Press, New York, 1944, -ed- Clarke F. Ansley; as quoted in LIFE STRESS AND MENTAL HEALTH, Thomas S. Langner & Stanley T. Michael; The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1963; p. 6.

^{2/} Phillip L. Harriman, HANDBOOK OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TERMS; Littlefield, Adams & Co., Paterson, New Jersey, 1959, p. 128.

mental stresses that produce a strain in the form of criminal behavior.

In this study the term stress refers to the environmental forces of a broken home, low educational achievement, and low economic status. Dr. Engels defines stress as:

A stress may be any influence, whether it arises from the internal environment or the external environment, which interferes with the satisfaction of basic needs or which disturbs or threatens to disturb the stable equilibrium. 1/

In addition to the reason already mentioned for distinguishing between the terms stress and strain, it is also desirable to do so because of the phenomenon of their tending to merge in the observable source of the study's data, namely, the human being.

When an individual is exposed to a number of these stress factors he reacts in proportion to the number of stress factors to which he is exposed. That is to say, the more stress that an individual is exposed to, the greater is the possibility that he will exhibit criminal behavior, if that is to be his mode of reaction. As the number of environmental stresses increase, the average

1/ George L. Engel, "Homeostasis, Behavioral Adjustment and the Concept of Health and Disease.", MID-CENTURY PSYCHIATRY; Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1953, -ed- Roy R. Grinker; as quoted in LIFE STRESS AND MENTAL HEALTH, Thomas S. Langner & Stanley T. Michael, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1963; p. 9.

amount of strain (criminal behavior) also increases, not necessarily on a one-to-one basis however.

A critic's first reaction to this theory may be, why don't two people who have been exposed to an equal amount of stress, react in a similar, if not identical manner? (display an equal amount of strain, namely, criminal behavior). It is known that engineers can design a bridge, for example, to withstand a certain amount of stress with exacting scientific accuracy. It is also known that this accuracy is unattainable when human beings instead of inanimate objects are the subject matter of the process. The reason that it is impossible to predict the reaction of any one particular human being to X amount of stress is what Langner and Michael call a person's "inner resources". 1/

These "inner resources" consist of an individual's "personality organization: his resilience, his adaptability, his 'ego-strength', his ability to resist life's wear and tear". 2/

It would be very helpful for research purposes, but rather boring, if each and every person reacted to his environment in a predictable way. However,

1/ Langner & Michael, op. cit., p. 7.

2/ Ibid., p. 7.

people are not inanimate robot-like machines. They are living, breathing, viable organisms and their experiences are as unique as their finger-prints, although both may have many seeming points of similarity to the untrained eye. Even if it were possible to record each individual's myriad experiences, it would be impossible to record all the nuances, shades, tones, infinitesimal personal aspects of the individual's experiences.

An inanimate object cannot think or conceptualize like a human being. Therefore an inanimate object will only react when the stress is actually applied. A human being, however, can continue to react to the idea of stress even when the actual stress has been removed. Even thinking about stress can have an adverse effect on an individual.

An organism is much more complex than an inanimate object, and as it is dynamic by nature, it will be in a state of flux as the forces of stress initiate their attacks on it at different points in time. No matter when the stress attacks an inanimate object the reaction will usually be the same, as an inanimate object is in a state of physical equilibrium. The organism, however, may be in a state of relative well-being, capable of coping with or adjusting to the stress; or it may be in a state of deterioration and be unable to cope or adjust; or it may be anywhere between those two extremes. The

organism's reaction will depend on the organism's position in relation to these two extremes.

Langner and Michael Point out another feature on this conceptual framework that the researcher must take into consideration when he is studying his findings:

Moreover, the stress and strain model is accurate only in describing the average reactions of a large group of people to all the stresses they have experienced. We found that the average impairment of those who reported two stresses is greater than the average impairment of those who reported one stress, and so forth. When we got down to individual cases, however, there is sometimes a great disparity between the number of stresses and the reaction to them. 1/

The essence of this statement also lies in the fact that people are not inanimate objects, and do not react in the usually predictable ways of an immaterial object, such as a block of wood. In physics there may be a one to one relationship between the stress applied and the reaction, strain. This rule of thumb certainly does not apply however, where human beings are concerned.

Within the context of this study stress is relative. It depends upon the strength of the organism - - the individual human being, or his capacity to deal with

1/ Ibid., p. 8.

a particular force, namely stress, at a particular time in space. Langner and Michael point out "that there are certain factors that mediate between stress and strain." ^{1/} It is through these factors that the force, stress, is translated into reaction, strain.

The first factor is considered to be the individual's endowment. Endowment means all of the individual's "constitutional factors, hereditary predispositions, physical, mental, and neurological equipment". ^{2/} Chronological age is also worthy of considerable attention because of the biological process of maturation. The amount of strain resulting from a certain stress or stresses will be determined, in part, by the individual's endowment.

The second factor would be the "individual's" positive and stressful experience, both physical and emotional, up to the time of the particular stress in question". ^{3/} Examples of stressful physical experiences are poor diet, physical injuries, poisons, and the neglect suffered by the individual in having these conditions treated. These conditions could very well be

^{1/} Ibid., p. 9.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 9.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 9.

the result of a lack of financial resources.

The list of stressful emotional experiences could be lengthy indeed. A few examples however, will serve for purposes of illustration; the loss of one or both parents, feelings of frustration or inadequacy due to inferior educational or technical qualifications, minority group membership, or a lower economic, social and cultural status.

The cumulative experiences in these areas, that is social, emotional, and physical experience, along with endowment or hereditary factors, form an individual's personality. Personality is defined by Langner and Michael as; "the sum of a person's relatively reliable ways of acting and reacting". ^{1/} Since an individual's personality is formed by his total past and present experience, along with his endowment, it is his personality that acts as a mediator between life stresses and the reaction to these stresses, strain.

Langner and Michael believe that the stresses that a person is exposed to tend to accumulate with advancing age, consequently the strain will also tend to increase or accumulate with advancing age. The corrective aspects of wisdom, experience, and learning, which might tend to reduce these maladaptive responses

^{1/} Ibid., p. 6.

to stress, are not of a sufficient strength to overcome the greater increase in stress in later years. They also believe there is a great deal of truth in the old saw, "you can't teach an old dog new tricks", because of the gradual rigidification of an individual's personality with advancing age.

One final thought the authors of "Life Stress and Mental Health" have concerns socioeconomic status. In order to fully appreciate their view on this matter it is necessary to quote, in part, a paragraph from their work.

Socioeconomic status is part of the environmental stress and support system. We will find that SES mediates between the stresses and strain. SES will be seen to play a part in the type and severity of the reactions one has to stress. ... Any interaction between the personality and the stressful or supportive environment must pass through, or be affected by, socioeconomic status. This will be the parent's status during the individual's childhood, and his own status in adult life. ^{1/}

As has been stated, strain is a reaction to stress. This does not imply that stress produces strain, nor does it mean that it is a one-way street. In fact, strain may in turn increase the stress on the individual. This theory does not apply to the noxious factors alone, it also applies to the supportive or positive factors in an individual's environment which tend to increase or re-enforce his capacity to react positively to his

^{1/} Ibid., p. 12.

environment. However, this study is concerned with stress, strain, and the negative effects stress has on the individual's reaction to his environment.

Although the idea of cumulative strain as the result of successive life stresses has been hypothesized in this study, it is not accepted as self-evident by everyone. Many people still hold to the theory that a single stress factor results in a significant maladaptive strain, much in the same way that many people maintain that a single trauma results in mental illness, although it may. By the way of illustration it could be pointed out that during World War I the condition referred to as "shell shock" was thought to be due to brain tissue damage caused by nearby explosions. This theory was modified during World War II and the illness was described as "effort syndrome" or stress instead of "shell shock" (the "shell shock" theory fell into disfavor with medical practitioners long before World War I was over). This modification of the general point of view indicates a growing recognition of the continuity of stress during the individual's lifetime. The immediate experience at hand was then looked upon as a possible precipitating factor of the mental disorder.

This change of the point of view can be seen as

the multiple-factor hypothesis or concept in the study
of criminal behavior.

CHAPTER III
ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL AND
FAMILY STATUS

This chapter will focus on a discussion of the stress factors under consideration in this research project. The factors themselves are not necessarily stressful, indeed, they may add to an individual's ability to meet the exigencies of life. However a deviation, in a negative direction, from what is considered normal or average in the middle-class value system of North American society is stressful to those who experience these deprivations. The three areas which will be examined are economic status, educational status, and family status.

1. ECONOMIC STATUS

Economic security is basic to the healthy functioning of individuals, families, communities, and nations. With economic security it is possible for an individual to focus his energy on other aspects of living. Without economic security other problems, with which an individual may be faced, seem to intensify.

The North American system of a mixed enterprise economy stresses the obtaining of material possessions. The system is pervaded by an urge or drive to maintain a front of economic or financial well-being. Many of the family's possessions such as a car, a home in a

particular neighbourhood, or membership in an exclusive club, may serve as symbols of the class-caste system, which depends directly or indirectly upon economic factors. A quick glance at the content and direction of the modern phenomenon of advertising indicates what classes of people are in the more favored position, that is, the middle and upper-classes; the more affluent classes who can afford to purchase the products being advertized.

