

FORUM

on Corrections Research

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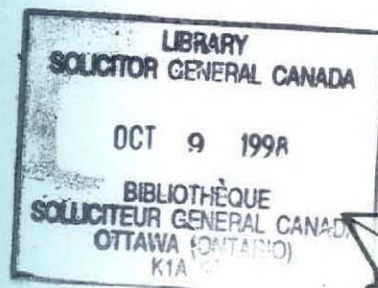
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FORUM reviews applied research related to corrections policy, programming and management issues. It also features original articles contributed by staff of the Correctional Service of Canada and other international researchers and practitioners.

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FORUM invites contributions to any section of the magazine from researchers in the field. Please send your contributions to

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FORUM

on Corrections Research

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Articles should be written in plain language. Complicated research and statistical terms should be avoided. However, if they are unavoidable, a clear explanation of the meaning of the term should be provided. FORUM reaches about 6,000 individuals in more than 35 countries, including academics, the public, journalists, corrections staff (from front-line staff to senior managers) and members of the judiciary. Our goal is to present reliable research to a **lay audience**.

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Ideally, articles should be 1,000 to 1,500 words in length (six double-spaced pages). Feature articles must be no longer than 2,000 words.

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Have falling crime rates and increased use of probation reduced incarceration? — Some trends and comparisons

by Roger Boe and Mike Muirhead¹
Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada

The inmate population in Canada has grown faster in recent years than either crime or the overall population. This is particularly noteworthy because it has occurred despite a rapid increase in the use of probation and other community dispositions. This article examines these recent trends, and compares Canadian and American experiences.

Canada has witnessed significantly different rates of growth over the past several years in its population, reported crimes, and average annual prison and community supervision counts. These differences are illustrated in Figure 1, which shows the changes since 1991–1992.

Demographic trends

Demographic changes have significantly affected crime and correctional trends.² Figure 1 shows how the overall Canadian population increased since 1991–1992. This increase amounted to nearly 1.9 million persons, a growth of 7%. Population growth alone has accounted for some of the increase in crime and incarceration.

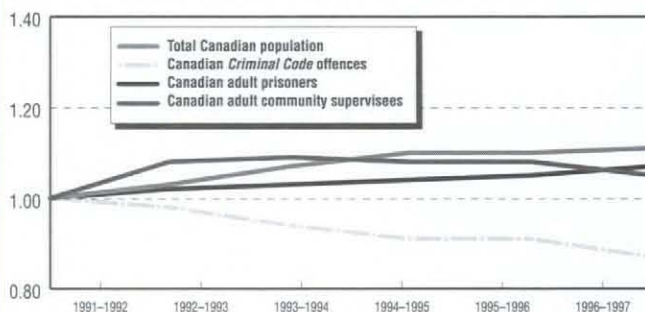
Population aging, however, is now offsetting the impact of overall population growth on crime. Figure 2 shows that, since 1981, the number of males in 18–29 age group (the cohort at highest risk of criminal involvement) has been in absolute decline, after peaking in 1982, and males aged 30–39 peaked in 1996. For males, the 40–49 and over-50 cohorts are projected to increase in the coming decade.³

Crime trends

Since 1991, the number of Criminal Code offences known to the police has decreased from just over 3 million in 1991 to just over 2.6 million in 1997⁴ — a decline of 13%. Moreover, violent crimes — which have generally increased faster than other offences —

Figure 1

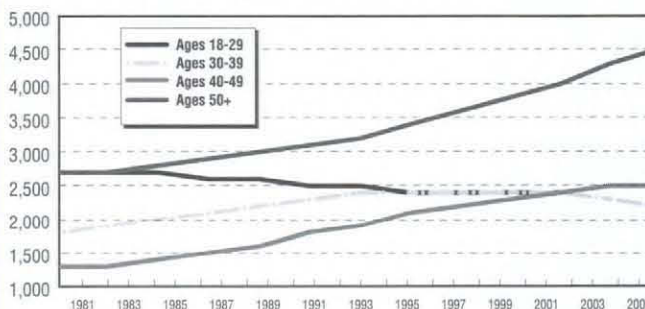
Relative Growth of Canadian Crime and Prison Populations Since 1991–1992 (1991–1992=1.00)



Sources: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Criminal Justice at a Glance*, 1997, CD-ROM (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 1997); Statistics Canada, *Review of Adult Correctional Services in Canada, 1996–97* (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 1998).

Figure 2

Male Adult Population (000s) and Projections, Canada, 1981 to 2005



Sources: Statistics Canada Projections from the 1991 Census

have also declined since 1993.⁵ As noted, the aging of the Canadian population has likely contributed to the decline in the crime rate.

Offender population growth

Incarceration. Since 1991–1992, the average reported count of adult inmates in federal and provincial or territorial institutions has increased by 11%, from about 30,700 to 34,200 (Table 1). Over this period, therefore, the rate of increase in prison populations has significantly exceeded the increase in crime

and has mostly outpaced the growth of the Canadian population.

Community Supervision. As Figure 1 illustrates, the total number of adults under community supervision jumped significantly during the first part of the period under study and then gradually dropped, although not as low as 1991–1992 numbers. Since 1991–1992 the adult community supervision population counts increased from about 112,000 to almost 118,000, a gain that just exceeds 5%.

In Canada, probation can be imposed as a sanction on its own or may be accompanied by an additional sanction such as a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years, an

intermittent sentence, a fine, a suspended sentence, or a conditional discharge.

For adults, a sentence of probation⁶ is the main alternative to imprisonment used by the courts. Information from Statistics Canada's Adult Criminal Court Survey, which is still relatively new, indicates that probation was ordered in 37% of provincial criminal court convictions, and was accompanied by a median sentence of one year. Of all convictions, 40% produced only one sanction, 45% resulted in two sanctions and almost 10% involved three or more sanctions. Among the combination sentences, prison and probation accounted for 12%, probation and fine 8%, and probation and some other sanction for 23%.⁷

Table 1

Comparative Adult Prison and Probation Growth in the United States and Canada Since 1991

Canadian Index						
1991–1992 = 1.00	1991–1992	1992–1993	1993–1994	1994–1995	1995–1996	1996–1997
Total Canadian Population	1.00	1.02	1.03	1.04	1.05	1.07
Canadian Criminal Code offences	1.00	0.98	0.94	0.91	0.91	0.87
Canadian adult prisoner counts	1.00	1.03	1.07	1.10	1.10	1.11
Canadian adult probation and parole counts	1.00	1.08	1.09	1.08	1.08	1.05
American Index						
1991 = 1.00	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Total U.S. population	1.00	1.01	1.02	1.03	1.04	*
U.S. crime index offences	1.00	0.97	0.95	0.94	0.93	*
U.S. jail and prison counts	1.00	1.06	1.12	1.21	1.30	*
U.S. probation and parole counts	1.00	1.05	1.08	1.11	1.14	*
Canadian Growth Trends 1991–1992 to 1996–1997						
1991–1992	1992–1993	1993–1994	1994–1995	1995–1996	1996–1997	
Total Canadian population	28,120,000	28,542,400	28,946,900	29,251,200	29,606,000	29,997,540
Canadian Criminal Code offences	3,027,681	2,970,525	2,852,915	2,757,355	2,758,992	2,624,148
Canadian adult prisoner counts	30,723	31,709	32,803	33,759	33,785	34,167
Canadian adult probation and parole counts	111,682	120,116	121,650	120,542	120,411	117,683
American Growth Trends 1991 to 1995						
1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	
Total U.S. population	252,618,000	255,391,000	258,132,000	260,682,000	263,168,000	*
U.S. crime index offences	14,872,900	14,438,200	14,141,800	13,990,000	13,867,000	*
U.S. jail and prison counts	1,216,664	1,292,347	1,364,881	1,469,947	1,577,845	*
U.S. probation and parole counts	3,319,520	3,470,212	3,579,260	3,671,393	3,796,703	*

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Review of Adult Correctional Services in Canada, 1996–97*, (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada 1998).

Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, "Criminal Justice at a Glance, 1997," CD-ROM.

U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Key Facts at a Glance," Web site [www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/Welcomel].

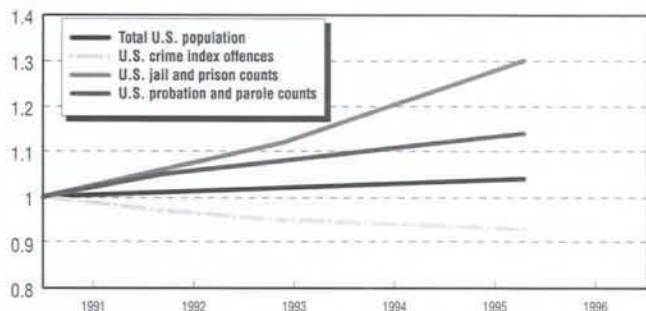
U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*. Annual. (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office).

* 1996 data not yet available for United States

** The U.S. crime index is compiled annually from a survey by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, covering occurrences of seven major offences throughout the United States. It is commonly used to indicate major crime rates and trends.

Figure 3

Growth of U.S. Crime and Correction Populations Since 1991 (1991=1.00)



Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Key Facts at a Glance," Web site [www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/Welcome].
U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*. Annual. (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Note: The U.S. crime index is compiled annually from a survey by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, covering occurrences of seven major offences throughout the United States. It is commonly used to indicate major crime rates and trends.

Comparisons with the United States

The United States has taken a different approach to crime and incarceration over recent years. Between 1991 and 1995, the populations of U.S. prisons and jails, and the number of people on probation and parole, have increased significantly, at rates well above those of crime or the overall U.S. population. In fact, U.S. growth trends in population and crime are remarkably similar to Canadian trends (compare Figure 1 and Figure 3).⁸

The increase in the U.S. prison population — up almost 30% in just four years — was nearly triple the 10% growth experienced in Canada. The U.S. parole and probation population also increased much faster than the comparable population in Canada — 14% versus 8%, or nearly double the rate. As the U.S. and Canadian crime and population growth rates are similar, then other factors, such as differences in public policy toward crime deterrence, must have a major influence.

The impact of community sentences

The result of Canada's various new (or amended) correctional legislation over the past five years has been a slight reduction in the use of

incarceration relative to the number of adults charged by police, along with a slightly greater use of community dispositions.⁹ However, the data indicate that alternative sanctions have, at best, only modestly reduced incarceration growth. Canada's approach appears most successful when it is contrasted with the United States, where parole and probation grew twice as rapidly as in Canada, yet where prison populations still grew at three times the Canadian rate.

The incarcerated population in both Canada and the United States grew faster than the respective crime rates, which declined, or the respective overall population growth rates, which were very similar. Despite rapid expansion of the community supervision population the increased use of community dispositions appears to arise from their popularity as an additional sanction, and not from use as an alternative to incarceration.

Summary

The crime rate will probably continue to decline for at least the next five to ten years. First, as the population ages, the size of the higher at-risk young adult population will shrink. Most demographers define the "baby boom" as the age cohort born between 1946 and 1966. In 1986, therefore, the oldest boomer was 40 and the youngest was 20. By 1996, this cohort was between 30 and 50 years of age, and by 2006 it will be between 40 and 60 years of age.

Demographic pressures may favour a continuing reduction in crime and incarceration rates for another reason — as the baby boomers begin to age out of the labour force, the range of economic opportunities available to young people should improve.

In future, employers will be forced to compete in a much smaller labour market. However, we have already seen that a decline in the crime rate does not necessarily translate into a decline in prison populations, even when

The increase in the U.S. prison population — up almost 30% in just four years — was nearly triple the 10% growth experienced in Canada.

community sanctions are used more. If a decline in incarceration is desired, therefore, public policy must ensure that future

community supervision legislation does not merely extend the reach of the criminal justice system. ■

¹ 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P9.

² Especially since David Foot made his provocative assertion that "demographics explains two-thirds of everything," in *Boom, Bust and Echo* (Toronto, ON: Macfarlane Walter and Ross, 1996): 1.

³ The information for this chart is based on Statistics Canada 1991 Census data and projections; projections based on the 1996 Census were not yet available. The trends and projections may need to be modified when newer projections become available.

⁴ The statistics are for actual Criminal Code offences excluding excluding Criminal Code traffic offences, taken from Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (CCJS), *Criminal Justice at a Glance, 1997*, CD-ROM (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 1997).

⁵ CCJS, *Criminal Justice at a Glance*.

⁶ A probation sentence may be accompanied by specific conditions, in addition to the basic ones, which are to keep the peace, be of good behaviour and appear before the court as required.

⁷ Note that these combination categories may include additional sanctions and are therefore not mutually exclusive. They are from: Statistics Canada, "Adult Criminal Court Statistics, 1995-96," *Juristat* 18, 7.

⁸ The population of the United States increased in a similar manner to Canada (4% growth versus 5% in Canada), and crime also decreased, although not at quite as rapid a rate (it decreased more slowly, by nearly 7% versus just over 9% in Canada). The United States also mirrored Canada, in that there was a peak in crime in 1991 followed by a decline.

⁹ "...custody admissions in Canada seem to have maintained a constant relationship to the number of adults charged since 1986-87. However, since 1988-89 there has been a tendency for an increased use of probation relative to the number of adults charged by police." Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Corrections Program, *Community Corrections Programs: Provinces and Territories*, (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, February 1993): 9.