But what about those people who come from the underprivileged homes that are characterized by poverty, by want, by economic deprivation. They are the have-nots. Daily they see about them in the schools, in the neighbourhood, and in the community, evidence of more financially favored persons. The contrast is frequently hard to accept. Perhaps even more difficult is their seeming inability to do anything about it. It is stressful. Society has created demands that this class of person cannot satisfy with the means at his disposal. He has not the economic resources necessary to obtain the greater part of these, what have now become, necessities.

Bloch and Flynn state:

There is little doubt that the risks toward delinquency are considerably greater for the children of families facing chronically depressed economic conditions. Aside from impairment to normal human functioning in such homes, the lives of both parents often show a background of neglect and poverty and the inevitable demoralizing

situations brought about by poverty. In addition to the neglect and indifference, toward children that poverty induces, when broken down into its component parts poverty implies a variety of specific situations dangerous to the child: early employment in the street trades, lack of organized routine in the home, child care by indifferent and irresponsible youthful siblings, overcrowding, lack of privacy, lack of parental supervision, and a host of factors - any one of which, in itself, might prove hazardous to a youngster. 1/

Economic security then is the foundation upon which the family can meet the physical, social and psychological needs of its members adequately. It is a basic bulwark against a variety of demoralizing situations to which the poverty-stricken family falls prey. Although the vast majority of underprivileged families do not produce delinquents and criminals, "as the criminologist Hans von Hentig has repeatedly shown in his work, the risk of delinquency and crime is appreciably heightened when economic insecurity weakens the moral and social fiber of family life". 2/

There is a difference of opinion among writers in the fields of criminology, sociology, and psychiatry, as to the validity of the hypothesis that poverty is directly related to the commission of criminal acts.

1/ Herbert A. Bloch & Frank T. Flynn, DELINQUENCY, THE JUVENILE OFFENDER IN AMERICA TODAY; Random House, New York, 1956; pp. 221-222.

2/ Ibid., p. 183.

William Healy, for example, questions this view. ^{1/} On the other hand studies by Kvaraceus ^{2/} and the Gluecks ^{3/} indicate a preponderance of children from impoverished, socially incompetent homes. In Kvaraceus' study, in particular, an overwhelming majority of the families of delinquent children were shown to come from poverty stricken homes.

Many studies of crime and juvenile delinquency are based on experiences with people handled by the courts and-or institutions, and it has been necessary to qualify the findings respecting poverty because of the belief that there are forces at work which make it more likely, that a person from an impoverished home will be referred to an official agency for treatment, than will a similarly behaving person from an economically more privileged home. The reasoning behind this statement is quite similar to that outlined in the quotation from Kvaraceus on the following page. Kvaraceus' study does not have to be qualified in this manner as the children referred to him were done so, not because they had committed a crim-

^{1/} William Healy, THE INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT; Little Brown & Co., Boston, 1915.

^{2/} William C. Kvaraceus, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE SCHOOL; World Book Company, New York, 1945; Chapter 9.

^{3/} Sheldon & Eleanor Glueck, ONE THOUSAND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934.

upon court records may exaggerate somewhat the degree of association between crime and poverty, the evidence is still strong that crime tends to occur more often in families where poverty is a barrier to normal growth and development.

There are many factors that could be examined as indicators of the degree of poverty present in any one family unit, for example, the investigator could examine such factors as; rent, income of the family as a unit, debts, ownership of property, dependency on various forms of public and private assistance, and so on. This project will examine two factors which are indicators of the less affluent in North American society. The first indicator to be examined is the living location of the offender and his family. The second indicator to be examined is the type of employment in which the offender is engaged. Since many of the offenders may be attending school, or just out of school without having had an opportunity to obtain employment, the employment record of the head of his family will also be examined and used as an indicator.

Two of the numerous studies that have been made of slums and blighted areas in the past few years are those by Shaw and McKay 1/ and Lander. 2/ These studies

1/ op. cit.

2/ Bernard Lander, TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY; Columbia University Press, New York, 1954.

have indicated that physical deterioration is one of the main objective characteristics of high crime and delinquency areas.

Neumeyer's definitions of slums and blighted areas are as follows:

Slums are usually regarded as areas in which dwellings or other buildings are dilapidated, obsolescent, poorly arranged, lacking proper ventilation and light, unsanitary and unhealthful and in other ways detrimental to the health, safety, comfort, and morale of the inhabitants... A blighted area is one that is on the downgrade, beginning to show some slum traits but not yet fully a slum area. ^{1/}

These slums and blighted areas are inhabited by certain classes of people, predominantly the poor.

The physical conditions are only a part of a slum or blighted area. The other elements that may be present in families in such circumstances were outlined previously. ^{2/}

The other indicator to be examined, that is, the occupation of the offender or the head of his family should he not be in the labor market, has also come under the scrutiny of investigators interested in deviant behavior. In Kvaraceus' study he used the occupation of the father as an index to the economic background of the delinquents and found

^{1/} op. cit., p. 273.

^{2/} Bloch & Flynn, op. cit., pp. 29-30 in this chapter.

...that two relatively unremunerative occupations, factory operatives and "other" laborers, chiefly those engaged in unskilled work in industry, accounted for three fourths of all the fathers of Passaic delinquents, although these occupations utilized only 40 percent of Passaic's male gainful workers. Delinquency requiring the use of adjustment facilities such as the Bureau supplies seems to occur with much less frequency among families in which the father is a skilled workman or holds down a professional or "white collar" post. 1/

The reasoning behind this statement would seem to be the probability of a higher degree of unemployment, marginal employment, or seasonal employment in the unskilled labor market, as well as the lower remunerative nature of most jobs in this area. The reduced, or non-existent, income is accompanied by a lack of security. The family must change their mode of living, cut down expenses, move to less desirable houses and neighbourhoods, omit luxuries and perhaps necessities in some cases, and in the end may have to go on relief. Accompanying these stressful physical experiences are the psychological and social experiences which are perhaps even more stressful. Frustrations, thwarted ambitions, breakdown of family and personal morale, and the lowering of social status may have disastrous effects.

1/ Kvaraceus, op. cit., pp. 89-90

2. EDUCATIONAL STATUS

The next factor that is to be considered by the investigator is the educational status of the offenders. The ever increasing importance of a high level of educational achievement is becoming more and more apparent in the technological society, which exists on the North American continent.

Education can provide a means of escape from the world of poverty which was discussed earlier in this chapter. Education can provide the means for better, as well as different, types of employment. It can provide for a more secure future. Education enables a person to secure employment in a field of endeavour that interests him, and an interested person is usually a satisfied person. The more remunerative jobs seem to require at least a minimum of educational achievement, and at our present rate of technological advance this minimum is increasing rapidly.

Education provides much more than just the opportunity for job obtainment and job improvement. In order to cope with the ever increasing complexity of modern day life a sound educational base is essential. With an adequate education a person may obtain a job which will provide him with a means of achieving what must be considered a common goal of man, that is, to provide at

least adequately for himself and his family.

In addition to its educational role the school fulfills another important function in the community. The school has close and continued contact with every child and youth in the community for an extended period of time. The school receives the child early in life and aims to assist him directly in becoming a well-integrated and socially useful citizen. However, a child who is in constant conflict with his school, who is meeting frustrating experiences in the form of failure to satisfy the academic requirements of the school, and thus leaves school at the earliest opportunity with a low educational achievement, is not receiving the full benefits of the services the school has to offer. The juvenile delinquent who later becomes the adult offender is in this undesirable position.

As Kvaraceus points out:

The delinquents as a group differ markedly from their non-delinquent counterparts in their negative attitudes toward school, in their very low school performance, in their limited educational and vocational goals, in their unsatisfactory school behavior, and in their repeated truancies. There is no disagreement on these points among the various research reports. 1/

1/ William C. Kvaraceus, THE COMMUNITY AND THE DELINQUENT; World Book Company, New York, 1954, p. 108.

He goes on to say:

The delinquent's experiences in school, come close to complete failure and frustration, as can be seen from the number of times he fails to get promoted as well as from marks he gets on his report cards ... The consequences of the grim school conflict can be seen in serious misconduct in school, 1/ repeated truancy, and early school leaving.

Although the causes of juvenile delinquency and crime are complex and there is no one solution, employment opportunities are clearly important. A youth who has dropped out of school and never has had a full-time job is not likely to become a constructive citizen of his community. Quite the contrary. As a frustrated individual he is likely to be anti-social and rebellious, and may well become a juvenile delinquent or a criminal. This is not to say that all juvenile delinquency and crime would be immediately cleared up if the youths stayed in school and later found employment. Some would remain, but it would seem reasonable to assume that juvenile delinquency and crime would show a percentage, as well as an actual, decrease.

In his study about the school children of Passaic, New Jersey, Kvaraceus states:

If the school drama is full of tensions, defeats, conflicts, and frustrations for the delinquent group, as demonstrated by the Passaic

1/ Ibid., p. 109.

data, we should expect the delinquent boy and girl to waste no time in leaving school as soon as they turn 16. This is actually the case with most delinquents. Very few children handled by the Bureau went on to high school. ^{1/}

Unsatisfactory school experiences would seem then to be factors in delinquency, and later criminal, causation. Apart from the home, the major responsibility for the training and development of children and young people rests with the schools, and to a lesser extent with other institutions and agencies. By far the greater majority of those who go to school have wholesome experiences and do not engage in deviant behavior. That some turn out to be anti-social in their conduct is not necessarily due to neglect on the part of the school. No matter how effective schools may be, they may not be able to overcome the deleterious effects of certain types of homes, peer group relations, community conditions, economic conditions, and personality maladjustments.

As an indicator of low educational achievement and unsatisfactory school experiences, the investigator has selected the grade level attained and the age at which it was attained, as being of significance for the purpose of this thesis. These indicators will also be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

^{1/} Kvaraceus, op. cit., p. 147.

3. FAMILY STATUS

The third and final factor that this study will examine is family status. "The family is one of the basic social institutions and it is the outstanding primary group." ^{1/} The importance of the family as a defence against anti-social behavior has already been alluded to in the previous two sections. No institution in the community can have a more wholesome and positive effect upon the growth and behavior of a child than a good home. Contrariwise, few institutions can have the disintegrating and devastating effect that can stem from an inadequate, broken, or strife-ridden home.

Studies by such noted authorities as the Gluecks, ^{2/} Kvaraceus, ^{3/} and Neumeyer, ^{4/} all tend to indicate that if there is a reoccurring theme in the studies of delinquents, it is to be found in the broken and inadequate homes from which so many delinquents come.

Shulman concurs with their findings:

^{1/} Neumeyer, op. cit., p. 157.

^{2/} Sheldon & Eleanor Glueck, op. cit., Chapters 8-11.

^{3/} Kvaraceus, op. cit., Chapter 6.

^{4/} Neumeyer, op. cit., Chapter 7.

The broken home, defined as one in which one or both parents are absent owing to death, desertion, separation, divorce, or commitment to an institution, has been believed by many criminologists to be an important concomitant of juvenile delinquency. From the standpoint of the psychoanalytical school, a complete family consisting of father, mother and children is essential to the development of a balanced and socially adjusted personality, while from the point of view of social welfare practitioners the absence of either partner may lead to both dependency and overcrowding as well as to faulty practices of supervision, training, and discipline. The hypothesis that the broken home and delinquency are associated has been given great emphasis in recent research literature. 1/

There would seem to be almost universal agreement among the investigators in such varying fields as sociology, criminology, and psychiatry, that a persons behavior is largely determined by what he has learned in his early life from his natural family. Furthermore, the life of a person is most wholesome in families where the child has received love, affection, guidance, direction, and discipline from both parents. It would be only logical to assume then that the reverse is also true, that is, a child is likely to have a less wholesome life without the benefit of an adequate amount of love, affection, guidance, direction, and discipline from both parents. For example, where the home is broken for any one of the variety of reasons outlined by Shulman above.

1/ Harry Manuel Shulman, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY; Harper and Brothers, New York, 1961, p. 390.

There are other ways in which a home may be broken in addition to the structurally broken homes that have just been referred to in the preceding paragraph. These ways are perhaps, even more stressful to those involved than are the structurally broken home. A family may never have been formed, that is, the person may be an illegitimate child. But the broken home that is most difficult to assess is the one in which there is a psychological rift between the parents and/or the children.

For the structurally broken home, the disorganization and disintegration that preceded the actual breaking-up of the home may have been more damaging to the personality of the child, than the actual structural break-up itself.

However it is necessary not to become too overzealous about the broken home hypothesis, for as Bloch and Flynn point out; "(1) Not any broken home will produce delinquency - only those homes with related deleterious conditions. " ^{1/} This conclusion falls in line with the belief that no one single variable is of primary importance as the causative factor in criminal behavior.

^{1/} Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 185.

It is an assumption of this study that the presence of a broken home is a causative factor in the commission of anti-social acts, for example, criminal offenses. Although the term broken home may refer to a home that is strife-ridden, full of conflict, and thus be emotionally broken, this study will only be concerned with the homes that are actually structurally broken, that is, either the mother, father, or both, are physically absent because of death, divorce, desertion, separation, illegitimacy of institutionilization.

4. HYPOTHESES

The three areas that have been discussed in this chapter are closely interrelated, each exacerbating the others. Although all three factors are not necessarily found together in any one family, it is more than probable that all three could be found in the family of a delinquent or criminal, or in the family of a non-criminal. The family in which any one or all of these three stressful factors may be found reacts to these stresses in one form or another as has been outlined in Chapter II.

This trend of thought leads the investigator to the hypotheses of this study which can be stated thus: (1) if there is a relationship between the commission of criminal offenses and the stress of low economic

status experienced by the offender, and 2) if there is a relationship between the commission of criminal offenses and the stress of an inadequate educational achievement experienced by the offender, and 3) if there is a relationship between the commission of criminal offenses and the stress of a broken home experienced by the offender, then appropriate statistical testing should reveal a significant difference between the amount of stress experienced by a person who has committed one offense as compared with the amount of stress experienced by a person who has committed two or more offenses, than would be anticipated on the basis of chance.

The explanation of statistical procedure and methodology will be outlined in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER IV
THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE AND
THE STUDY FINDINGS

For the sake of clarity in presentation this present chapter is divided into two parts. Part 1 is concerned with a brief description of the functions of the Adult Probation Service of the Province of Nova Scotia. This will enable the reader to understand why and how an offender is referred to the Adult Probation Service. In addition, this procedure will enable the reader to understand, to some extent, the position of the probationer. Certain terms will also be defined in order to clarify their meaning as they are used within the context of this study. Part 2 of this chapter is devoted to a description of the findings of the study, as well as a description of the methodology and statistical procedure followed by the investigator.

1. THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE

The Adult Probation Service is provided by the government of the Province of Nova Scotia. It is under the direction of the Attorney-General and works in close conjunction with the law courts of the Province.

An individual is alleged to have committed an offense contrary to the laws of the land and is subsequently committed to stand trial. If he is adjudged guilty

of the offense it is usually the procedure for the presiding judge or magistrate to request a pre-sentence report concerning the offender. This pre-sentence report is, in reality, what is known as a social history in social work terminology, and it contains much the same information as would be found in the social histories of other social agencies.

The request for a pre-sentence report is made to the probation officer who is attached to that particular court and he has a specified time in which to complete his report. The time element is kept fairly flexible and extensions can be procured, should the probation officer feel additional information is required which cannot be obtained within the time specified. The usual procedure followed by the probation officer would be somewhat as follows; interviews with the offender, his parents or other close relatives; a home visit, interviews with persons closely associated with the offender, for example, his school teacher, minister or priest, and employer. The probation officer incorporates all the information he has procured in his investigation, as well as his assessment of the individual and his total situation, in a report. He then forwards this report to the court.

This pre-sentence report helps the judge or magistrate to decide whether it might be possible for the

offender to make a readjustment to society's laws and mores without being incarcerated. After considering the probation officer's report and other relevant information; such as, the nature of the crime, and the offenders previous record, the judge or magistrate makes his decision.

The alternatives open to the judge or magistrate are as follows:

1) incarceration in either a federal prison (which is the case in sentences of two years or more) or a local gaol (which is the case in sentences of two years less a day or lesser sentences).

2) imposition of a fine, only in those offenses which may be disposed of in such a manner as stated in the Criminal Code of Canada or other Acts.

3) deferring the passing of sentence and placing the offender on probation for a specified time, usually under the direction and supervision of a probation officer. The conduct of the offender during this period helps to determine what action will be taken when he is returned to court for sentencing.

4) placing the offender on a suspended sentence for a specified time, also usually under the direction and supervision of a probation officer. It must be noted here that the sentence itself is not suspended, but only the passing of sentence. The offender may be brought

before the court at any time and sentenced for his original crime, as well as for any additional criminal acts he may have committed. In the case of a suspended sentence the offender signs what is known as a recognizance - - a promise to be of good behavior for the specified time, to report to the probation officer during this period, and to follow his instructions. Any other conditions that are deemed necessary by the court may also be added. If the offender keeps the conditions of his recognizance he need not return to court at the expiration of the specified time, which may run for as long as two years.

During his term of probation or suspended sentence the offender is required to report to the probation officer as he so directs, either in person at the probation office, or by letter should he not live within a reasonable distance of the office. The probationer, as he is now referred to, may also be required to keep a curfew, remain away from certain individuals or places, and refrain from the consumption of alcohol. He is expected to find employment, or keep it, should he already be employed. He may not leave the province without the express permission of the court and is required to seek the probation officers permission should he wish to move within the province. Any reasonable request in these areas is granted, for example, if it is necessary

for the probationer to move in order to secure, or keep, a job.

During this period the probation officer visits the home of the probationer as well as interviewing him in the office. He counsels the probationer, advises him, helps to clarify matters for him, and tells the probationer what is expected of him while he is on probation. He may help him to obtain employment or refer him to another agency should he require services that are not available at the probation service. Although the probation service is unique in some respects, it is also quite similar to other social agencies in other respects.