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H

ighlights in the history of day parole

by **Louis Brunet**¹

Operational Planning, Corporate Development, Correctional Service of Canada

Day parole will be 29 years old June 27, 1998. It was legislated in Bill C-150, the famous omnibus bill that, among other things, revised the Criminal Code on abortion, decriminalized homosexuality, introduced lotteries, set the tolerance level of alcohol in the blood for drivers at .08 mg per cc and established mandatory supervision. At the second reading of the bill, the Right Honourable John Turner, then Minister of Justice, said "No bill concerning the Criminal Code has been as much scrutinized and commented upon by members of the legal profession, as well as people in general. This bill will be remembered, I am sure, as a high point in penal reform in Canada."

The article introducing day parole, 94-1-b, was not discussed during the review by the Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs; it was simply approved. During

the second reading, the Minister of Justice did not mention either the article or "day parole" per se. Two members of Parliament mentioned their approval of this new type of release. The first legal definition of day parole, from the Parole Act proclaimed in 1969, reads as follows: "Day Parole" means parole the terms and conditions of which require the inmate to whom it is granted to return to prison from time to time during the duration of such parole or to return to prison after a specified period."

Over the years, this type of release has become a major form of conditional release. Table 1 shows the ratio of day parole over full parole for the 29 years. When it was established, the ratio was 9 inmates on day parole to 91 on full parole (532:5,161); full parole was predominant. In 1997-1998, the ratio was 62:38 (3,861:2,319). For every full parole

Table 1

Parole and Day Parole Grant (Pre-release Decisions)

	Full parole				Day parole				Grand total
	Federal	Provincial	Total	%	Federal	Provincial	Total	%	
1969-1970	2,060	3,101	5,161	0.91	532		532	0.09	5,693
1970-1971	2,825	3,228	6,053	0.88	812		812	0.12	6,865
1971-1972	2,351	3,393	5,744	0.83	1,186		1,186	0.17	6,930
1972-1973	1,617	1,750	3,367	0.74	1,201		1,201	0.26	4,568
1973-1974	1,195	1,655	2,850	0.66	763	703	1,466	0.34	4,316
1974-1975	1,575	1,597	3,172	0.57	1,709	668	2,377	0.43	5,549
1975-1976	2,732		2,732	0.56	2,108		2,108	0.44	4,840
1976-1977	2,317		2,317	0.53	2,027		2,027	0.47	4,344
1977-1978	3,076		3,076	0.58	2,203		2,203	0.42	5,279
1978-1979	3,130		3,130	0.52	2,932		2,932	0.48	6,062
1979-1980	1,507	743	2,250	0.44	2,674	206	2,880	0.56	5,130
1980-1981	1,391	839	2,230	0.42	2,776	333	3,109	0.58	5,339
1981-1982	1,627	1,018	2,645	0.41	3,427	308	3,735	0.59	6,380
1982-1983	1,697	1,169	2,866	0.44	3,233	451	3,684	0.56	6,550
1983-1984	1,839	1,077	2,916	0.42	3,519	559	4,078	0.58	6,994
1984-1985	1,664	1,089	2,753	0.42	3,215	537	3,752	0.58	6,505
1985-1986	1,595	912	2,507	0.36	3,942	496	4,438	0.64	6,945
1986-1987	2,097	987	3,084	0.37	4,656	547	5,203	0.63	8,287
1987-1988	2,240	1,242	3,482	0.41	4,453	640	5,093	0.59	8,575
1988-1989	1,782	1,008	2,790	0.38	4,127	504	4,631	0.62	7,421
1989-1990	1,851	901	2,752	0.37	4,113	474	4,587	0.63	7,339
1990-1991	2,026	932	2,958	0.36	4,795	419	5,214	0.64	8,172
1991-1992	2,252	914	3,166	0.36	5,095	445	5,540	0.64	8,706
1992-1993	2,625	853	3,478	0.38	5,159	436	5,595	0.62	9,073
1993-1994	2,660	711	3,371	0.41	4,510	334	4,844	0.59	8,215
1994-1995	2,247	584	2,831	0.40	3,986	323	4,309	0.60	7,140
1995-1996	1,956	446	2,402	0.41	3,163	288	3,451	0.59	5,853
1996-1997	1,737	463	2,200	0.43	2,693	279	2,972	0.57	5,172
1997-1998	1,967	352	2,319	0.38	3,636	225	3,861	0.62	6,180

granted now, 1.5 day paroles are granted. This change has not been linear.

As we examine the evolution of day parole, we will look at four major periods: its beginning; the middle years, the 1980s; the 1990s and the impact of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act; and the present.

In the beginning

Under the *Parole Act* enacted in 1959, the National Parole Board granted full paroles and four types of gradual release: short parole, gradual parole, temporary parole and minimum parole.

Short parole allowed inmates to be released up to 30 days early for rehabilitation purposes or to look for work. There was no supervision. Gradual parole allowed inmates who had been granted full parole to leave the institution for short periods before their final release to help them readjust to society.

Temporary parole, a predecessor of day parole, was defined in the annual reports (but not in the legislation) as the same as gradual parole except that it applied to inmates not granted full parole. Minimum parole allowed the release of an inmate up to six months (one month per year served) before his or her possible release date as a result of remission.

These forms of gradual release disappeared in 1969 with the introduction of mandatory supervision and day parole. The first administrative problem was to fit day parole in with the other types of releases. It was soon established that temporary absences would be shorter than 15 days and day paroles would be longer. By 1970–1971, the Service defined day parole in its annual report as follows: “Day parole is granted by the Board and involves the offender in the community for longer than 15 days. The offender is required to return to the institution, though not necessarily on a daily basis. Day parole is granted to allow an inmate to attend school, to take training not available in the institution, or to continue employment where this is beneficial to his career and his dependants.”

Under the *Parole Act* enacted in 1959, the National Parole Board granted full paroles and four types of gradual release: short parole, gradual parole, temporary parole and minimum parole.

Eligibility for day parole was defined at one year before full parole eligibility date (FPED) but this was changed to one sixth of the sentence or six months before FPED in 1978. The 1973–1974 annual report shows a clearer definition of the purpose of day parole: “The Board has found that granting an inmate day parole before a full release is an effective way to find out how he may act on an ordinary parole.”

The availability of accommodation for day parolees became an issue: the network of community-based residential centres was not well established, so there were not enough of them to meet the new demands.

The first decade of day parole saw it go from a 9:91 ratio (532:5,161) to full parole to a ratio of 59:42 (3,109:2,230) in 1981 when a working group presented the *Solicitor General’s Study on*

Conditional Release. How was day parole viewed by that time?

The middle years: The 1980s

The Working Group recognized day parole as a major type of release. The tone of its comments was sometimes harsh:

Day Parole is an extremely flexible power and an extremely fluid concept. To the extent that a day parole program may resemble full parole, day parole is a program where offenders are largely “out.” To the extent that it encompasses temporary or irregular absences, day parole is also a program where offenders are almost entirely still “in” penitentiary. Unfortunately, less is known about day parole than any other release program other than remission...

The study identified seven functions of day parole:

1. a form of gradual release and testing;
2. a form of mitigation of punishment;
3. a way to employ inmates on special projects in the community;

4. an aid to the community adjustment of resourceless offenders;
5. a way to provide access to community resources or programs;
6. a way to ease socialization; and
7. a cost-effective method of sentence management.

The concluding remarks on day parole indicate the concerns as it entered its second decade:

The Working Group shares the view that the objectives of day parole need to be more precisely articulated, as do the criteria for granting it. The National Parole Board also needs to come to grips with those regional disparities in the approach to and use of day parole which are not (as many are) a product of differences in available resources. In particular, a policy is needed as to whether day parole should be used in cases of relatively good risks or should be oriented more towards risky cases, and whether day parole prior to the expiration of one-third of the sentence is appropriate on grounds of justice and humanness. Our overall view is that day parole with CCC [community correctional centre] or CRC [community residential centre] should be used more where there is a real need for resources or a perceived need for short-term extra structure or "surveillance" before full parole or MS [mandatory supervision]. It is not necessary that day parole be used as prerequisite for full parole, nor should it be permitted to delay full parole in large number of cases...

The application of day parole was more clearly defined in July 1986 when the *Parole Act* was amended in Bill C-67. The new legislation required the National Parole Board to *automatically* review the case of every offender serving a sentence of two years or more at the eligibility date for day parole; for offenders serving three years or less in custody, the Board had to decide whether to grant day parole and to consider a release on full parole

to be effective on the inmate's eligibility for full parole. Because the old legislation required inmates to apply for day parole, the new legislation led to an increase in day parole releases.

The *Evaluation of the Automatic Day Parole Review Provisions of Bill C-67*, completed in March 1989, explains the rationale for an automatic review at the first eligibility:

- a) to provide equal opportunity to all inmates...;
- b) to provide for early National Parole Board involvement in a case to help in the overall program planning;
- c) to enhance overall program planning so that there is improved co-ordination and use of the various release options... ;
- d) to identify early in their sentence inmates who could be paroled so that they could take advantage of suitable release options at an earlier opportunity; and
- e) to remove the confusion and disparity between inmates and Correctional Service Canada case preparation staff as to when to apply for releases...

What effect did this provision have on the actual use of day parole? In 1984–1985, one year before Bill C-67 took effect, the ratio of day parole to full parole was 58:42 (3,752:2,753); in 1985–1986, the ratio went to its highest level before or since, 64:36 (4,438:2,507).

The new legislation required the National Parole Board to automatically review the case of every offender serving a sentence of two years or more at the eligibility date for day parole.

The 1990s and the impact of the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*

Day parole reached an all-time high in 1991–1992 and 1992–1993 (5,540 and 5,595 respectively) but, by then, the new act consolidating correctional issues was in preparation.

The legal definition of day parole was modified for the first time in November 1992, with the proclamation of the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act* (CCRA):

“Day Parole” means the authority granted to an offender by the board or a provincial parole board to be at large during the offender’s term of imprisonment in order to prepare the offender for a full parole or statutory release, the conditions of which require the offender to return to a penitentiary, a community-based residential facility or a provincial correctional facility each night, unless otherwise authorized in writing.

This definition is more precise:

- it has a purpose: “in order to prepare the offender for full parole or statutory release;
- it defines the leeway for mobility: “to return to a penitentiary, a community-based residential facility or a provincial correctional facility each night, unless otherwise authorised in writing;”
- it limits eligibility to six months before full parole eligibility date; and
- it removes the automatic review provision — the evaluation had shown that the requirements in Bill C-67 could not be met in both spirit and letter.

In 1991–1992 (that is, before the CCRA), the ratio of day parole to full parole was 64:36 (5,540 to 3,166). This ratio remained fairly stable for the next few years (62:38 in 1992–1993, 59:41 in 1993–1994, 60:40 in 1994–1995, 59:41 in 1995–1996, 57:43 in 1997–1998), but this ratio, which helps to explain day parole’s early history, is now misleading. A non-discretionary form of release, statutory release, becomes more important. The ratio remained stable because both day parole and full parole declined at similar rates; from a combined total high of 9,073 in 1992–1993, these two forms of conditional release hit a combined low of 5,172 in 1997–1998.

Some of the aspects of day parole in the CCRA were modified by Bill C-55, enacted in July 1997. Although the definition was not changed, sections 119.1 and 126.1 provided the following clarifications:

To maximize its reintegration efforts, the Service will have to rediscover day parole. This form of release is more flexible than full parole or statutory release.

119.1 The portion of the sentence of an offender who is eligible for accelerated parole review under sections 125 and 126 that must be served before the offender may be released on day parole is six months, or one sixth of the sentence, whichever is longer.

126.1 Sections 125 and 126 apply, with such modifications as the circumstances require, to a review to determine if an offender referred to in subsection 119.1 should be released on day parole.

These two sections brought back the notion of eligibility at one sixth of the sentence or six months, and the notion of accelerated release on day parole for a group of offenders considered at lower risk of recidivism. It is projected (December 1997 and February 1998 data) that the ratio of day parole to full parole will move back to 62:38, with a significant increase in day parole (3,861, vs. 2,972 the previous year) and a slight increase in full parole (2,319 vs. 2,200) the previous year.

The present

Day parole has evolved from a minor form of release to the most dominant form, even eclipsing full parole. For every two full paroles granted, three day paroles are granted.

The first impact of the modifications of the CCRA on conditional release was a significant reduction in both day paroles and full paroles. The most recent modification to the eligibility criteria and the accelerated process for a group of offenders has caused an important increase in the number of day paroles (3,636) but we are still far from the 5,600 day paroles granted in 1992–1993.

To maximize its reintegration efforts, the Service will have to rediscover day parole. This form of release is more flexible than full parole or statutory release. ■

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Profiling federal offenders on conditional release

by **Larry Motiuk**¹

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The Correctional Service of Canada must determine how it can best respond to the unique risk/needs of offenders under community supervision. In the 1980s, many correctional agencies tended to see offenders as generic and, therefore, made few distinctions based on gender or criminogenic needs but, rather, took a broad-brush approach to allocating correctional services. This article is intended to raise awareness about the nature of the conditional release population (gender, location, release type, phase, age, dynamic risk factors) and how far Canadian federal corrections has progressed in profiling this population.

Static and dynamic risk factors

Distinguishing static from dynamic risk factors had been a problem in criminal prediction. Although some corrections professionals might still believe that offenders do not change — “once a criminal, always a criminal” — more believe in rehabilitation, the idea that offenders can learn to live as law-abiding citizens. The underlying assumption of rehabilitation is that, if one does a good job identifying static and dynamic risk factors and assists offenders accordingly, then these offenders may become more law-abiding.