In addition to the obligation the probation service has to provide the best possible service to the probationer, it also has another equally important obligation to society, that is, to report any violation of the probationers recognizance to the court. The probation officer is entrusted with a good deal of responsibility in this area and must keep the situation in perspective at all times.

Before going on to the findings of this study it would be best to define who is an adult and who is a child with reference to the Criminal Code of Canada and the Juvenile Delinquents Act.

According to the Criminal Code:

12. No person shall be convicted of an offense in respect of an act or omission on his part while

he was under the age of seven years.

13. No person shall be convicted of an offense in respect of an act or omission on his part while he was seven years of age or more, but under the age of fourteen years, unless he was competent to know the nature and consequences of his conduct and to appreciate that it was wrong. 1/

These sections do not cover a person from age fourteen to under sixteen years of age. These two years are generally considered by the lay public to also be within the accepted range of the definition of a child or juvenile. For clarification on this point it is necessary to turn to the Juvenile Delinquents Act. In order to fully appreciate in what regard a child or juvenile is held by the courts it is necessary to quote at some length from this statute.

2. (1) In this Act

(a) "child" means any boy or girl apparently or actually under the age of sixteen years, or such other age as may be directed in any province pursuant to subsection (2); 2/

(h) "juvenile delinquent" means any child who violates any provision of the Criminal Code or of any Dominion or provincial statute, or of any by-law or ordinance of any municipality or any similar form of vice, or who is liable by reason of any other act to be committed to an industrial school or juvenile reformatory under the provisions of any Dominion or provincial statute; 3/

1/ "Criminal Code", STATUTES OF CANADA, 1955; Part 1, subsections 1, 2 & 3.

2/ "Juvenile Delinquents Act", STATUTES OF CANADA, 1955; section 2 (1) (a).

3/ Ibid., section 2 (1) (h).

3. (1) The commission by a child of any of the acts enumerated in paragraph (h) of subsection (1) of section 2, constitutes an offense to be known as a delinquency, ... 1/

(2) Where a child is adjudged to have committed a delinquency he shall be dealt with, not as an offender, but as one in a condition of delinquency and therefore requiring help and guidance and proper supervision. 2/

4. Save as provided in section 9, the Juvenile Court has exclusive jurisdiction in cases of delinquency including cases where, after the committing of the delinquency, the child has passed the age limit mentioned in paragraph (a) of subsection (1) of section 2. 3/

9. (1) Where the act complained of is, under the provisions of the Criminal Code or otherwise, an indictable offense, and the accused child is apparently or actually over the age of fourteen years, the Court may, in its discretion, order the child to be proceeded against by indictment in the ordinary courts in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Code in that behalf; but unless the Court is of the opinion that the good of the child and the interest of the community demand it. 4/

1/ Ibid., section 3 (1).

2/ Ibid., section 3 (2).

3/ Ibid., section 4.

4/ Ibid., section 9 (1).

2. STUDY FINDINGS

This study was done on one hundred male adults from the files of the Adult Probation Service of the Province of Nova Scotia. These cases included only male adults from the City of Halifax who were placed on probation or a suspended sentence between January 1, 1962, and December 31, 1962.

A sample of one hundred cases was selected from a total referral, by the courts in the Halifax Metropolitan area, of three hundred and eighty-seven cases. These one hundred cases represent approximately one-quarter of the total referral. For this reason the investigator selected every fourth case after determining which case to draw first; for example, number one, two, three, or four, by drawing one slip of paper from four which were previously numbered one, two, three, and four. After the initial case had been drawn the investigator withdrew every fourth case from the files for use in this study. Because of the number of persons who lived outside of the boundaries of the City of Halifax proper, it was necessary to go through the files in this manner slightly over two times in order to obtain the one hundred cases desired.

The information necessary for the completion of this study was taken from these one hundred files and recorded on schedules identical to the schedule contained in Appendix A. The information contained in these

schedules was then transferred to sorting cards in order to facilitate the drawing up of the tables used in this study.

The one hundred cases were then divided into two groups for the purpose of comparison and statistical testing of the hypotheses. The basis on which the cases were divided was number of offenses committed. Those cases assigned to Group A were the individuals who had committed only one offense contrary to the Criminal Code, up to and including November 1, 1964. Those individuals who had committed two or more offenses contrary to the Criminal Code, up to and including November 1, 1964, were assigned to Group B. Any offense contrary to the Juvenile Delinquents Act committed by the individual that is covered in the Criminal Code was considered to be a previous offense for the purpose of this study. Delinquencies covered by other acts, statutes, or by-laws were not considered to be previous offenses for the purpose of this study.

The study used this approach because of the arbitrariness of laying down the age of sixteen years as delineating adults from children. The physical, emotional, biological, and personality differences between a child of fifteen and an adult of sixteen are infinitesimal, if existant at all. In addition, in all cases but two, those individuals who committed delinquent acts which

would be considered contrary to the Criminal Code if the individual was sixteen years of age or older, also had two or more adult criminal offenses.

When the one hundred cases were divided on this basis there were forty-one in Group A - those who had committed only one adult offense and had no delinquent acts; and fifty-nine in Group B - those who had committed two or more offenses as an adult, or one offense as an adult and one or more delinquencies. There were only two cases in this latter category.

The mean age of the sample was 20.1 years of age. The lower and upper age limits of the sample were sixteen years of age and forty-seven years of age respectively.

The mean age of Group A was 19.3 years of age, while the mean age of Group B was 20.5 years of age. This indicates a difference of 1.2 years between the two groups and is not particularly significant.

The lower and upper age limits of Group A were sixteen years of age and forty years of age respectively, while the lower and upper age limits of Group B were sixteen years of age and forty-seven years of age respectively.

Table I gives a more detailed picture of the whole sample, while Tables II and III give a more detailed picture of Group A and Group B respectively.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF 100 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS FROM THE
 CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION
 AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION
 SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962
 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY
 AGE AT TIME OF REFERRAL

<u>Age</u> (to nearest birthday)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	100	100.0%
16	20	20.0%
17	24	24.0%
18	12	12.0%
19	10	10.0%
20	6	6.0%
21	5	5.0%
22	2	2.0%
23	3	3.0%
24	2	2.0%
25	3	3.0%
26	3	3.0%
27	2	2.0%
28	-	-
29	-	-
30	1	1.0%
31	-	-
32	2	2.0%
33	2	2.0%
34	1	1.0%
--	-	-
--	-	-
40	1	1.0%
--	-	-
--	-	-
47	1	1.0%

KB/pb

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF 41 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY AGE AT TIME OF REFERRAL

<u>Age</u> (to nearest birthday)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	41	100.0%
16	9	22.0%
17	11	26.9%
18	7	17.1%
19	2	4.9%
20	5	12.3%
21	1	2.4%
22	1	2.4%
23	1	2.4%
24	-	-
25	-	-
26	-	-
27	1	2.4%
28	-	-
29	-	-
30	-	-
--	-	-
--	-	-
33	1	2.4%
34	1	2.4%
--	-	-
--	-	-
40	1	2.4%

KB/pb

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY AGE AT TIME OF REFERRAL ^{a/}

<u>Age</u> (to nearest birthday)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	59	100.0%
16	11	18.7%
17	13	22.0%
18	5	8.5%
19	8	13.5%
20	1	1.7%
21	4	6.7%
22	1	1.7%
23	2	3.4%
24	2	3.4%
25	3	5.1%
26	3	5.1%
27	1	1.7%
28	-	-
29	-	-
30	1	1.7%
31	-	-
32	2	3.4%
33	1	1.7%
--	-	-
--	-	-
--	-	-
--	-	-
47	1	1.7%

^{a/} This table includes two individuals who committed one adult offense and one or more juvenile offenses.

KB/pb

Table I shows a preponderance of the offenders falling in the age category of sixteen to twenty-one years. Seventy-two individuals (or 72.0 percent) out of a total of one hundred are under twenty-one years of age. If the Criminal Code followed the same procedure for determining majority that some other statutes follow, these seventy-two individuals would not have appeared in an adult court. These seventy-two individuals comprise 82.9 percent of the offenders who have been found guilty of committing one offense only, and 64.4 percent of the offenders who have been found guilty of committing two or more offenses.

The most common offenses committed by the offenders are those concerning theft as defined in various sections of the Criminal Code. In Group A, for example, 68.3 percent of the offenders were convicted of theft contrary to Sections 280 (a) and 280 (b) of the Criminal Code; theft, the total value exceeding \$50.00; and theft, the total value less than \$50.00, respectively.

In Group B the percentage of offenders convicted under sections 280 (a) and 280 (b) was only 42.4 percent. However, the percentage of offenders in this group who were convicted of crimes involving break, enter, and theft (or intent) as defined in Sections 292 (1) (a) and 292 (1) (b) was 27.1 percent as compared with only

7.3 percent in Group A.

A more complete breakdown of the offenses committed by both Group A and Group B is given in Table IV and Table V respectively.