Little can be done to change static risk factors such as criminal history. These variables have considerable predictive power, however, especially the number and variety of criminal convictions and breaches of trust.

Dynamic risk factors refer to criminogenic or case needs that reflect change in an individual.² This is a critical component not only of offender risk/needs assessment, but also of risk management, because this is where intervention takes place. The goal is to reduce the likelihood of a criminal future by targeting these factors effectively and applying appropriate interventions.

In the 1980s, the corrections community was divided on the relative significance of static and dynamic risk factors. Some took the position that static factors were the most predictive and that decisions about community supervision should be based on them. This approach is very problematic, because frequency of contact, level of supervision and amount of service to be delivered cannot be varied if offenders do not change, and an assessment method based on these factors cannot detect or measure changes in an offender. The deficiencies of this approach resulted in a conceptual shift toward a thorough examination of offender needs as a sub-set of dynamic risk factors, allowing the introduction of flexibility in service delivery.

Past research

In 1988, Correctional Service of Canada parole officers were asked to review their cases and rate offenders using static risk factors on a continuum ranging from low to high risk. They based their ratings on criminal history, the Statistical Information on Recidivism Scale,³ National Parole Board decisions, their general experience with offenders and their knowledge of each specific offender.

The parole officers took a similarly systematic approach to assessing offenders' needs, reaching a global rating of low-, medium- or high-need for each offender. To conduct this assessment, they used the Community Risk/Needs Management Scale,⁴ which measures case needs on 12 separate dimensions, including academic/vocational skills, employment, financial management, marital/family relations, companions, accommodation, emotional/behavioural, alcohol use, drug use, mental ability, health and attitudes.

This review was important because it meant we were assessing offenders on truly dynamic risk factors — the idea being that these needs should change over time. However, the static risk, namely the criminal history to date, remained, and it does not change over time.

Population profiling

An important distinction must be made between samples drawn from caseloads and samples drawn from newly released offenders when considering information such as the results of prediction studies. Caseload samples are drawn from the entire group under supervision, whereas new release samples are drawn only from offenders recently placed on conditional release. The latter group of offenders is considered to be at greater risk of returning to custody than those who have been in the community longer.

Phase of conditional release is an important concept. The first six months after release is often difficult for offenders, and interventions and levels of supervision may have to be adjusted accordingly. The second phase, between 6 and 12 months after release, is somewhat less difficult. When an offender remains on conditional release for more than 12 months, he or she is considerably more likely to succeed in the long term. The relationship between phase of conditional release and offenders' risk/needs profile is an important consideration.

The issue of offender needs is contentious: Should we assess offender needs? Do needs have predictive validity? Will intervening in these needs influence the likelihood of a criminal future?

The early 1990s research explored distributions of identified needs, which lists the 12 need dimensions of the Community Risk/Needs Management Scale. Parole officers rated offenders on each factor on a continuum ranging from "asset to community adjustment" to "considerable need for improvement." The purpose of the pilot tests was to learn more about each factor to improve management of supervision cases. The research indicated several statistically

significant relationships between specific dynamic risk factors and the likelihood of suspension.

In August 1995 and 1997, the available Community Risk/Needs Management scales of the federal offender population on conditional release were extracted from the Offender Management System.

In the past, women were far outnumbered by men in the correctional population, limiting research in this area and making it very difficult to generalize or draw conclusions about female offenders. The current proportion of women in the community supervision population (297 or 3.9%) is a large enough sample to study.

Location. The Correctional Service of Canada has five regions: Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies and Pacific (see Table 1). Female offenders in the Ontario region (45.1%) and Prairies region (29.3%) are highly represented in the conditional release group. Male offenders in Quebec (31.4%) and Ontario (24%) are also highly represented in the community supervision population.

Release type. There are three major types of conditional release: day parole, full parole and statutory release (see Table 2). Both female and male offenders on conditional release are most

Table 1

Regional Distribution of Offenders on Conditional Release

	Year	Males	Females
Atlantic	1995	776 (13.0%)	26 (12.9%)
	1997	800 (11.0%)	27 (9.1%)
Quebec	1995	1,897 (31.8%)	20 (9.9%)
	1997	2,286 (31.4%)	32 (10.8%)
Ontario	1995	1,524 (25.5%)	91 (45.0%)
	1997	1,748 (24.0%)	134 (45.1%)
Prairies	1995	1,029 (17.2%)	47 (23.3%)
	1997	1,593 (21.9%)	87 (29.3%)
Pacific	1995	741 (12.4%)	18 (8.9%)
	1997	859 (11.8%)	17 (5.7%)
Total	1995	5,967 (96.7% of total)	202 (3.3% of total)
	1997	7,286 (96.1% of total)	297 (3.9% of total)

Note: As of 31 August 1995 and 1997.

likely to be on full parole (77.8% and 56.5%, respectively). However, male offenders on statutory release (32.6%) are also highly represented.

Phase. Offenders may be reintegrated more easily if the parole officer knows what phase of conditional release they are in (see Table 3). About one third of federal offenders on community release have been out less than six months. This latter group often requires more intensive supervision.

The largest percentage of federal offenders on conditional release has been out for 12 months or longer, a statistic that can be explained by the simple fact that the group of offenders serving longer or life sentences accumulates over time.

Demographics. Age is important to an offender's reintegration potential. Most federal offenders on community release are between 30 and 50 years of age. Almost as many federal offenders under community supervision are 50 and over as under age 30, a trend that has been increasing recently as our offender population ages (see Table 4), like the rest of the population of Canada. The implication of this age distribution for community supervision is that the offender population of the future will probably have a sizeable young group and an equally large older group.

Dynamic risk factors

To examine changes in dynamic risk factors across the phases of conditional release, we collapsed the caseload snapshot into three groups: 0 to 6 months, 6 to 12 months and 12 months or over (see Table 5). We found some interesting patterns. Generally, offenders who have been in the community 12 months or longer have much less need on the majority of dimensions than more recently released offenders.

Conclusion

We clearly have more dynamic risk information about offenders on conditional release than we ever had before. This information shows us who we

Table 2

Release Type Distribution of Conditional Release Population

	Year	Males	Females
Day parole	1995	804 (13.5%)	32 (15.8%)
	1997	795 (10.9%)	36 (12.1%)
Full parole	1995	3,750 (62.8%)	152 (75.2%)
	1997	4,114 (56.5%)	231 (77.8%)
Statutory release	1995	1,413 (23.7%)	18 (8.9%)
	1997	2,376 (32.6%)	30 (10.1%)

Note: As of 31 August 1995 and 1997.

Table 3

Phase of Release Distribution of Conditional Release Population

	Year	Males	Females
0 to 6 months	1995	1,519 (25.5%)	53 (26.2%)
	1997	2,669 (37.5%)	105 (36.0%)
6 to 12 months	1995	1,715 (28.7%)	64 (31.7%)
	1997	1,368 (19.2%)	56 (19.2%)
12 months or more	1995	2,734 (45.8%)	85 (42.1%)
	1997	3,088 (43.3%)	131 (44.9%)

Note: As of 31 August 1995 and 1997. Numbers may vary due to missing information.

Table 4

Age Distribution of Conditional Release Population

Age	Year	Males	Females
<30	1995	1,434 (24.0%)	44 (21.8%)
	1997	1,547 (21.2%)	83 (27.9%)
30 - 50	1995	3,622 (60.7%)	125 (61.9%)
	1997	4,262 (58.5%)	170 (57.2%)
50 +	1995	912 (15.3%)	33 (16.3%)
	1997	1,477 (20.3%)	44 (14.8%)

Note: As of 31 August 1995 and 1997.

Table 5

Dynamic Risk Factors by Phase of Release (Female and Male Offenders), 1997

Dynamic risk factor		Phase of Conditional Release (months)			P
		0 to 6	6 to 12	12+	
Academic/vocational	Female (%)	79.4	71.4	51.5	***
	Male (%)	59.7	57.0	40.8	***
Employment	Female (%)	77.3	76.8	64.6	***
	Male (%)	70.0	67.6	55.2	***
Financial management	Female (%)	75.3	69.6	60.8	ns
	Male (%)	62.2	61.1	53.3	***
Marital and family relations	Female (%)	60.8	64.3	55.4	ns
	Male (%)	50.0	47.0	38.2	***
Companions	Female (%)	70.1	46.4	39.5	***
	Male (%)	58.9	53.0	37.3	***
Accommodation	Female (%)	20.6	25.0	30.0	ns
	Male (%)	16.6	17.6	22.2	***
Behavioural and emotional	Female (%)	83.5	82.1	63.1	***
	Male (%)	71.2	68.1	47.2	***
Alcohol use	Female (%)	23.7	17.9	10.8	*
	Male (%)	35.8	27.8	17.2	***
Drug use	Female (%)	29.9	26.8	16.2	*
	Male (%)	38.8	31.1	18.3	***
Mental ability	Female (%)	3.1	7.1	5.4	ns
	Male (%)	8.2	9.0	6.0	***
Health	Female (%)	20.6	26.8	43.3	**
	Male (%)	20.7	22.6	30.9	***
Attitude	Female (%)	11.3	5.4	10.1	ns
	Male (%)	17.2	17.8	14.5	**

Note: ns = not significant; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

are dealing with, where they are, what they are like and what kind of problems they have in the community. Our new challenge is to devise strategies to identify the dynamic risk factors that are most influential on future criminal behaviour, and to develop interventions that respond to those key factors. ■

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² D. A. Andrews, J. Bonta and R. D. Hoge, "Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology," *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 17 (1990): 19-52.

³ J. Nuffield. *Parole decision-making in Canada: Research towards decision guidelines* (Ottawa, ON: Communication Division, Secretariat, Department of the Solicitor General Canada, 1982).

⁴ L. L. Motiuk and F. J. Porporino, *Field test of the Community Risk/Needs Management Scale: A study of offenders on caseload* (Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada, 1989). And see L. L. Motiuk, "The Community Risk/Needs Management Scale: An effective supervision tool," *Forum on Corrections Research*, 9, 1 (1997): 8-12.

Reoffending rates for parolees and non-parolees: A five-year comparison

by *Diana Sepejak*¹
Ontario Board of Parole

In Ontario, parole decisions about provincial offenders (those with sentences of less than two years) are the responsibility of the Ontario Board of Parole (OBP). One of the questions most frequently asked of the OBP is, "Does parole work?" This question has been asked by high school and university students preparing papers, by journalists writing articles and by standing committees that must report back to the legislature. It is an important question, and it raises the issue of whether parole is a valid correctional program for promoting offender rehabilitation and public safety in Ontario.

Over the years, the OBP has used various types of data to measure the success of its decision making. Statistics on parole revocations have been published regularly as an indicator of success; the lower the revocation rate, the larger the portion of paroles that are completed "successfully." The difficulty with this measure is that revocation rates may have as much to do with parole supervisors' tolerance of various forms of violation or the OBP's willingness to revoke parole as with the actual behaviour of offenders on parole.

It may be argued that a more objective measure of success is whether there is further offending. In 1994–1995, the OBP began to monitor parole cases that had been suspended for serious reoffending. The OBP also has information on reoffending associated with revocations, regardless of the seriousness of the offence, beginning in 1995–1996. These measures of parole success have two problems:

1. parolees are monitored only for the parole period; for Ontario provincial parole, this ranges from around 3 to 16 months, with 6 to 8 months as the average monitoring period; and
2. there is no comparison with offenders who are not released on parole.

In the current study, a sample of parolees and a sample of offenders discharged at the end of sentence were monitored for further reoffending during the two-year period after their release into the community. For this study, "end of sentence" is defined as the two-thirds point in the sentence, the point at which most provincial offenders who have not been granted parole are released without supervision or further reporting requirements and are deemed to have satisfied their sentence. Samples were selected from five consecutive fiscal years to permit examination of relationships between recidivism levels and parole grant rates.

Methodology

Samples of parolees and non-parolees (defined as any offender not released on parole, either because parole was denied or because the offender was never considered for parole by the OBP) were selected from each of the five consecutive fiscal years beginning in 1991–1992, from the Offender Management System database maintained by the Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services. The following criteria were used:

- Offenders with aggregate sentences of less than 91 days or more than 729 days were excluded, thereby excluding intermittent sentences and federal cases.
- Offenders with probation to follow were excluded, thereby excluding non-parolees with community supervision on release and parolees with any form of community supervision other than parole.
- Offenders who had been released on parole and had their parole revoked were excluded from the non-parolee group.

The follow-up period for both parolees and non-parolees was defined as two years after release.

"Further offending" was defined as any admission to the Ontario correctional system within the two-year period after release on a warrant of committal, a remand warrant, a probation order or a fine warrant. Some admissions during the follow-up may have been from offences that occurred before the period under study, but it was assumed that this portion would be similar for the two groups.