As is to be expected, there was a significant difference between the lengths of the suspended sentences imposed upon the offenders in Group A as compared with Group B. The average length of suspended sentence imposed upon the forty-one offenders who had no previous convictions was 9.8 months. In comparison the average length of suspended sentence imposed upon the fifty offenders (nine of the offenders in Group B were sentenced to varying prison or gaol terms) who had committed at least one previous offense was 15.2 months.

The shortest sentences to be imposed in each group were three months, while the longest sentences imposed in each group were twenty-four months. Although the maximum suspended sentence prescribed by the Criminal Code is two years, there is not any provision for a minimum sentence. This is left to the discretion of the court.

A further breakdown of the various suspended sentences imposed upon the offenders in Group A and Group B is given in Table VI and Table VII respectively.

The study now turns to a statistical analysis of the three factors that were hypothesized to be of

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF 41 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY)
 FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION
 AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE
 BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31,
 1962 BY TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED

<u>Criminal Code Section</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:		41	100.0%
280 (a)	Theft, total value exceeds \$50.00	12	29.3%
280 (b)	Theft, total value less than \$50.00	16	39.0%
292 (1) (a)	Breaking and entering with intent	2	4.8%
292 (1) (b)	Breaking and entering and committing.	1	2.5%
296 (a)	Having in possession property obtained by crime.	2	4.8%
221 (1) (a)	Criminal Negligence in the operation of a motor vehicle	2	4.8%
225 (3)	Driving while disqualified	2	4.8%
373 (1)	Damage to property	1	2.5%
311 (1) (a)	Uttering forged document	1	2.5%
186 (1) (a)	Failing to provide necessities	1	2.5%
149	Gross indecency	1	2.5%
		28	68.3%
		3	7.3%

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED ^{a/}

<u>Criminal Code Section</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:		59	100.0%
280 (a)	Theft, total value exceeds \$50.00	19	32.2%
280 (b)	Theft, total value less than \$50.00	6	10.2%
292 (1) (a)	Breaking and entering with intent	12	20.3%
292 (1) (b)	Breaking and entering and committing.	4	6.8%
296 (a)	Having in possession property obtained by crime.	5	8.4%
221 (1) (a)	Criminal Negligence in the operation of a motor vehicle.	2	3.4%
373 (1)	Driving while disqualified	2	3.4%
304 (1)	Obtaining by false pretence.	2	3.4%
288 (a)	Robbery with violence	1	1.7%
85 (1)	Possession of sawed off rifle.	1	1.7%
240 (1)	Bigamy.	1	1.7%
160 (a)	Causing disturbance.	1	1.7%
231 (a)	Causing bodily harm by assault	1	1.7%
231 (1)	Common assault.	1	1.7%
408 (1)	Conspiracy to commit other offenses.	1	1.7%

^{a/} This table includes two individuals who committed one adult offense and one or more juvenile offenses.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF 41 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962, AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY LENGTH OF SUSPENDED SENTENCE IMPOSED

	<u>Length of Suspended Sentence</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:		41	100.0%
	3 months	2	4.9%
	6 months	15	36.5%
	9 months	6	14.7%
	12 months	15	36.5%
	24 months	3	7.4%

KB/pb

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY LENGTH OF SUSPENDED SENTENCE IMPOSED ^{a/}

	<u>Length of Suspended Sentence</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:		50 ^{b/}	100.0%
	3 months	2	4.0%
	6 months	5	10.0%
	9 months	3	6.0%
	12 months	21	42.0%
	18 months	1	2.0%
	21 months	1	2.0%
	24 months	17	34.0%

^{a/} This table includes two individuals who committed one adult offense and one or more juvenile offenses.

^{b/} This total does not include nine individuals who received varying prison or gaol sentences.

KB/pb

significance in recidivism among criminal offenders.

Research scientists, investigators, and statisticians have developed a body of statistical methodology concerned with the problem of making statements about population parameters from sample values. This body of statistical methodology is known as sampling statistics, and the logical process used is called statistical inference.

The procedures of statistical inference followed by different authorities closely resemble one another. A typical procedure is the one outlined by Sidney Siegel, which is quoted, in part, below:

- I. State the null hypothesis
- II. Choose a statistical test...for testing the null hypothesis....Choose that test whose associated statistical model most closely approximates the conditions of the research (in terms of the assumptions which qualify the use of the test) and whose measurement requirement is met by the measures used in the research.
- III. Specify a significance level and a sample size.
- IV. Find (or assume) the sampling distribution of the statistical test under the null hypothesis.
- V. On the basis of (II), (III) and (IV) above define the region of rejection.
- VI. Compute the value of the statistical test, using the data obtained from the sample (s). If that value is in the region of rejection, the decision is to reject the null hypothesis; if that value is outside the region of rejection, the decision is that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected at the chosen level of significance. 1/

1/ Sidney Siegel, NON*PARAMETRIC STATISTICS FOR THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES; McGraw-Hill, New York, 1956, p. 6 et seq.

Perhaps at this time an explanation of the null hypothesis concept would be appropriate. English and English define the null hypothesis as follows;

Null hypothesis: the logical contradictory of the hypothesis one seeks to test. If the null hypothesis can be proved false, its contradictory is thereby proved true. Since one exception can overthrow a generalization, it is usually easier to disprove the null hypothesis than to prove the original hypothesis directly. Hence, a common research design calls for a testing to see whether the null hypothesis can be denied or disproved. There are one or two cautions: only the strictest logical contradictory can be used as a null hypothesis (a contrary hypothesis does not serve); and, failure to disprove the null hypothesis does not permit of any inference.

In a typical experimental design, the hypothesis is that two variables show a greater-than-chance difference. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference greater than could be expected by chance; this is tested by appropriate examination of obtained differences.

Contradictory: (Noun) either of two propositions so related that if one is true, the other is false, and vice versa.

Contrary: (Adjective) of the relation between two propositions such that if one is true the other cannot be true, though both may be false. ^{1/}

By following the procedures of statistical inference outlined above the hypothesis concerning broken homes as defined in Chapter III becomes; there is no difference

^{1/} Horace B. English and Ava Champney English, A COMPREHENSIVE DICTIONARY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOANALYTICAL TERMS; David McKay Company Inc., New York, 1962; p. 350.

greater than could be expected by chance, between the amount of stress experienced by an offender who has committed one offense, as compared with the amount of stress experienced by an offender who has committed two or more offenses, with regard to the presence of a structurally broken home. This then is the null hypothesis.

The statistical test which seemed most suitable for testing this hypothesis is known as chi square or χ^2 . One type of table used to calculate chi square is the 2 x 2, or fourfold contingency table. In this type of table a chi square test for independence can readily be obtained without calculating the expected values, which is the case in some other applications of chi square.

An example of the 2 x 2, or fourfold table is shown below followed by the formula which is used to calculate chi square.

	Group A	Group B	
Structurally Complete	M	O	M + O
Structurally Broken	R	S	R + S
	M + R	O + S	N

In this table the symbols signify the following data;

M - number of cases in Group A whose homes are structurally complete.

R - number of cases in Group A whose homes are structurally broken.

O - number of cases in Group B whose homes are structurally complete.

S - number of cases in Group B whose homes are structurally broken.

N - total number of cases.

The formula then becomes

$$X^2 = \frac{N(MS + OR)^2}{(M+O)(R+S)(M+R)(O+S)}$$

The sample size has already been specified as being one hundred cases. For purposes of this study a level of significance of .05 has been selected as being adequate before rejecting the null hypothesis. This means that once in every twenty times, or five times in every hundred, the rejection of the hypothesis will be a mistake. In other words the sample results will be due to chance. There is no way of knowing which rejection is correct or which is incorrect. However, there will be nineteen correct rejections for every one that is incorrect.

In order to test the significance of chi square, it is necessary to know how often a chi square of the size specified in this study would occur by chance in the long run. The sampling distribution of chi square is used for

such purposes, since all that is necessary, is to know the number of degrees of freedom. The values of each degree of freedom can then be found by referral to a table calculated for these values. A chi square larger than the value in the table at the specified degree of freedom is significant and would cause rejection of the null hypothesis. The number of degrees of freedom in a 2 x 2, or fourfold table is $(2-1)(2-1) = 1$.

Table VIII and Table IX show the marital status of the offenders parents at time of referral. These tables show that 25.0 percent of the offenders from Group A -- those offenders who had committed only one offense, and 59.2 percent of the offenders from Group B -- those offenders who had committed two or more offenses, came from structurally broken homes. Shulman ^{1/} cites a percentage of from fourteen to seventeen as being the rate of broken homes in the general population of the United States. Bloch and Flynn, ^{2/} cite a somewhat higher percentage of twenty-five.

However, the interest of this study is centered in the differences between those offenders who have committed one offense, Group A, as compared with those who have

^{1/} Shulman, op. cit., p. 391.

^{2/} Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 184

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ~~40~~^{a/} ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY PARENT'S MARITAL STATUS AT TIME OF REFERRAL

<u>Marital Status of Parents</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	
Total:	40 ^{a/}	100.0%	
Structurally Complete Married	30	75.0%	75.0%
Structurally Broken	10	25.0%	
Separated	4		10.0%
Mother Deceased	-		-
Father Deceased	3		7.5%
Both Parents Deceased	-		-
Divorced	3		7.5%
Never Married	-		-
Institutionalized	-		-

a/ In one case the marital status of the parents was not recorded.