Results

In each of the five consecutive fiscal years under study, a substantially smaller proportion of parolees was readmitted during the two years after release for further offending than were non-parolees (see Table 1). In fact, for the 1995–1996 samples, parolees reoffended at

Table 1

	Parolees			Non-parolees		
	Number of readmissions	Parolee sample	Percentage readmissions	Number of readmissions	Non-parolee sample	Percentage readmissions
1991-1992	405	1,301	31.1	2,030	3,372	60.2
1992-1993	473	1,495	31.6	1,971	3,383	58.3
1993-1994	520	1,701	30.6	1,802	3,194	56.4
1994-1995	338	1,291	26.2	1,838	3,237	56.8
1995-1996	208	897	23.2	1,852	3,226	57.4

Table 2

	Paroles granted	Parole applicants	Granting rate
1991-1992	3,400	6,599	51.5
1992-1993	3,427	6,506	52.7
1993-1994	3,833	6,477	59.2
1994-1995	2,748	5,602	49.1
1995-1996	1,868	4,404	42.4

about 40% of the rate of offenders who served their sentence in custody and were released at their normal discharge date (23.2% vs. 57.4%).

Over the five-year period, the reoffending rate for the parolee group dropped by 8% (31.1% to 23.2%), while the reoffending rate for non-parolees dropped by 3% (60.2% to 57.4%). More substantial differences between the two groups are evident in the last three fiscal years: the reoffending rate of parolees dropped by more than 7% (30.6% to 23.2%), while the rate for non-parolees increased by 1% (56.4% to 57.4%).

To determine whether a relationship exists between reoffending rates and parole grant rates, OBP grant rates were examined for each of the five fiscal years from which samples were chosen (see Table 2). The percentage of parole grant decisions fluctuated over the five-year period, with an increase in 1993-1994 followed by substantial declines in 1994-1995 and 1995-1996. Another notable trend is that the number of offenders considered for parole declined over the five-year period; fewer with short-term sentences were applying for parole and more with long-term sentences were waiving their right to a parole hearing. As a result, 6,599 offenders were considered for

parole by the OBP in 1991-1992, compared with only 4,404 in 1995-1996. The decline in numbers of candidates and the decline in grant rates combined to produce a 45% net reduction in parole grants between 1991-1992 and 1995-1996 (from 3,400 to 1,868).

When the figures in Table 2 are compared with the figures in Table 1 showing the rates of readmission for reoffending, a couple of observations can be made. The increase in the grant rate from 52.7% in 1992-1993 to 59.2% in 1993-1994 does not

appear to be associated with a change in the parolee reoffending rate (31.6% in 1992-1993 and 30.6% in 1993-1994). However, in 1994-1995, when the grant rate dropped to 49.1%, the parolee reoffending rate fell from 30.6% to 26.2% and, in 1995-1996, when the grant rate dropped to 42.4%, the parolee reoffending rate fell again to 23.2%. Although the non-parolee reoffending rates fluctuate slightly, they do not appear to be associated as clearly with changes in parole grant rates.

Conclusions

In the current analysis, statistics obtained from a provincial correctional database show that, over a two-year period after release, paroled offenders are far less likely to commit new offences than offenders who are released after serving their sentence in custody. This observation holds true for samples of offenders selected from five consecutive fiscal years.

What this study does not reveal are the reasons why parolees and non-parolees differ in this way. An offender file-based study is required to determine:

- how well the OBP distinguishes offenders who are likely to reoffend from those who are not; and
- the effect of community supervision on reoffending.

If we are to learn to reduce the long-term risk to public safety posed by offenders, we need to understand these factors and their relationship to the differences in reoffending rates between parolees and non-parolees.

This analysis compared grant rates and rates of reoffending, expecting to find either that a lower grant rate might lead to the release of lower-risk offenders who are less likely to reoffend, or that a higher grant rate would be associated with higher reoffending rates — that is, taking chances with public safety.

The current analysis showed that, when grant rates increased in 1993–1994, the parolee reoffending rate did not appear to increase;

however, when grant rates fell noticeably in the last two years under study, the parolee reoffending rate also dropped. As follow-up data on reoffending become available for subsequent years, it will be interesting to see whether the relationship continues between grant rates and reoffending rates, given that, in 1996–1997 (for instance), the grant rate dropped to 35.1%.

Getting back to our original question, “Does parole work?”, the current analysis suggests that it does, although we do not yet know why. The results of this analysis also suggest that we should be equally concerned about the risk to public safety posed by offenders who are not paroled. These offenders are a greater risk to the community, in that their reoffending rates are so much higher than those of parolees. ■

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Federal trends and outcomes in conditional release

by *Bill Larocque*¹
National Parole Board

Parole is not a new concept in Canada. For almost a century, legislation has been in place to permit release from prison before expiry of sentence. In fact, 1999 will mark 100 years of parole in Canada.

Legislative framework

The evolution of conditional release legislation in Canada is marked by three major milestones. It began in 1899 with the *Ticket of Leave Act*, which allowed release from prison based on factors related to the offence, the offender's character and the likelihood that the offender would commit another offence.

The *Parole Act* came into force in 1959, creating the National Parole Board and providing it with the authority to grant release on parole, set the conditions of release, and revoke the release of federal offenders or provincial and territorial offenders in jurisdictions without parole boards.

In 1992, the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act* (CCRA) replaced the *Parole Act* (and the *Penitentiary Act*), and provided a comprehensive framework for corrections and conditional release policy, training and operations.

The CCRA is scheduled for review by a committee of Parliament in 1998. This review, and the government response, are expected to shape corrections and conditional release as Canada enters the new millennium.

Conditional release over the last 20 years

Over the past 20 years, conditional release has played an important role in federal corrections.

Each year, 4 of every 10 (37–44%) federal offenders served their sentence in the community on parole or mandatory supervision (MS), which became statutory release (SR). The CCRA replaced MS, which was community release based on remission of sentence for good behaviour in the institution, with SR, which is community release required by law after an offender has served two thirds of his or her sentence.

Closer review of the conditional release population illustrates that each year about 7 of 10 offenders (66–75%) under supervision were in the community on parole, about half of them on full parole. MS/SR accounted for about 3 of every 10 offenders under supervision each year.

Although SR is based on proportion of sentence served, parole is based on review of the case and assessment of risk by the National Parole Board. There are two types of parole:

- day parole, which is intended to prepare offenders for full parole or statutory release — offenders on day parole must return nightly to a halfway house or a penitentiary; and
- full parole, which is intended to give offenders the opportunity to work and live in the community — offenders may serve up to two thirds of their sentence in the community under supervision.

In the last 20 years, the Board granted day parole in 6 or 7 of every 10 day parole cases (58–71%) it considered. By comparison, the Board granted full parole in about 3 or 4 for every 10 cases (30–42%) it considered.

Conditional release trends demonstrate that parole and statutory release are important strategies for federal offender population management.

In 1992–1993, the CCRA introduced accelerated parole review (APR); first-time, non-violent federal offenders must be directed to release on full parole if the Board determines that they are not likely to reoffend violently before their warrant expires. Rates of directed release (80–89%) for accelerated parole cases have been considerably higher than grant rates (19–27%) for regular full parole cases.

Effectiveness of conditional release

Conditional release trends demonstrate that parole and SR are important strategies for federal offender population management. Annually, about 40% of the federal offender population is supervised in the community, which obviously affects accommodation needs and costs.

For the Board, however, the effectiveness of conditional release is measured against its contribution to public safety. In fact, conditional release is based on the theory that gradual release of offenders enhances community safety. Data on the outcomes of conditional release appear to validate this theory.

The Board assesses the effectiveness of conditional release with three indicators. The first indicator is rate of success, which includes:

- completed releases in which the offender remains in the community for the entire period of supervision — for full parole and SR the period of supervision would end at warrant expiry; and
- revocations for breach of release conditions (often called technical violations); these revocations are considered positive interventions to reduce risk to the community by preventing further criminal activity.

Failure is defined as any conditional release that results in revocation for a new offence (recidivism).

The second indicator is number of charges for serious offences committed by offenders while on release in the community, by release type, in eight offence categories that emphasize violence against the person:

- murder;
- attempted murder;
- sexual assault;
- major assault;
- hostage-taking;
- unlawful confinement;
- robbery; and
- sensational incidents such as arson.

The third indicator is recidivism for federal offences after offenders' warrants have expired. Factors influencing the behaviour of offenders after warrant expiry are beyond the Board's capacity to manage. Nevertheless, the Board tracks this type of recidivism as an indicator of long-term effectiveness.

Success rates have been high for all types of release.

Success Rates for conditional release

Information for the period from 1992–1993 to 1996–1997 indicates that success rates have been high for all types of release, but there have also been noteworthy differences by release type.

Success rates for day parole (see Figure 1) have been higher than rates for full parole or SR. In fact, day parole success rates increased from

Figure 1

Day Parole Outcomes

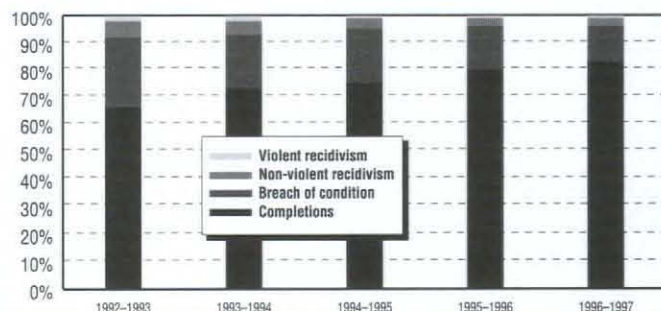


Figure 2

Full Parole Outcomes

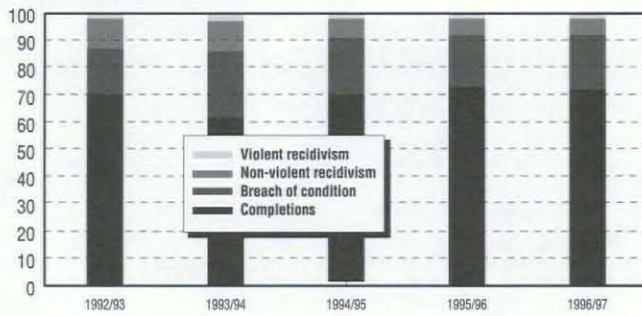


Figure 3

Accelerated Parole Outcomes

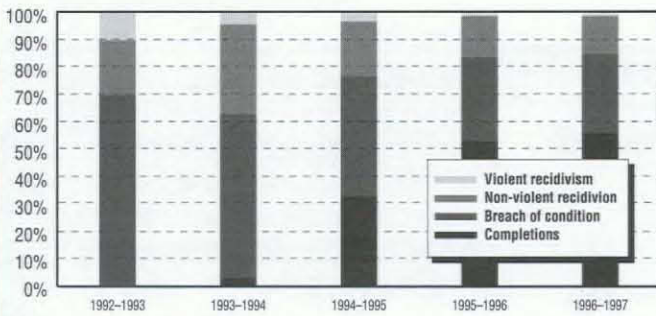


Figure 4

Statutory Release Outcomes

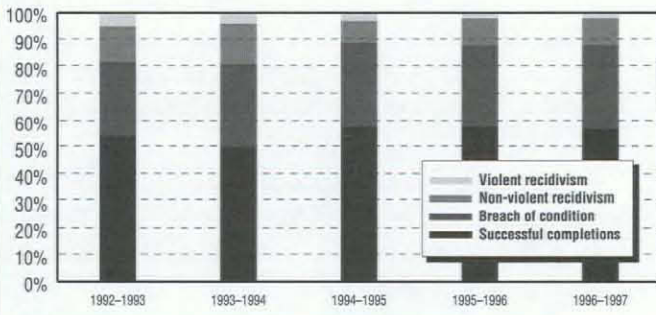


Table 1

Charges for Serious Offences

Offence	1992-1993	1993-1994	1994-1995	1995-1996	1996-1997	1997-1998
Murder	21	17	16	15	10	9
Attempted murder	17	9	13	15	7	9
Sexual assault	43	43	49	22	31	23
Major assault	34	27	25	21	28	34
Hostage taking	1	4	5	3	1	1
Unlawful confinement	19	9	3	5	4	6
Robbery	88	102	113	71	90	79
Other sensational	3	29	32	13	24	27
Total	226	240	256	165	195	188

92% to 96%, including a 17% increase in the proportion of offenders who complete their day parole without return to an institution, and a 13% decrease in the proportion of offenders who are revoked for a breach of condition (e.g., abstain from intoxicants). Annual rates of reoffending by day parolees (recidivism) declined from 8% to 4%, with non-violent reoffending falling from 6% to 3%, and violent reoffending dropping from 2% to 1%.

Success rates for regular full parole (87% to 92%) have approximated rates for day parole (see Figure 2). Successful completions ranged from 62–73%, with highest rates in 1995–1996 and 1996–1997. Rates of revocation for breach of conditions varied from 17–24%. Recidivism rates for regular full parole declined from 13% to 8% during the review period, as non-violent reoffending dropped from 11% to 6% and violent reoffending remained stable at 2%.

APR was introduced in 1992–1993. Information on success for this type of release during 1992–1993 and 1993–1994 should, therefore, be considered with caution, as the program was in its developmental phases. In subsequent years, however, APR matured to full program status.

Success rates for APR have improved in recent years (85% in 1996–1997); however, they remain lower than day parole or regular full parole (see Figure 3). Completion rates (56%) for APR remain lower than rates for regular full parole (72%), while rates for breach of conditions

remain higher (29% compared with 20%). Recidivism rates for APR have also remained higher (15%), but have been improving. Recidivism for APR cases has involved primarily non-violent offences, with the violent recidivism rate at 1% in the past two years.