KB/pb

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY PARENT'S MARITAL STATUS AT TIME OF REFERRAL

<u>Marital Status of Parents</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	
Total:	59	100.0%	
Structurally Complete Married	24	40.8%	40.8%
Structurally Broken	35	59.2%	
Separated	14		23.7%
Mother Deceased	8		13.5%
Father Deceased	5		8.4%
Both Parents Deceased	1		1.7%
Divorced	2		3.4%
Never Married	3		5.1%
Institutionalized	2		3.4%

KB/pb

committed two or more offenses, Group B.

Before applying the foregoing statistical procedures to the data collected for this study it is necessary to define certain terms that are used in the tables.

Structurally complete refers to those homes where the parents ~~are~~ married and living together.

Structurally broken refers to those homes where the parents could be classified under one or more of the following categories; where the parents are separated, either legally or by the process known as desertion; where one or both of the parents are deceased; where the parents are divorced; where the parents have never been married; and finally where one or both of the parents are institutionalized on a longterm basis.

In one instance this information was not recorded. This offender had committed one offense only and as a result the calculations for Group A were based on a total number of forty, instead of forty-one. The offender in this case was over forty years of age.

As it is not uncommon for a person over twenty-five years of age to have a deceased parent, the investigator withdrew these cases and examined them. It was found that only two of the cases fell into this category, both being in Group B. Even with the removal of these cases the percentage of structurally broken homes in Group B is still high, that is, 55.2 percent.

However, the calculation of chi square is based on the figures shown in Tables VIII and IX. When the figures in these two tables are subjected to the statistical procedures already outlined the result is; chi square is equal to 11.326. For a degree of freedom of one, a chi square equal to 11.326 is significant at better than the .001 level. Thus, the data provide fairly conclusive evidence that the amount of stress to which an individual is exposed, in the form of a structurally broken home, is significant in recidivism among offenders.

The next factor to be considered is educational status. The study has followed the same statistical procedure in determining the significance of this factor, as was followed in determining the significance of broken homes. Thus the hypothesis concerning educational status as defined in Chapter III becomes; there is no difference greater than could be expected by chance, between the amount of stress experienced by an offender who has committed one offense, as compared with the amount of stress experienced by an offender who has committed two or more offenses, with regard to low educational achievement.

Chi square and the 2 X 2, or fourfold contingency table were again used, as well as a level of significance of .05 and a degree of freedom of one.

Table X and Table XI show the variation from expected grade at time of referral or at time of leaving school. The expected grade is based on the average age of the population in each of the grades through one to twelve in the schools of the City of Halifax, for the year 1962. This average age of the school grades is based on the average of the averages of the school grades. It does not include any of the Auxiliary classes in the City of Halifax School system. ^{1/}

The study then classified the offenders in Group A and Group B into two categories. The first category included all those offenders who were one grade ahead, in their proper grade, or one grade behind, when compared with the average ages of the children in the school system of the City of Halifax. The second category included all those offenders who were two or more grades behind, when compared with the average ages of the children in the school system of the City of Halifax.

Examination of Table X and Table XI reveals the following situation; in Group A, sixteen of the forty-one offenders fall into the first category, while the remaining twenty-five offenders fall into the second category; in Group B, nine of the fifty-nine offenders

^{1/} This information was kindly supplied by Mr. M. MacG. Rankin, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, for the City of Halifax.

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF 41 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY VARIATION FROM EXPECTED GRADE AT TIME OF REFERRAL OR AT TIME OF LEAVING SCHOOL

<u>Educational Achievement</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	41	100.0%
One grade ahead	2	4.9%
In proper grade	7	17.1%
One grade behind	7	17.1%
Two grades behind	17	41.4%
Three grades behind	5	12.2%
Four grades behind	-	-
Five grades behind	3	7.3%

KB/ps

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY VARIATION FROM EXPECTED GRADE AT TIME OF REFERRAL OR AT TIME OF LEAVING SCHOOL

<u>Educational Achievement</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	59	100.0%
One grade ahead	-	-
In proper grade	3	5.1%
One grade behind	6	10.2%
Two grades behind	19	32.2%
Three grades behind	18	30.5%
Four grades behind	11	18.6%
Five grades behind	2	3.4%

KB/pb

fall into the first category, while the remaining fifty offenders fall into the second category.

When these figures are subjected to the statistical test, chi square, the result is; chi square is equal to 7.289. For a degree of freedom of one, a chi square equal to 7.289 is significant at better than the .01 level. The data in this instance also provide fairly conclusive evidence that the amount of stress to which an individual is subjected to, in the form of educational deprivation by being behind in his expected grade by two or more years, is significant in recidivism among offenders.

Table XII and Table XIII were included in the study to show a comparison between the average ages of the offenders in their attained grade, and the average age of the school population in the City of Halifax school system, per grade attained in the year 1962.

Upon examination these two tables show discrepancies between the average ages of the offenders at their attained grades and the average ages of the general school populations at attained grades in the year 1962. The greatest discrepancies between these two averages lies in the lower grades; for example, in Grade Four the discrepancy between Group A and the general school population is 5.4 years; while in

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF 41 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY GRADE ATTAINED AND COMPARISON OF OFFENDERS AVERAGE AGE AT GRADE ATTAINED WITH AVERAGE AGE OF THE SCHOOL POPULATION OF THE CITY OF HALIFAX AT GRADE ATTAINED IN THE YEAR 1962

	<u>Grade Attained</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Average Age of Offenders at Grades Attained</u>	<u>Average Age of City of Halifax School Population at Grades Attained a/</u>	<u>Average Difference</u>
Total:	41				
	1	-	-	7.3	-
	2	-	-	8.3	-
	3	-	-	9.4	-
	4	3	16.0	10.6	+ 5.4
	5	-	-	11.7	-
	6	-	-	12.4	-
	7	7	16.4	13.8	+ 2.6
	8	13	16.1	14.2	+ 1.9
	9	7	16.0	15.2	+ 0.8
	10	5	17.6	16.5	+ 1.1
	11	5	17.0	17.4	- 0.4
	12	1	19.0	18.3	+ 0.7

a/ This information was kindly supplied by Mr. M. MacG., Rankin, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, for the City of Halifax.

TABLE XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY GRADE ATTAINED AND COMPARISON OF OFFENDERS' AVERAGE AGE AT GRADE ATTAINED WITH AVERAGE AGE OF THE SCHOOL POPULATION OF THE CITY OF HALIFAX AT GRADE ATTAINED IN THE YEAR 1962

<u>Grade Attained</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Average Age of Offenders at Grades Attained</u>	<u>Average Age of City of Halifax School Population at Grades Attained ^{a/}</u>	<u>Average Difference</u>
Total:	59	-	7.3	-
1	-	-	8.3	-
2	-	-	9.4	+4.4
3	6	15.0	10.6	+3.6
4	8	15.3	11.7	+3.3
5	7	15.7	12.4	+2.2
6	10	16.0	13.8	+2.3
7	15	16.5	14.2	+1.5
8	7	16.7	15.2	+0.4
9	3	16.9	16.5	+1.3
10	3	18.7	17.4	-
11	-	-	18.3	-
12	-	-	-	-

^{a/} This information was kindly supplied by Mr. M. MacG. Rankin, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, for the City of Halifax.

KB/pb

Group B the discrepancy in this grade is 4.4 years. The discrepancies become progressively smaller as the grade attained increases.

Mr. Alex. Campbell, Chief Probation Officer, cautioned the investigator that the grades attained as listed in the probation files may be slightly higher than is the actual case. This caution was given because the grade attained by the offender is not verified in all cases. In some instances the grade attained claimed by the offender is accepted, and it is thought that, in some cases, the offenders may tend to overstate their educational achievements. However, it is felt that this shortcoming would not work in favor of the study's assumptions, but rather against them, for if the actual grades attained are lower than those listed in the tables, then the calculations based on those tables would be on the conservative side rather than on the more liberal side. Thus the bias created by this situation would work against the study's assumptions.

The third and final factor to be considered is economic status. Three areas that were thought to be indicative of economic status were examined. They being; the type of employment held by the offender, the type of employment held by the offender's father, and the location of the offender's home.

The same statistical procedures used to test the

significance of the first two factors, were again used to test the significance of the three indicators assumed to be indicative of economic status.

The hypothesis concerning low economic status is converted into a null hypothesis and now becomes; there is no difference greater than could be expected by chance, between the amount of stress experienced by an offender who has committed one offense, as compared with the amount of stress experienced by an offender who has committed two or more offenses, with regard to the offender's type of employment, the offender's father's type of employment, and the place of residence of the offender.