Table 2

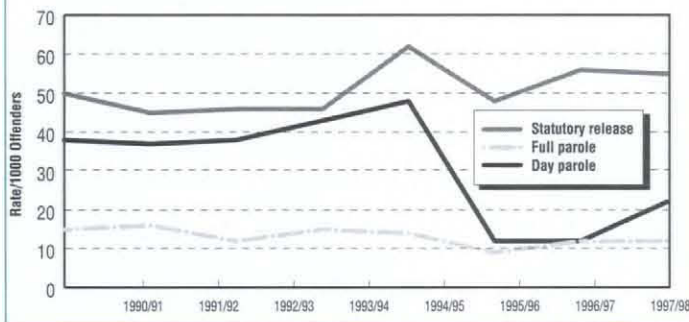
Charges for Serious Offences by Release Type

Release type	1992-1993	1993-1994	1994-1995	1995-1996	1996-1997	1997-1998
Day parole	73	68	64	15	12	26
Full parole	55	79	69	43	50	37
Statutory release	98	93	123	107	133	125
Total	226	240	256	165	195	188

From 1992-1993 to 1994-1995, the number of charges for serious offences increased from 226 to 256, or by 13%. In 1995-1996, these charges dropped to 165, 36% or 91 fewer charges than in 1994-1995.

Figure 5

Rates of Charge for Serious Offences per 1,000 Offenders Under Same Type of Supervision

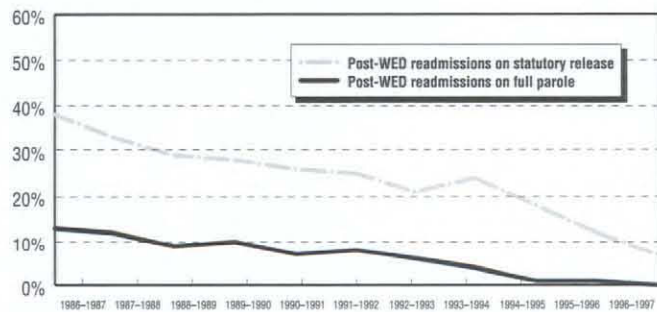


The number of charges for serious offences rose to 195 in 1996-1997 or by 18%, and then declined to 188 in 197-1998.

When charges are examined by release type, the number of charges for serious offences involving day parolees decreased sharply, falling from 73 charges in 1992-1993 to 12 in 1996-1997 (an 84% drop), and then rose to 26 in 1997-1998 (see Table 2). Since 1995-1996 to 1997-1998 charges involving full parolees have fluctuated but remain well below the 1992-1993 to 1994-1995 levels. Charges against offenders on SR grew considerably, with the highest totals in 1996-1997 (133) and 1997-1998 (125). During the review period, offenders on SR were involved in more than 50% of all charges for serious offences. By comparison, day parolees accounted for 20% of charges, while full parolees accounted for 26%.

Figure 6

Post-warrant Expiry Federal Recidivism



Numbers of charges, however, are only part of the picture. Rates of charges for serious offences per 1,000 offenders in the community, by release type, also provide a meaningful indicator (see Figure 5).

Success rates for SR have ranged from 82-89% (see Figure 4) lower than rates for day parole or regular full parole, but similar to rates for APR cases for both successful completions and revocations for breach of conditions. Rates of reoffending for SR cases declined over the past five years (18% down to 13%), but remain higher than rates for day or regular full parole.

Charges for serious offences

Information on success illustrates that violent recidivism has declined for all types of release. Analysis of charges for serious offences reinforce these findings.

Annual rates of charges for serious offences per 1,000 offenders on SR have ranged from 45 to 62. Rates per 1,000 full parolees have ranged from 9 to 15. That is, offenders on SR have been four to five times more likely to be charged with a serious offence than offenders on full parole. Before 1995-1996, rates of charges per 1,000 day parolees (37 to 48) approximated rates for SR. Beginning in 1995-1996, however, rates for day parole dropped sharply compared with SR rates.

Post-warrant Expiry Recidivism

Information on federal recidivism after warrant expiry indicates that offenders reaching warrant expiry on SR are three to four times more likely to be readmitted to a federal institution than offenders who complete their sentence on full parole. Calculations are based on the status, as of March 31, 1997, of offenders who were released on SR or full parole annually from 1986–1987 to 1996–1997. As expected with this method of calculation, recidivism rates are higher for groups of offenders who have been in the community for longer periods, regardless of the type of their release.

These data appear to support two key conclusions. First, conditional release is a critical aspect of federal strategies for offender population management and cost control. Second, conditional release supports public safety, particularly in situations where the Service prepares the case and the National Parole Board assesses risk regarding the decision to release on parole. ■

¹ 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P9.

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Day Parole: Effects of the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*

by **Brian A. Grant**¹

Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada

Day parole has been used by the Correctional Service of Canada for more than 25 years. Results of recent evaluations² have shown a strong positive relationship between success on day parole and eventual release outcome, suggesting that day parole is an effective contributor to the reintegration process. While previous amendments to the legislation related to day parole have tended to expand or liberalize its use, more recent changes were designed to restrict and focus the use of day parole.

The Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA), enacted in November 1992, introduced a number of changes to day parole and to other programs that might affect the use of day parole. These changes were designed to improve public acceptance of the early release of offenders on day parole and to ensure offenders received the maximum benefit from day parole.

The CCRA made three major changes to day parole:

- It eliminated automatic review for day parole early in the sentence. Before the CCRA, all offenders were reviewed for day parole by the National Parole Board before one sixth of their sentence had been served. The CCRA required offenders to apply for a day parole review by the National Parole Board.
- It set the eligibility date for day parole at six months before full parole eligibility. This change from eligibility at one sixth of the sentence would not affect offenders with sentences of less than three years, but offenders with longer sentences had to serve additional time in custody before being eligible for day parole.
- It defined the function of day parole, specifying that day parole could be used only as preparation for full parole or statutory release. Before the CCRA, day parole was flexible and could be used for a variety of purposes.

The CCRA also introduced three new release options that might affect the use of day parole. The option that promised the greatest effect on day parole was accelerated parole review.

Accelerated parole review streamlined the parole review process for offenders serving their first federal sentence for a non-violent offence.

The other release options introduced were work release and personal development temporary absences. Work release was to be used for community work projects and for paid work opportunities in the community. Day parole covered these activities before the CCRA. Personal development temporary absences provide extended periods of release from custody for offenders to participate in treatment programs, another option day parole would have been used for in the past.

The criteria for parole release were also modified such that an offender must be released on full parole unless the National Parole Board believes the offender is likely to commit a violent offence if released. This change did not affect day parole eligibility, but increased the likelihood of full parole release for many first-time federal offenders at one third of the sentence. This could have made early release on day parole less attractive to such offenders.

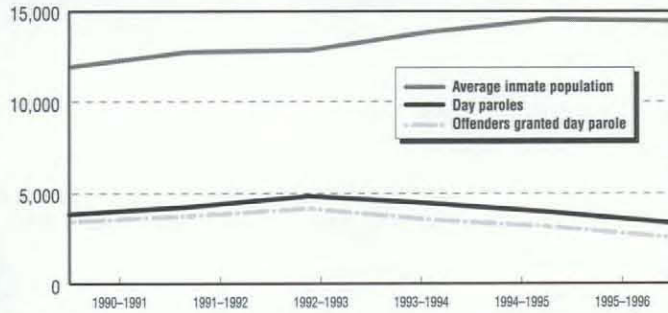
These changes all had the potential to change the use of day parole after the CCRA. The current study was conducted to determine how the legislative changes affected the use of day parole.

Decline in day parole use

The use of day parole declined dramatically after 1992 when the CCRA was enacted. Specifically, while the offender population increased by 12% after 1992, the number of day parole releases declined by 32%. Since one offender may be granted multiple day paroles, it is also important to look at the number of different offenders granted day paroles. The number of offenders granted day parole declined by 37% (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Changes in the number of day parole releases, offenders released on day parole and the on-register offender population, 1990–1991 to 1995–1996



Detailed analyses of the timing of day parole release suggest that the observed declines are the result of a decrease in the number of offenders released on day parole early in their sentence. The percentage of first day parole releases granted before parole eligibility date (at one third of the sentence) has declined steadily from 60% of all day parole releases in 1992–1993 to 49% of all releases in 1995–1996. Overall, slightly less than one quarter of day parole releases occur between the parole eligibility date and halfway through the sentence; about one fifth are granted in the last half of the sentence, shortly before statutory release.

The observed declines in day parole use were consistent across all regions, even in the Quebec region, which accounts for 43% of all day parole releases (see Figure 2). The Quebec and Atlantic regions released the largest percentage of their offender population on day parole, 37% and 34%, respectively, while other regions released about 20% of their offenders on day parole. Offenders in the Atlantic region were the most likely to be released on day

parole early in their sentence (before parole eligibility date), while the Pacific region was the most likely to release offenders late in their sentence (after one half of the sentence).

Approximately 9% of day parole releases were granted to Aboriginal offenders, which was slightly less than their representation in the offender population (11% to 12% during the period of the study). Aboriginal offenders have experienced the same rate of decline in day parole releases as other offenders, with a drop from 397 in 1992–1993 to 211 in 1995–1996.

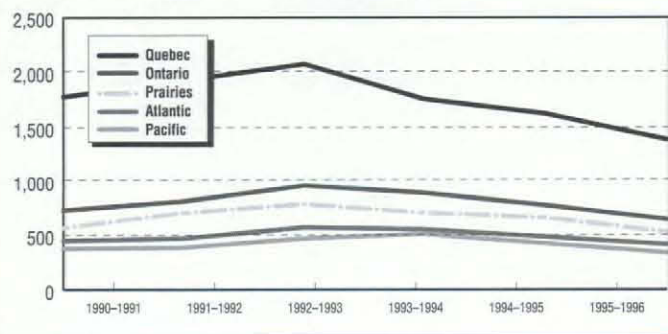
Female offenders have not experienced the same decline in day parole releases as other offenders have. Although the numbers are quite small, day parole releases for female offenders have increased by 15–30%. Female offenders account for 2.5% of all day parole releases and they account for 2.1% of the offender population.

About 20% of the offenders granted day parole were serving sentences for non-violent offences while 15% were serving sentences for drug offences. About 65% of the offenders released on day parole were serving sentences for a violent offence including about 5% who were serving sentences for murder. This can be compared with the proportion of offenders serving sentences for violent offences in the offender population (76%). For specific offences, the percentage of offenders on day parole who have committed a sexual offence, a robbery offence or a non-sexual violent offence has been decreasing.

What factors could have contributed to this decline in the use of day parole? Three types of factors need to be considered: changes in legislation that directly affected offender eligibility for day parole; changes in legislation that may have reduced the pool of offenders eligible for day parole or replaced some of the purposes for which day parole was used; and other factors, such as societal, legislative and operational pressures to reduce community risk, that might have discouraged the use of day parole.

Figure 2

Changes in Day Parole Releases by Region



Changes to day parole regulations

The elimination of automatic review meant that offenders were now required to apply for day parole. If offenders, for whatever reasons, decided not to apply for day parole, their cases would not be reviewed and no day parole would be possible.

To determine whether the National Parole Board reviewed fewer day parole applications after the CCRA, the number of Board decisions related to day parole releases between 1992–1993, when the CCRA was introduced, and 1996–1997 (the period covered by the five-year review of the CCRA) were compared. The number of day parole release decisions by the Board declined by 48%, from close to 8,000 to about 4,100 (see Table 1). It would appear that the elimination of the automatic review for day parole resulted in a decline in cases reviewed by the Board. However, following the five-year review period, the number of cases reviewed by the Board increased to 5,112.

A different issue is the change in the grant rate for day parole, shown in Table 1. Between 1992–1993 and 1995–1996 the grant rate for day parole declined from 66% of applications to 59%. However, the grant rate increased to 66% in 1996–1997 and climbed again in the following year to 71%.

However, if the change in eligibility date resulted in cases being prepared for National Parole Board review later in a sentence, then the change in eligibility date might have had a larger effect.

New release options

Accelerated parole review (APR) could have affected the number of offenders applying for day parole, either because offenders chose to wait until parole was granted or because of the release of these offenders at their parole eligibility date reduced the pool of offenders available for day parole after their parole eligibility date. Results indicate that APR-eligible offenders were less likely to apply for day parole than similar offenders before the CCRA.⁴

Before the CCRA, 67% of offenders with characteristics similar to APR-eligible offenders were granted day parole. After the introduction of APR, only 42% of these offenders were granted day parole, representing a 37% reduction in day parole use by this type of offender. Results in Table 2 also indicate that day parole use declined for each of the comparison groups. What impact would the decrease in day parole use by APR offenders have on overall day parole use? Given that 28% of all day parole releases are APR-eligible, it would appear that about 9% (28% of 37%) of the decline in day parole use can be accounted for by the introduction of APR.

The introduction of work releases and personal development temporary absences by the CCRA could have also displaced

or replaced day parole releases. However, almost half of the offenders granted work release were also granted day parole,⁵ and 70% of the offenders granted personal development temporary absences were subsequently granted day parole.⁶ These results alone suggest that these programs would have had a limited effect on day parole. It must also be recognized, however, that these programs only affected a small number of offenders, about 200 to 300 per year.

Table 1

National Parole Board Federal Day Parole Decisions, Grants and Releases, 1992–1993 to 1997–1998

	1992–1993	1993–1994	1994–1995	1995–1996	1996–1997	1997–1998
Number of day parole release decisions	7,891	6,681	6,491	5,378	4,094	5,112
Number of grants	5,201	4,350	3,895	3,162	2,698	3,651
Grant rate	65.9	65.1	60.0	58.8	65.9	71.4
Average inmate population	12,347	13,322	13,948	14,090	14,243	13,782

Source: Data adapted from National Parole Board, personal communication.

When the CCRA changed the eligibility date for day parole from one sixth of the sentence to six months before parole eligibility, this also could have reduced the number of offenders who could be released on day parole. Previous research indicates that only about 8% of day parole cases³ are released before six months before parole eligibility. Therefore, the effect of the change in eligibility date could have had only a small direct effect on day parole use.

Table 2

Day Parole Releases Groups Eligible and Ineligible for Accelerated Parole Review

		APR-Eligible ¹	Ineligible		
			Offence ²	Admission ³	Both ⁴
Before CCRA	Percentage granted day parole	67.2	54.5	55.8	42.7
	Cases with a day parole release	(1,292)	(1,343)	(336)	(290)
After CCRA	Percentage granted day parole	42.0	29.0	42.1	21.3
	Cases with a day parole release	(1,631)	(2,964)	(664)	(559)
Percentage change		37.5	46.8	24.6	50.1

¹ Offenders released before the CCRA could not receive accelerated parole review, but they met the criteria as specified in the CCRA.

² Ineligible offences are those listed on Schedule I (violent offences) and those offences on Schedule II (drug offences) for which the judge ordered eligibility for parole at 50% of the sentence rather than at 33%.

³ Ineligible admissions are not serving their first federal sentence.

⁴ Ineligible because of their offence and their admission.

Overall, it appears that the new forms of release introduced in the CCRA do account for some of the decline in day parole use, but probably only about 15–30% of the overall decline.

Other factors

Two other factors that could have affected the use of day parole are the change in purpose introduced by the CCRA and a change in attitude about the program. It is difficult to measure the effect of changing the purpose of day parole, although it is likely that restricting its use to preparation for release would reduce the number of releases.

Without pre- and post-measures it is difficult to determine which other factors, such as attitudes about the program, concerns for public safety and other effects of the CCRA, affected the use of day parole. However, the

evidence seems clear that factors other than the introduction of new regulations and new release options, reduced the use of day parole.

Summary

Overall there was a decline in the use of day parole after the CCRA was enacted. The magnitude of the decline could not be accounted for solely by changes that directly affected the regulations for day parole and new release options similar to day parole. However, given the positive association between day parole and future release success, there is a need to increase the use of day parole to ensure offenders have opportunities for effective reintegration into the community. Data for 1997–1998 are encouraging with both an increase in the number of day parole applications reviewed and an increase in the grant rate by the National Parole Board. ■

¹ 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P9. Summarized report on day parole for the five-year review of the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act* (1992–1993 to 1996–1997).

² B. A. Grant, L. Motiuk, L. L. Brunet, L. Lefebvre and P. Couturier. *Day Parole Program Review: Case Management Predictors of Outcome*, Report R-52 (Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada, 1996); B. A. Grant and C. A. Gillis, *Day Parole Outcome, Criminal History and Other Predictors of Successful Sentence Completion* (Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, in press); B. A. Grant and M. Gal, *Case Management Preparation for Release and Day Parole Outcome*, Report R-63 (Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 1998).

³ Grant et al., *Day Parole Program Review*.

⁴ B. A. Grant, *Accelerated Parole Review: Were the Objectives Met?* Report R-68 (Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 1998).

⁵ B. A. Grant and C. Beal, *Work Release Program: How It Is Used and for What Purposes*, Report R-64 (Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 1998).

⁶ B. A. Grant and S. L. Johnson, *Personal Development Temporary Absences*, Report R-65 (Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 1998).

Success rates of female offenders on discretionary versus statutory release: Substance abusers and non-abusers

by Craig Dowden and Kelley Blanchette
Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada¹

The dramatic increase in the size of the prison population during the past few decades has heightened interest in appropriate alternatives to incarceration. Moreover, current reintegration efforts stress the value of releasing low-risk offenders at the earliest opportunity while maintaining public safety through assistance and supervision in the community. Recent research supports this approach by demonstrating that day parole, a form of conditional release, is an effective method for releasing lower-risk offenders and can be predictive of post-release outcome². Accordingly, various forms of conditional release can help ease overcrowding in prisons. These release programs have been established to provide optimal circumstances for facilitating reintegration of lower-risk offenders into the community.

A number of studies have focused on factors that predict successful community reintegration accurately. In particular, recent research has demonstrated that an offender's history of substance abuse plays an important role in predicting day parole outcome.³ More specifically, offenders' with substance abuse problems had higher incidence of post-release failure. Research has also suggested that substance abuse is a predominant criminogenic need⁴ among women serving federal terms of incarceration.⁵

As mentioned, current correctional practice mandates the release of offenders at the earliest possible opportunity, while maintaining public safety and minimizing risk to reoffend. To meet this objective, offenders designated lower risk are generally released earlier on day or full parole,⁶ while higher-risk offenders are released later in their sentence and discharged on statutory release. We would expect to find that offenders identified with criminogenic needs such as substance abuse would be less likely than their lower need counterparts to be granted discretionary release.

The present study used a sample of released federal female offenders to compare substance

abusers to non-abusers on a variety of criteria, including: demographic profile, offence history and designated risk level, release type, and post-release performance. To examine the association between program participation and success on parole, the substance abuser sample was subdivided according to whether they had completed substance abuse treatment while incarcerated. Subsequent analyses compared treatment completers to non-completers on post-release outcome criteria.

Sample

The sample for this study was extracted on October 1st, 1997, from the Correctional Service of Canada Offender Management System, an automated database. All the study participants were federal female offenders who:

- had been admitted to federal custody and received a comprehensive intake assessment to identify risk and needs;
- had an official correctional plan based on the intake assessment; and
- had available Canadian Police Information Centre records (which documents entire official offence history).

The final sample consisted of 251 female offenders. Study participants were then classified as either substance abuser or non-abuser based on whether their correctional plan had recommended substance abuse treatment. This process rendered a group of 143 substance abusers and 108 non-abusers.

Release type

Many female offenders included in this sample had reached their parole eligibility or statutory release dates at the time of data collection. Accordingly, almost half the overall sample had been granted some form of discretionary release ($n=105$). Of those released, 37.1% were

granted day parole, about half (46.7%) were granted full parole, and 16.2% were released on statutory release. As noted, offenders released on either day parole or full parole are generally deemed as lower-risk offenders, as it is believed (and supported by other research) that these individuals have good reintegration potential.

Table 1 displays the various forms of conditional release granted substance abusing and non-abusing federal female offenders. For substance abusers, 41.3% were granted day parole, 39.7% were granted full parole, and 19.0% were granted statutory release. A similar pattern emerged in the non-abusing release sample. These results were not statistically significant — a somewhat surprising finding, given that previous research produced higher failure rates for substance abusers on day parole. More specifically, we expect to find that substance abusers would not be granted discretionary release as often as non-abusers, but this was clearly not the case here.

Demographic information

In all subsequent between-group comparisons, the analyses covered 88 female offenders who had been granted day parole or full parole. The average age was about 35 years, and the parolees identified as substance abusers (mean=34.2) and the parolees who were non-abusers (mean=36.3) did not differ significantly in age.

Analyses comparing Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal female offenders rendered some interesting findings. The vast majority of Aboriginal female offenders (13 of 14) on parole were identified as substance abusers. About half (38 of 74; or 51.4%) of non-Aboriginal female parolees were substance abusers. These results were found to be highly statistically reliable ($p < .01$). This finding highlights the need for ongoing, culturally specific substance abuse programming for female offenders after release into the community.

Offence history

Female offenders identified as substance abusers were compared with non-abusers on

Table 1

Release Status: Substance Abusers and Non-abusers

Release type	Substance abusers (n=63)	Non-abusers (n=42)
Day parole	26 (41.3%)	13 (31.0%)
Full parole	25 (39.7%)	24 (57.1%)
Statutory release	12 (19.0%)	5 (11.9%)

the average number of past and current convictions. Again, comparisons included only female offenders who had been granted either day parole or full parole. Given the criminogenic dimension of substance abuse, it was expected that women with problems in this area would demonstrate more criminal involvement than their non-abuser counterparts.

Results indicated that substance abusers had previously committed a higher number of offences compared with non-abusers. Substance abusers granted discretionary release had committed, on average, 18.6 offences in their criminal history, compared with only 3.7 offences committed by their non-abusing counterparts.

Analyses were also conducted on the number of current offences committed by our sample of female parolees. Once again, substance abusers had committed a higher number of offences at admission (6.1 criminal acts, on average) compared with non-abusers (1.5, on average). These results indicate female offenders identified as substance abusers have had more criminal involvement than non-abusers.

Risk level

An overall risk designation is assigned to each offender at intake, based on a comprehensive analysis of relevant factors such as conviction record, breaches of trust and offence severity. For female offenders granted discretionary release, those identified as substance abusers were compared with non-abusers on overall risk level. Table 2 provides the breakdown of risk level by substance abuse status. Most non-abusers released on parole were categorized as lower risk (91.9%), but only 54.9% of substance abusers were categorized as lower risk.

Table 2

**Risk Designation of Parolees:
Substance Abusers and Non-abusers**

	Substance abusers (n=51)	Non-abusers (n=37)
Low risk	28 (54.9%)	34 (91.8%)
Medium risk	20 (39.2%)	1 (2.7%)
High risk	3 (5.9%)	2 (5.4%)

Post-release outcome

Statistical analyses were also conducted on the recidivism rates of this sample of female offenders. The recidivism rates of those identified as substance abusers were compared with the recidivism rates of non-abusers. For the current study, recidivism was defined as return to federal custody for *any* reason (including suspensions, revocations and new convictions). Not surprisingly, a higher proportion of female offenders identified as substance abusers failed on discretionary release (25.5%) as compared with non-abusers (8.1%). In general, this result suggests that female offenders identified as substance abusers are a higher-risk group and, therefore, may pose a unique challenge during community reintegration.

Substance abuse programming and recidivism

To examine the relationship between participation in institutional programming and post-release outcome, the sample was reduced to include only those female offenders recommended for treatment (i.e., the substance abusers). Substance abusers who had been released (n=63; which includes those on statutory release) were split into two groups based on whether they had completed substance abuse treatment while incarcerated. This rendered a sample of 29 treatment completers and 34 women who either did not

participate in or did not complete substance abuse treatment. These two groups were compared on post-release outcome.

Results indicate that participation in a substance abuse treatment program was associated with a reduced failure rate on discretionary release. Substance abusing women who did not participate in a treatment program were more likely to be returned to custody (44.1%) than those who had participated in some form of substance abuse treatment (10.3%). It should be noted that the failure rate of the treated substance abusers closely approximates the failure rate of the non-abusing offenders. This finding highlights the potential benefits of participating in institutional programming.

Discussion

The findings of the current study should be interpreted with caution due to small sample sizes and other factors such as programming motivation and attrition rates. Results suggest that female parolees with a history of substance abuse are at greater risk for return to custody than non-abusers. Program participation was found to be associated with reduced returns to custody for substance abusers; the rate approximated that of female non-abusers. These results highlight the importance of using appropriate correctional treatment that targets an offender's criminogenic need.

Clearly, substance-abusing offenders possess characteristics that might substantially increase their risk of failure on discretionary release. These needs must be identified properly at admission and treated during the sentence. This will foster community reintegration, thereby mitigating the burden on the offender, the institutional population and society at large. ■

¹ 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P9.

² B. A. Grant, L. Motiuk, L. Brunet, L. Lefebvre and P. Couturier, *Day Parole Program Review: Case Management Predictors of Outcome* (Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada, 1996). See also B. A. Grant and C. Gillis, "Gradual release programs: Day parole performance and subsequent release outcome," *Forum on Corrections Research*, 8, 3 (1996): 19-21.

³ B. A. Grant et al., *Day Parole Program Review*.

⁴ Criminogenic needs reflect risk factors of the offender that are changeable and, when modified, reflect changes in the likelihood of recidivism.

⁵ K. Blanchette, *Risk and Need Among Federally Sentenced Female Offenders: A Comparison of Minimum-, Medium-, and Maximum-security Inmates* (Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada, 1997).

⁶ Full parole eligibility occurs after having served one third of the sentence. Eligibility for day parole is normally six months before full parole eligibility.

Preparing reports for parole decisions: Making the best use of our information — and time

by *Gilbert Taylor*¹

Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada

Parole officers of the Correctional Service of Canada prepare reports to help Service and National Parole Board decision makers manage the offenders' sentences. Their decisions cover issues ranging from custody and program assignments to detention past an offender's statutory release date.

Processing decision reports is a high-volume activity that involves many people — authors, quality controllers and end users — and consumes a tremendous amount of time. It is estimated that the Service creates more than 150,000 decision reports each year.²

The Service wants decision makers to have the best information possible. At the same time, it is concerned about the time its staff spends producing and reviewing reports — time that could be better spent intervening with offenders to help them return to the community as law-abiding citizens as quickly and safely as possible.

Although the Service has done much to change and streamline the case management process to improve this situation, one problem persists: case assessment reports tend to be too long and often lack critical analysis.

The author suggests that the source of this problem is a need to adopt a consistently professional approach to report writing. This article examines how this can be done, and how it will produce concise, focused reports that take less time to create and read and contain more useful information.

What information is required?