Table XIV and Table XV indicate the type of employment held by offenders who have committed one offense, Group A, and offenders who have committed two offenses or more, Group B, respectively. Both groups were divided into two categories on the basis of type of employment held by the offender. The first category contains those offenders who held unskilled laboring jobs; for example, casual labor, construction labor, delivery boys, and the like. The second category contains those offenders who held semi-skilled, skilled, and "white collar" jobs; for example, electricians, plumbers, carpenters and clerks. Offenders still attending school were considered to be in the latter category, although the investigator realized they may just as easily fall into the former category upon leaving school. However,

TABLE XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF 41 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT HELD BY OFFENDERS

<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	41	100.0%
Unskilled labor	15	36.5%
Other than unskilled labor	26	63.5%
Students	13	31.8%
Semi-skilled	2	4.9%
Skilled	3	7.3%
White collar	8	19.5%

KB/pb

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT HELD BY OFFENDERS

<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	59	100.0%
Unskilled labor	44	74.6%
Other than unskilled labor	15	25.4%
Students	2	3.4%
Semi-skilled	2	3.4%
Skilled	2	3.4%
White Collar	9	15.2%

KB/pb

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e

it was assumed that the fact that they were still in school past their sixteenth birthday indicated at least a desire to obtain a better job than would have been possible if they had left upon reaching their sixteenth birthday.

On this basis the percentages of offenders falling into the unskilled labor category were 36.5 in Group A, and 74.6 in Group B, while the percentages falling into the other than unskilled labor category were 63.5 in Group A, and 25.4 in Group B. By actual count the figures were as follows: Group A, unskilled labour--fifteen, other than unskilled labor--twenty-six; Group B, unskilled labor--forty-four, other than unskilled labor--fifteen.

When the actual counts in each Group are subjected to the chi square test, it is found that chi square is equal to 14.457. For a degree of freedom of one, a chi square equal to 14.457 is significant at better than the .001 level. The data provide fairly conclusive evidence that the amount of stress to which an individual is exposed, in the form of low economic status as indicated by type of job held, is significant in recidivism among offenders.

Table XVI and Table XVII indicate the type of employment held by the fathers of the offenders. Table XVI contains Group A, while Table XVII contains Group B.

TABLE XVI

DISTRIBUTION OF 32^{a/} ADULT PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT HELD BY OFFENDER'S FATHER

<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	
Total:	32 ^{a/}	100.0%	
Unskilled labor	5	15.6%	
Other than unskilled labor	27	84.4%	
Semi-skilled	5		15.6%
Skilled	16		50.0%
White collar	3		9.4%
Professional	3		9.4%

KB/pb

^{a/} This table does not include four cases in which the father's job was not recorded, two cases in which the father was deceased, and three cases where the father was recorded as receiving a pension.

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF 44^{a/} ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962, BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT HELD BY OFFENDER'S FATHER

<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	
Total:	44 ^{a/}	100.0%	
Unskilled labor	20	45.5%	
Other than unskilled labor	24	54.5%	
Semi-skilled	6		13.6%
Skilled	13		29.5%
White collar	4		9.1%
Professional	1		2.3%

KB/pb

^{a/} This table does not include seven cases in which the father's job was not recorded, three cases in which the father was deceased, and five cases where the father was recorded as receiving a pension.

Again both groups were divided into two categories on the basis of type of employment held. The first category contains those fathers who held unskilled labouring jobs, while the second category contains those fathers who held semi-skilled, skilled, "white collar", and professional positions.

On this basis the percentages of fathers falling into the unskilled labor category were 15.6 in Group A, and 45.5 in Group B; while the percentages of fathers falling into the other than unskilled category were 84.4 in Group A, and 54.5 in Group B. By actual count the figures were as follows; Group A, unskilled labor--five, other than unskilled labor--twenty-seven; Group B, unskilled labor--twenty, other than unskilled labor--twenty-four. The total in Group A is thirty-two, rather than the forty-one which one would expect. The reasons for this discrepancy are due to the fact that there were four cases in which the father's job was not recorded, two cases in which the father was deceased, and three cases where the father was recorded as receiving a pension. The total in Group B is forty-four, rather than the fifty-nine which one would expect. The reasons for this discrepancy are similar to the reasons given for the discrepancy in Group A; there were seven cases in which the father's job was not recorded, three cases in which the father was deceased, and five cases where the father was re-

corded as receiving a pension.

Because one of the categories had an actual count of less than ten cases (Group A, unskilled labor only had five cases), it was necessary to modify the chi square formula used previously by incorporating Yates' correction for continuity. The chi square formula then becomes

$$X^2 = \frac{N ((MS-OR) - N/2)^2}{(M+O)(R+S)(M+R)(O+S)}$$

The term (MS-OR) is the absolute difference; that is, the difference taken regardless of the sign. The correction amounts to subtracting N/2 from this absolute difference.

When the actual counts in each Group are subjected to this modified chi square test, it is found that chi square is equal to 6.177. For a degree of freedom of one, a chi square equal to 6.177 is significant at better than the .02 level. The data provide fairly conclusive evidence that the amount of stress to which an individual is exposed, in the form of low economic status as indicated by the type of jobs held by his father, is significant in recidivism among offenders.

The third and final indicator of low economic status to be examined by the study is the offender's place of residence. Table XVIII and Table XIX indicate the living location, by Dominion Bureau of Statistics

TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF 41 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (ONE OFFENSE ONLY) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY LIVING LOCATION (CENSUS TRACT) AT TIME OF REFERRAL

<u>Census Tract</u> ^{a/}	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total:	41	100.0%
1	-	-
2	1	2.4%
3	2	4.9%
4	3	7.3%
5	6	14.6%
6	4	9.8%
7	3	7.3%
8	7	17.1%
9	1	2.4%
10	1	2.4%
11	-	-
12	4	9.8%
13	-	-
14	2	4.9%
15	4	9.8%
16	-	-
17	3	7.3%

^{a/} These tracts are based on those drawn up by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the City of Halifax for 1956.

KB/pb

TABLE XIX

DISTRIBUTION OF 59 ADULT MALE PROBATIONERS (TWO OR MORE OFFENSES) FROM THE CITY OF HALIFAX, PLACED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE ADULT PROBATION SERVICE BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND DECEMBER 31, 1962 BY LIVING LOCATION (CENSUS TRACT) AT TIME OF REFERRAL

<u>Census Tract</u> ^{a/}	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Total:	59	100.0%
1	-	-
2	2	3.5%
3	6	10.1%
4	4	6.7%
5	20	33.9%
6	7	11.9%
7	6	10.1%
8	7	11.9%
9	-	-
10	-	-
11	1	1.7%
12	3	5.1%
13	1	1.7%
14	1	1.7%
15	-	-
16	-	-
17	1	1.7%

a/ These tracts are based on those drawn up by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the City of Halifax for 1956.

KB/pb

census tracts, of Group A and Group B respectively. For a more detailed picture of the living location, by street address, of the one hundred offenders see the map of the City of Halifax in Appendix B.

Tracts three, four, and five make up the downtown area of the City, which is the oldest part of the City. They are all adjacent to one another and run parallel to the harbour from Morris Street in the South to North Street in the North. These tracts are bounded by the harbour in the East, and tract thirteen and portions of Robie Street in the West. Tract thirteen comprises the centre portion of the City which is almost entirely park, institutional, and armed forces property. Tracts three, four and five comprise the area referred to when the redevelopment plans for the City are discussed. Under the zoning code of the City of Halifax those three areas are classified as industrial and general business areas, with a smattering of third density residential dwellings. The dwellings in these tracts would, for the most part, have to be considered over-crowded and run down. A great many of them would be considered slum or blighted area dwellings.^{1/}

By referring to Tables XVIII and XIX, it can be seen that eleven offenders from Group A and thirty

^{1/} As described by Neumeyer on page 7 of Chapter III

offenders from Group B live in tracts three, four and five. Converted into percentages those figures represent 26.8 per cent and 50.8 per cent respectively.

When the actual figures represented by this situation are subjected to the chi square formula, the result is chi square is equal to 5.76. For a degree of freedom of one, a chi square equal to 5.76 is significant at better than the .02 level. Thus, the data provide fairly conclusive evidence that the amount of stress to which an individual is exposed, in the form of low economic status as indicated by the place of his residence, is significant in recidivism among offenders.

If tracts six and seven had also been included in the calculations the results would have been as follows: chi square equal to 18.54. For a degree of freedom of one, a chi square equal to 18.54 is significant at better than the .001 level.

There would be some justification for including these tracts. Tract six is adjacent to, and directly North of, tract five. It has many of the same characteristics of the three tracts previously commented on, for example, it is almost entirely general business, industrial, and armed forces property, with a few areas of third density dwellings. However, for the most part the dwellings in this area are of a considerably higher standard than those in tracts

three, four, and five. In addition, this tract is not generally considered to be in the redevelopment area. For these reasons it was not included in the original calculations.