Essentially, the decision maker requires information in the following categories:

- **Static Risk Information:** a review of important (from a criminogenic perspective) elements related to the offender's social, psychological and criminal history that provide the background for an accurate assessment of the nature and level of the offender's risk at the time of her or his admission to custody;
- **Dynamic Risk Information:** a review of the offender's current level of risk in relation to such dynamic risk factors as progress in the criminogenic need areas;

- **Actuarial Instrument Results:** actuarial risk prediction to increase the accuracy of decisions and simplify the decision process (see the discussion below);
- **Risk Management Plan:** the correctional authority's long-term strategy for managing the offender's static and dynamic risk; and
- **Current Assessment and Recommendation:** the case assessor's proposed action (or response to an offender request), which should conform to the risk management plan; information in this area must be structured to meet legislative and policy requirements.

The good news for Service case assessors is that most of this information is already on file. Critical analysis in relation to static and dynamic risk and a plan to manage the risk are found in the intake assessment report, the criminal profile report and the correctional plan, three reports completed during the assessment of all newly admitted offenders. Intake staff also complete three actuarial instruments:

1. Statistical Information on Recidivism Scale – Revised (SIR-R1), for predicting general recidivism;
2. Custody Rating Scale, for determining initial custody level; and
3. Offender Intake Assessment, for producing a risk/needs level and ranking criminogenic need areas for intervention.

With all this material already on hand, the only extra materials required are an up-to-date assessment of dynamic risk factors and an assessment of any risk associated with the proposed action (e.g., institutional transfer, conditional release).

The precise nature of information requirements will vary according to the decision to be made. The choice of information should be based on the purpose of the report. Decisions for which Service case assessors prepare reports include:

- initial and revised inmate security classification;
- penitentiary placement;
- institutional transfer;
- fence clearance;
- program participation;
- conditional release consideration (e.g., work release, temporary absence, parole, statutory release); and
- interruption of conditional release.

What is the most efficient way to gather and analyze case information?

Offender Intake Assessment:

Correctional jurisdictions should obtain and analyze information as soon as possible after an offender is sentenced, when the information is available, recent and useful for creating a correctional plan. One payoff is that correctional officials can immediately begin to use the analysis to support decisions regarding the management of the sentence. This is a particularly wise investment of assessment resources, especially if the correctional jurisdiction can avoid repeating this whenever a decision report is prepared.

In 1994, the Correctional Service of Canada implemented the offender intake assessment (OIA) process, a systematic approach to assessment at admission to replace existing penitentiary placement practices. Information is obtained from diverse internal and external sources including the courts, police, probation, victims, family, employers and offenders themselves. The OIA may also include supplementary assessments in such areas as education/vocation, psychology, family violence and psychopathy. Using a multidisciplinary team approach and case conferencing, case managers at centralized intake units then integrate the information into a comprehensive summary report. For each offender, case managers provide an overall risk/need rating ranging from “low/low” to “high/high”. The results of the intake

risk/needs assessment form the basis of the offender’s correctional plan.

Correctional Plan: The correctional plan is pivotal. A well-developed correctional plan should be the most important document that a correctional jurisdiction produces on an offender. It is a strategic map that contains the best professional opinion on how the agency intends to manage the offender’s sentence and what expectations the agency has for the offender. It includes long-term, time-referenced goals (particularly for important sentence milestones like conditional release eligibility dates), program requirements and their sequence, offender-specific supervision techniques, and behavioural indicators related to the offender’s crime cycle.

The correctional plan is initially the direct product of the risk assessment completed at intake. Plan updates should reflect the ongoing reassessment of risk. The case assessor should be able to rely on the correctional plan as the starting point in preparing a decision report. The decision report should be, in fact, based on the plan.

Community Input: Significant information from collateral sources and parole staff in the community is necessary to ensure that the risk-assessment information in a decision report is complete and accurate. Input of this sort should

be sought both at intake and when preparing decision reports.

Correctional jurisdictions should obtain and analyze information as soon as possible after an offender is sentenced, when the information is available, recent and useful for creating a correctional plan.

What constitutes a professional approach to report writing?

Although it is important that the assessor understand all file information, analyzing the case factors critical to a decision report should not take long.

The author of the report reviews and evaluates available information and chooses the information he or she considers relevant to the administrative decision at hand. In this regard, maintaining a professional attitude is crucial. The author should be asking:

“What information is important enough to include in my concise report?” Keeping the analysis brief and consciously *limiting* the discussion to essential information related to the current risk assessment will help quality controllers and decision authorities focus on critical elements in the decision process. In most cases, less is better. This approach will also reduce dramatically the amount of time spent developing, writing and reading decision reports.

Analysis is usually expressed most clearly in well-organized sentences. However, judicious use of point form may be appropriate when many elements are being considered (e.g., positive and negative factors) or to summarize important case circumstances (e.g., primary reasons for a reclassification of security level).

Important information from secondary sources should be summarized succinctly to capture essential factors related to the decision. The source must always be cited. The assessor should comment on the nature of the sources (e.g., offender self-report, family support, behavioural observations, specialized assessment), and the quality of information obtained (e.g., recency, credibility). The assessor should also point out and comment on any conflicting opinions.

The key is that the report author is in control and must, therefore, manage the selection of pertinent information. This does not mean summarizing all file information or providing detailed descriptions of past or current offender performance, it means including information that illustrates particularities of the assessment. The report should be succinct and focused on an analysis of the current criminogenic factors and level of risk.

Actuarial versus clinical assessment

The Correctional Service of Canada has the benefit of being able to offer its professional assessment staff the best in statistically based

instruments to assist in decision making. In addition to the assessment protocols mentioned earlier, other tools currently used include the Community Risk/Needs Management Scale, screening inventories for suicide prevention and living-skills programs, and supplementary assessment protocols such as the Computerized Lifestyle Assessment Instrument.

Keeping the analysis brief and consciously limiting the discussion to essential information related to the current risk assessment will help quality controllers and decision authorities focus on critical elements in the decision process.

The ultimate purpose of actuarial scales used in corrections is to assign a relative risk level to the offender (i.e., a ranking compared with other offenders). Decision makers use this ranking to help determine a level of intervention or management response (e.g., custody level, incarceration or conditional release, minimum frequency of supervision contacts, release conditions).

Why should we use actuarial methods in our decision practices? The Office of the Auditor General and the Correctional Investigator, two important federal government review agencies, have recommended that the Service increase its use of objective assessment in determining and reviewing inmate security classification. Research literature and studies clearly demonstrate that actuarial prediction tools consistently outperform methods based exclusively on clinical assessments. Actuarial methods

offer particular advantages over clinical approaches:

- they are generally more systematic and consistent;
- they are usually more accurate;
- they represent a more equitable assessment (clinical judgment tends to be more conservative to avoid “false negatives”);
- they offer greater legal protection for the assessor; and
- they are more efficient — the assessor is not required to explain his or her approach to the assessment and conclusions for each case.

This article cannot undertake a detailed treatment of this issue. However, the author refers readers to published works by Grove and Meehl³ and by Webster and colleagues⁴ that provide a particularly thorough examination of the issue of clinical versus statistical judgment in prediction and decision making.

Limitations to actuarial assessment

Although the use of statistical methods should be integral to the assessment process, report authors must be aware of some limitations of these tools. The SIR-R1, for example, predicts *general* recidivism, not the nature or the seriousness of the recidivism (i.e., it is not used specifically to predict violent, sex or drug recidivism).

Furthermore, actuarial results should probably be used with caution for gender- or culture-based subgroups of the offender population. Because of limitations imposed by the sample on which the original SIR was validated, the Service's policy at this time is that SIR-R1 results need not be considered when making decisions in the cases of female, Aboriginal and provincial offenders. The Service's Research Branch is now recalibrating the SIR-R1 to ensure that it is accurate for the current admission population and can be used with confidence on all federally incarcerated offenders, including female and Aboriginal offenders.

The Service employs a variety of actuarial tools and structured assessment protocols to measure risk and treatment gain. This ensures that potential limitations of a particular actuarial instrument do not affect the quality of assessment for a subgroup.

How can the Service's information management system help?

A structured approach to the electronic management of offender file information can help enormously in the production of decision reports. The information management system can do this by organizing information logically and automatically arranging information into

specific sequences when a decision report is needed. The system is able to assemble a draft report from information input by the various case managers who worked with the offender at previous stages of his or her sentence, and the current assessor reviews the draft for accuracy, adds new information and information related to the current decision, and edits the assembled product to make it flow properly.

A structured approach to the electronic management of offender file information can help enormously in the production of decision reports.

To perform these tasks, the Service has developed a procedure called the Risk Re-assessment and Management Process. It was based on the results of a two-year pilot in the Ontario Region, which produced a computer application called COMS (for Community Offender Management Strategy).⁵ COMS proved to be effective for linking risk assessment to correctional planning.

One of the objectives of the Risk Re-assessment and Management Process is to develop a fast method for creating professional reports. This task demands an approach that:

- is based on a strategic correctional plan;
- builds on the comprehensive assessment completed at intake;
- reflects ongoing assessment of the offender's risk/needs (combined review of static and dynamic risk factors); and
- takes advantage of electronic movement of file information to provide structure and consistency and to avoid duplication of report-writing effort.

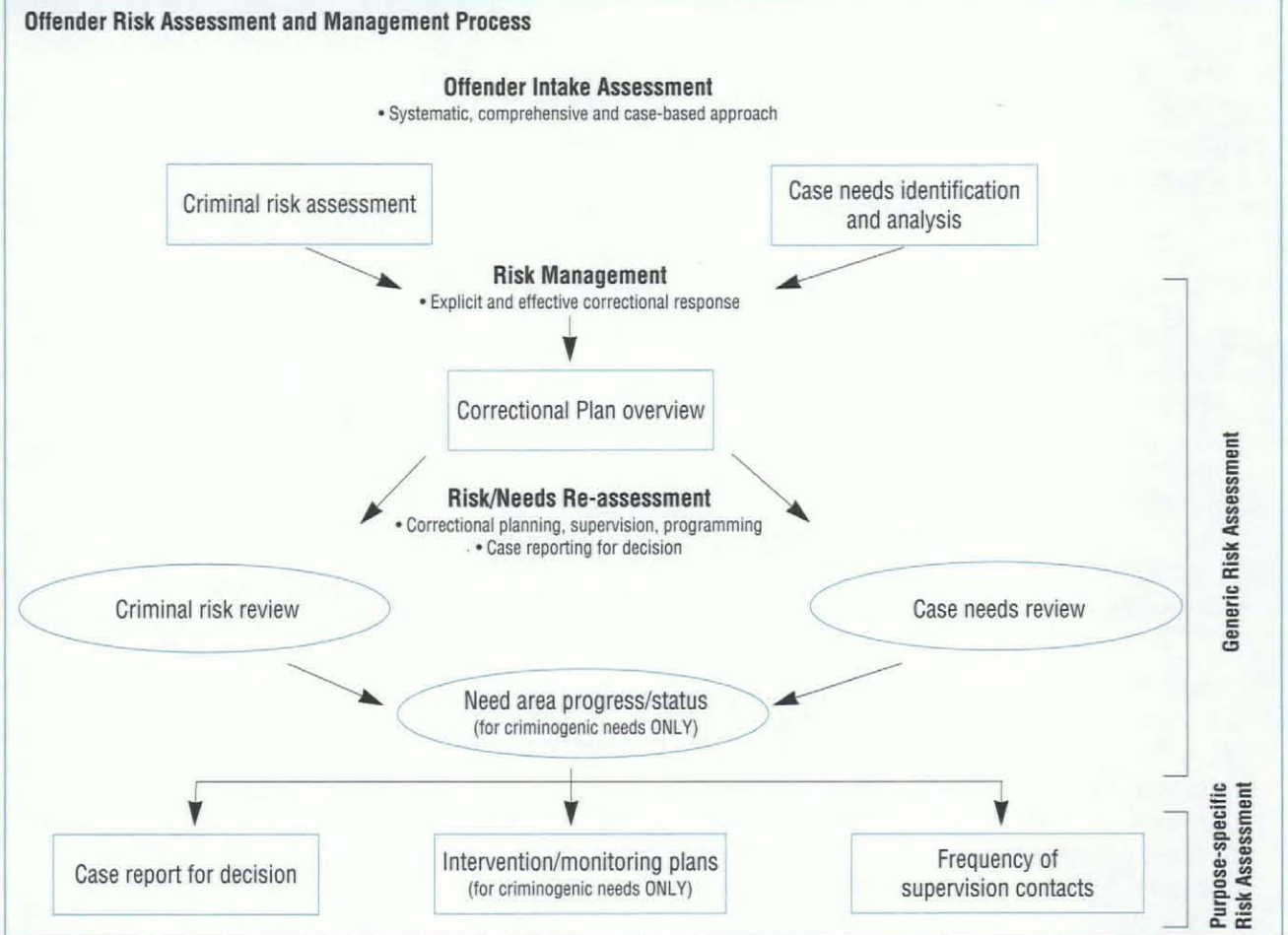
Figure 1 demonstrates the key components of this process.

The Service is examining the new process as part of a national review of case management procedures that is currently under way.

The future of assessment in the Correctional Service

The Service is working constantly to improve its assessment and reporting processes. Recent case management reviews have emphasized the need to focus on static and dynamic risk

Figure 1



assessment and to use actuarial methods to their fullest in our decision practices. Results of the application of actuarial tools are being used to profile local and regional offender populations for community reintegration potential.