Tract seven on the other hand contains a good deal of second density dwellings, as well as third density dwellings, park and institutional areas, general business areas and industrial areas. The physical condition of the buildings and dwellings in this area is of a fairly high calibre. The reason for including this tract in the calculations would be due to one small area alone. This area, Mulgrave Park, although physically above standard, contains a number of families who have been relocated from sub-standard housing. They are possibly still suffering from the effects of a long tenure in sub-standard housing and it may take some years for them to adjust to their new environment. However, because of the physical soundness of the dwellings in this tract, it was not included in the original calculations.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In retrospect, the findings of the study did substantiate the hypotheses to a significant degree. There was a significant difference between those offenders who had committed one offense, when compared with those offenders who had committed two or more offenses, on the basis of the factors under consideration. The difference between the two groups far exceeded the level of significance which was set up as being acceptable by the study in two of the factors; namely, broken homes and type of employment held by the offender. The three other factors, place of residence, educational achievement and type of employment held by the offender's father, also exceeded the level of significance defined by the study although to a somewhat lesser degree. P. 5

Earlier in the study the deleterious effects of a broken home, low educational achievement, and low economic status were outlined separately. When these factors occur together in the backgrounds of individuals, as is the case in a goodly portion of the offenders under study, these deleterious effects are compounded and are at least concomitant factors in the differential crime rate of the groups under study.

The five factors under study are closely

allied with the primary social institution, the family; and the major secondary social institution, the school. It is largely from these two social institutions that an individual receives his sense of values, his sense of security, and where he develops his basic trust. If these two institutions are practically non-existent or exist only superficially to the individual, then the individual's development in these important areas will be distorted or incomplete. The individual's background is unstable and does not conform to the accepted middle-class standards. An individual's mode of behavior is based upon his experiences. If his experiences do not conform to the accepted group norms of society, then it is also unlikely that his behavior will conform to the accepted group or societal norms. The individual feels freed from the pressures of public opinion and informal social controls which, in a more stable background, would operate to secure conformity to the norms of conventional behavior.

The stability of the community in which the offenders live would seem to be an area which could be more closely examined, and in which further research seems necessary. It is felt that the findings of this study have a sufficient degree of

validity to be able to be regarded as a basis for further research and study in these areas. Other areas indicating unstable community conditions would further add to the knowledge sought in relationship to criminal behavior as well.

Study and research in these areas, along with the use of more advanced statistical procedures would give more valid results than most studies undertaken locally to date. ^{1/} Research studies undertaken in this manner would give a clearer indication as to whether the factors are directly related, indirectly related, or only concomitant factors. There is a wealth of research data in the local area that could, and must be, collected; tabulated; processed; and studied if there is to be an appreciable gain made in the understanding of criminal behavior. For it is through knowledge about the causes behind criminal behavior that the road to a successful preventative and treatment program lies. This condition is not peculiar to the local area alone, for at the moment, most national, as well as international programs, are geared to the palliative concept of dealing with criminal behavior and crime.

In view of the inferences drawn from the various data employed in the study, some recommend-

^{1/} Studies similar in scope and nature to this study to the best of the investigator's knowledge.

ations will now be made in keeping with the findings of the project. These recommendations apply to offenders in general and not just to those offenders who have committed two or more offenses. This statement leads to the first recommendation; namely, that a study be undertaken which would show the difference in the factors outlined in this study, as well as others, between offenders and non-offenders. One of the study's implicit assumptions has been that the backgrounds of one-time offenders is more similar to the backgrounds of non-offenders, than are the backgrounds of offenders who have committed two or more offenses. However, if the backgrounds of non-offenders even closely approximates that of the one-time offenders then there is a need for a vast program of social action in the local area. Social action in respect to this study would at least refer to programs aimed at prevention or correcting the situation described in the study. If a relatively high percentage of the local population is subjected to the stresses of the factors under study, then they may well be showing the strain in other forms of deviant behavior, ^{1/} rather than in criminal behavior.

The local economy is in a period of expansion and technological advancement and although it is not

^{1/} Cf. Chapter II, p. 18 of this thesis.

mercurial in nature, it is progressive. However, this state of affairs will do little to improve the lot of these individual offenders who have not the education or training to avail themselves of these opportunities. They must be infused with a desire to achieve a higher educational standing. Accompanying the desire, must be an opportunity to fulfill this desire. Some of the opportunities are already well established but must be expanded. Free education up to the high school level is already an established fact. Of late, the Federal Government has increased the scope of the children's allowances by continuing payments of benefits to the mother of a child under seventeen while he remains in school. In addition to the regular conventional schools, there is also a Vocational High School and the Nova Scotia Institute of Technology. All of these services add to the assets of the community; however, they must be expanded and extended if the problems at hand are to be successfully overcome.

But even more, or just as necessary as these services, is the need for less material services. School social workers are of primary importance to seek out and help with problems in the home, school, and community. Teachers are well trained and responsible individuals who see many of the problems

facing their charges. They would like to help and sometimes do. However, they have a heavy burden to carry in imparting knowledge to the youth of the City and to ask them to be social workers as well as teachers is just too much. In addition, they are untrained in this rather exacting profession and may well, albeit unintentionally, perform a disservice rather than a service. A school social worker would be in a position to help with a problem at it's inception in a high proportion of cases, and in most cases would at least be available when the problem was relatively new, rather than, as is the case with the present system, waiting until the individual has matured considerably before any steps at all are taken to see if the person can be assisted with his problem.

The use of the available counselling services, such as the Family Service Bureau and the Children's Aid Society, can be of great help in assisting people with marital problems. The expansion and extension of these and similar services is a desirable community need. This would call for the availability of more funds, an increase in professional workers, an increase in facilities, as well as making the public aware of the availability of these services.

The need of a Family Court to resolve many of

the problems that are, at the moment, being heard before magisterial and county courts is indeed pressing. Of late there has been much discussion of this community lack and perhaps this situation will be remedied in the near future. At present the regular courts are so overtaxed, that problems involving families may not be receiving the concentrated attention they so urgently require. Hopefully, a social worker would be attached to the Family Court to assist the magistrate in his efforts to resolve family conflicts. Through the Family Court the efforts of many of the social agencies that seem to be involved in such disputes could be co-ordinated.

In recent years the City of Halifax has made great strides in clearing slum and blighted areas. To a lesser degree, the City has also provided publically owned housing to replace the homes lost by the people who formerly lived in these areas. A good deal more of this type of housing is required. However, it is not enough to take away a slum and replace it with a modern apartment building. These families need the help, guidance, and counselling of trained professional workers to prepare themselves for the changes they will experience in a move such as this. There are many dynamics involved in such a situation and it is not enough to just move a family from one living location to another, even if the move is from a slum to a

modern apartment or home unit. Without proper preparation the community may be partially solving one problem, while it is encouraging others and only moving still others from one location to another.

This study has intimated that it adheres to the multiple causation hypothesis of criminal behavior. Therefore, in order to combat the causes of criminal behavior and by so doing also combat some associated ills with which society is confronted, it is necessary to co-ordinate the efforts of many of the existing community social services. The Welfare Council (Halifax-Dartmouth Area) is now engaged in this endeavour. However, to be successful it requires the assistance of all citizens; to this end a campaign should be initiated which would involve the community as a whole. Through re-development and re-education with the help of professional workers and volunteers from the community along with increased facilities; much can be gained in combatting the ills of our community.

In conclusion, it is felt that the efforts of a community as a whole, accompanied by further research to help us understand and gain insight into the nature of the community's social ills, can do much in helping the community combat the conditions that lead to criminal behavior. By develop-

ing community spirit in a wholesome community atmosphere, it is felt that the incidence of criminal activity will be reduced.

APPENDIX A

MARITIME SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Schedule For Data Collection

Data taken by _____ Date _____ Schedule No. _____

I. Date Of Referral:

II. Birth Date:

III Living Arrangements:

1. a) Home address of offender:
b) Length of time at present address:
c) Previous address:
d) Length of time at previous address:

() Check here and continue on back of sheet if necessary.
2. Circle type of dwelling: single/ duplex/ apartment/ tenement/ lodgings.
3. a) Number of rooms:
b) Number of occupants:
4. Circle condition of dwelling: excellent/ very good/ good/ average/ fair/ poor/ very poor/ not recorded.
5. () Owned? () Rented? () Free?
From whom? () Why? ()
6. Housekeeping standards:

IV. Marital Status of Parents of Offender

1. Not married _____
2. Married _____
3. Divorced _____
4. Separated _____
5. Mother Deceased _____

Schedule No. _____

6. Father deceased _____

7. Both parents deceased _____

8. Institutionalized _____

(Elaborate)

V. Marital Status Of Offender

1. Single _____

2. Married _____

3. Divorced _____

4. Separated _____

5. Wife Deceased _____

VI. Education

1. Grade attained _____

2. Age grade attained _____

VII. Employment1. Type held by offender (if student state
this as employment _____)

2. Type held by offender's father _____

VIII Adult Criminal Record

1. Present offence

a) Court:

b) Place:

c) Month & Year appeared:

d) Offence:

e) Disposition:

2. Previous offence

a) Court:

- b) Place:
- c) Mo. and Yr. appeared:
- d) Offence:
- e) Disposition:

3. Previous Offence

- a) Court:
- b) Place:
- c) Mo. & Yr. appeared:
- d) Offence:
- e) Disposition:

(_____) Check here and continue on back of sheet if necessary.

IX. Juvenile Court Record

- 1.a) Court:
 - b) Place:
 - c) Mo. & Yr. appeared:
 - d) Offence
 - e) Disposition:
- 2.a) Court:
 - b) Place:
 - c) Mo. & Yr. appeared:
 - d) Offence
 - e) Disposition:

(_____) check here and continue on back of sheet if necessary.

APPENDIX B

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