The Service is improving its actuarial instruments and developing new tools:

- the SIR-R1 is being recalibrated;
- the Custody Rating Scale has recently been validated again and has been adjusted to yield scores that reflect current assessment practices;

- an objective security reclassification scale has been developed and is being validated for national implementation by December 1998; and
- plans are being made to update the Community Risk/Needs Management Scale and expand its use for release planning.

We can expect these improvements to help the Correctional Service of Canada make better-informed, more accurate decisions — in less time. ■

¹ 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P9.

² Offender Management System, Correctional Service of Canada, March 31, 1998.

³ William M. Grove and Paul E. Meehl, "Comparative Efficiency of Informal (Subjective, Impressionistic) and Formal (Mechanical, Algorithmic) Prediction Procedures: The Clinical—Statistical Controversy," *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 2, 2 (1996): 293–323.

⁴ C. D. Webster, G. T. Harris, M. E. Rice, C. Cormier and V. L. Quinsey, *The Violence Prediction Scheme: Assessing Dangerousness in High-Risk Men* (Toronto, ON: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, 1994).

⁵ C. Townson, "An Improved Risk-assessment Process: Ontario Region's Community Offender Management Strategy," *Forum on Corrections Research*, 6, 3 (1994): 17–19.

Work Release Program: How it is used and for what purposes

by *Brian A. Grant¹ and Chris Beal*
Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada

The Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA), which became law in November 1992, made a number of changes to the release of inmates from federal custody in Canada. These changes affected temporary absences, day and full parole, and statutory release.

One important innovation in the CCRA was work release. Work release gives offenders opportunities to work away from the institution, but generally requires a return to custody or a halfway house each day. Granting authority for work releases rests with the Correctional Service of Canada, and these releases do not require approval from the National Parole Board. Although the supervision requirements and other criteria for work releases make them similar to temporary absences, their length — 60 days with opportunity for renewal — makes them similar to day parole.

In Canadian penitentiaries, work release is used to give offenders meaningful work opportunities at any point in the custody portion of their sentence, not just close to their release date. Work releases permit offenders to work outside the institution on community projects, for non-profit organizations, and for paid employment such as fire-fighting and crop harvesting.

Although the nature and conditions of the work must be clearly specified, especially supervision of the offender, the work does not have to be directly related to the offender's correctional plan. These requirements make work release a very flexible program that allows correctional managers to respond to local projects and labour needs, and provides useful opportunities for community restitution, development of work habits and, in some cases, acquisition of skills that the offender can use after release.

Compared with other short-term release programs, work release is used with only a few offenders. In 1995–1996, approximately 315 offenders received a work release while 2,000 offenders were released on escorted temporary absences, 800 were released on unescorted temporary absences and 2,600 were released on day parole.

Work release is used to give offenders meaningful work opportunities at any point in the custody portion of their sentence, not just close to their release date.

The CCRA required a review of its provisions five years after it came into force. The review was completed at the end of 1997 and the report² from which this summary was made is one of several that address issues and components of the CCRA.

Data development

Data for this study was obtained from the Offender Management System (OMS) of the Correctional Service of Canada. The OMS is an automated administrative records system that covers all offenders under the jurisdiction of the

Service. Specialized data sets were created from the OMS for this research and, as a consequence, the numbers presented in the report may not match official figures presented elsewhere, although the differences should be minimal and should not affect the conclusions significantly.

The data set included all work releases from November 1992, when work releases were introduced by the CCRA, to September 30, 1996. During the study period, 4,569 work releases were granted to 1,167 offenders. When presenting annual trends, the years 1992–1993 and 1996–1997 are excluded because they were not 12-month periods. Work release did not exist before the CCRA, so pre-CCRA comparisons were not possible.³

The number of work releases is based on the number of departures from institutions and is not a count of the number of work release programs, which would include many departures from an institution. The number of offenders granted work releases may indicate the number of work release programs more precisely, but it would produce a low estimate because many offenders are granted more than one work release program.

A second data set was created to obtain more detailed information on work releases. This data set covers 223 cases from 1994–1995 and includes information from text-based records. The text-based records include information such as the type of activities involved in a work release, its objectives and how long an individual offender would take part.

All work releases

Table 1 shows the numbers of work releases and offenders granted work releases, and the inmate population of the federal correctional system for each fiscal year from 1993–1994 to 1995–1996. The number of work releases granted over the three-year period was 3,751, of which almost 60% occurred in 1993–1994. On further investigation, it was found that the majority (1,608) of the work releases granted in 1993–1994 were in the Pacific region, and almost all of them (1,553) were for one day. In the next year, the number of work releases granted decreased significantly, suggesting a shift from one-day work releases to multiple-

day work releases. Results for the last two years suggest that about 800 work releases were granted per year. Although the total number of work releases varied over the years, the number of offenders granted a work release remained consistently around 300 per year, indicating that case managers did not use this release option more as they became more familiar with it.

Although the total number of work releases varied over the years, the number of offenders granted a work release remained consistently around 300 per year, indicating that case managers did not use this release option more as they became more familiar with it.

Regional comparison

The use of work release varies considerably from region to region. The Atlantic and Pacific regions provide work release opportunities for the largest percentage of their offenders. In the Ontario and Pacific regions, the number of days an offender is on work release tends to be less than in other regions but, paradoxically, the Pacific region also has the highest percentage of offenders on work release, with 130 or more work release days. The regional variation in the number of days on work release suggests that different regions use work release for different activities. The median number of work release days for offenders is approximately 60, the maximum allowed for any single work release without the approval of the regional deputy commissioner.

Offender characteristics

Female offenders accounted for only 1% of offenders on work release, and Aboriginal offenders accounted for only 8% of offenders on work release. Given that female offenders account for 2% of the offender population and Aboriginal people account for 12% (in 1994) of the offender population, these results suggest that work release may be under-used for these groups of offenders, although the difference is not great. Offenders in the study were approximately 37 years old at the time of their first work release.

Offenders given work releases are less likely than offenders in the general population to have committed a violent

Table 1

Work Releases, Offenders Granted Work Release and Inmate Population, by Fiscal Year

Fiscal year	Work releases	Offenders	Inmate population
1993–1994	2,165	300	13,322
1994–1995	742	286	13,948
1995–1996	844	315	14,090
Total	3,751	901	41,360
Three-year average	1,250	300	13,787

offence. About 65% of offenders on work release have committed a violent offence, compared with 76% of the offender population. However, about 12% of offenders who received work releases were serving life sentences for murder.

Less than 40% of the work release population applied for a day parole during the year before their first work release and, of those that applied, only 24% received it. During the year following the first work release, however, the proportion of day parole grants rises sharply. Of those that applied for day parole after work release, 73% received it. The results indicate that work release increases the offenders' chances for day parole and this probably occurs because success on work release demonstrates the offender's ability to function at an acceptable risk in the community.

While 70% of the offenders who were given work releases had at least one escorted

Work releases were also commonly used later in the sentence, with almost 40% of the offenders receiving their first work release after having completed half the custody portion of their sentence.

temporary absence for reintegration purposes (see Table 2), only 30% had an unescorted temporary absence (see Table 3). Overall, 26% of work release offenders had not received any type of temporary absence before their work release. These results are a bit surprising, given that a work release may be less closely supervised than an escorted temporary absence.

About one sixth of the work release offenders received their first work release before the date they were eligible for day parole, while almost 40% received their work release before the date they were eligible for full parole. Work releases were also commonly used later in the sentence, with almost 40% of the offenders receiving their

first work release after having completed half the custody portion of their sentence.

The most common form of release after the work release was day parole, suggesting that work release helps offenders obtain day parole. However, more than 50% of the work release offenders were released on their statutory release date, rather than earlier, on full parole.

A two-year follow-up revealed that 65% (see Table 4) of the offenders included in the follow-up were not readmitted during the study period. The most common form of readmission was for technical violations of release conditions (24%), and 20% of released offenders had committed a new offence, with 6% committing a violent offence. These rates are slightly higher than rates for a comparable group of offenders released on day parole as shown in the last column of Table 4.

File review

Documentation for a sample of 223 work releases was reviewed to determine how and for what reasons work release was used. The review indicated that some of the work release criteria were not addressed in the progress summary report made before the release. In addition, approximately 20% of cases were not assessed on the criterion of risk to society. Similarly, post-work release documentation

Table 2

Reintegration Escorted Temporary Absences (ETAs) per Offender Before First Work Release

Previous ETAs	Percentage	Number
None	29.6%	346
1-3	16.5%	193
4-9	13.9%	162
10-25	19.1%	223
26 or more	20.8%	243
Total	99.9%	1,167

Table 3

Reintegration Unescorted Temporary Absences (UTAs) per Offender Before First Work Release

Previous UTAs	Percentage	Number
None	69.8%	814
1-3	16.4%	191
4-9	8.7%	101
10-25	4.5%	53
26 or more	0.7%	8
Total	100.1%	1,167

Table 4

Admissions to Custody After Completion of Work Release

Outcome	Percentage ¹	Number	Comparison group ² (Day parole release)
No readmission	65.0%	128	77.3%
Any readmission	35.0%	69	22.7%
Technical violation	24.4%	48	11.4%
New offence	19.8%	39	14.9%
Violent offence	6.1%	12	4.5%

¹ Percentage represents the percentage of the follow-up group (n = 197).

² B. A. Grant and C. A. Gillis, *Day Parole Outcome, Criminal History and Other Predictors of Successful Sentence Completion* (Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 1998). Average follow-up was 21 months.

Table 5

Type of Work Placement

Work placement	Percentage	Number
Community	26.5	59
Manual labour	24.7	55
Maintenance	15.7	35
CORCAN	9.0	20
Other	8.5	19
Fruit picking	6.7	15
Farm work	3.6	8
Forestry	3.6	8
Education	1.8	4
Total	100.1%	223

¹ 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P9.

² B. A. Grant and C. A. Beal, *Work Release Program: How It Is Used And for What Purposes*. (Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, 1998).

was limited, with only 17% of the cases having this information in the file. For the cases that included a post-work release report, about 80% indicated that the work release had met expectations. Other results indicated that less than 0.5% of work releases resulted in the offender failing to return to the institution.

The file review indicated that, although work release is not required to fit into the offender's correctional plan, it did in fact address a number of correctional goals for offenders.

As indicated in Table 5, most work releases provided opportunities for low-skilled labour in a variety of settings. Assisting in community projects was the most common form of work, while other placements involved manual labour and agricultural work.

Work releases give offenders opportunities to engage in productive activities outside the penitentiary. The results suggest that work release meets the general goals of the CCRA, including helping offenders prepare for release. In addition, an offender who successfully completes a work release is more likely to be granted day parole. ■

³ Offender counts are based on offenders within one sentence. If an offender reaches the end of his or her sentence and is subsequently readmitted to custody, this will result in a new sentence. However, if new offences are committed during sentence and new time to be served is added, it is counted as part of the same sentence.

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Forging a link between institutional and community-based treatment services

by **Robin J. Wilson**¹

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by **Anthony Eccles**²

Forensic Behavioural Services

The Correctional Service of Canada has increasingly relied on systematic use of community-based programming. Although the Service has been contracting with psychologists in the community since the 1970s, there has been a consistently greater push within the Service, particularly in its reintegration philosophy, to also offer core programming in the community. No doubt, this is a reflection of the enthusiasm for reintegration currently sweeping corrections in Canada. However, this push also likely springs from the recognition that programming offered in the community gives offenders greater opportunities to practise new learning than institutional settings can offer.

Acknowledging institutionally based programs

Although programming in the community has increased considerably and receives a lot of attention, it is important to acknowledge that institutionally based programs have a long history of providing service to offenders. As the Service looks more to community personnel to offer rehabilitative programming, there is a greater need for an integrative link between institutional programs and their counterparts in the community. This is particularly true given that many community-based programs base their curriculum on the understanding that some areas have already been a part of institutional prerequisite programming. For instance, the success of the recently introduced Cognitive Skills Booster Sessions program depends on offenders having successfully completed Cognitive Skills programming while incarcerated, although such programming may also be done in the community.

Another example of community-based programming that relies greatly on work done in institutional settings is that of sex offender relapse prevention treatment. Relapse prevention consists of two components:

*internal management and external supervision.*³

It is important to remember that the relapse prevention model can apply to many criminogenic need areas (e.g., sexual offending, drug and alcohol abuse, gambling, and other compulsive behaviors), and therefore contributes aspects of its framework to a number of programs offered to offenders under the supervision of the Service.

Internal management consists of knowledge acquisition, that is, learning basic concepts and terminology, and targeting such attitudes as denial and minimization. Those who work with sex offenders know all too well that the treatment during the internal management phase of relapse prevention is handled best in institutional settings where offenders can devote substantial amounts of time and effort to learning the relapse prevention model and how it relates to their individual circumstances. To that end, institutional sex offender treatment programs are intensive, meaning that offenders typically engage in group and individual treatment for several hours a day over a period of months. Obviously, it would be impractical to engage offenders in programming of this intensity in the community.

External supervision essentially consists of the offender's supervised reintegration into the community. This is where offenders get to practise the skills they acquired in the institutionally based, intensive treatment program. A major component of external supervision consists of a collaborative effort between case management staff and treatment personnel. Recent results reported by staff in the Central Ontario Parole District⁴ strongly suggest that such collaborative care significantly reduces sexual recidivism in offenders on conditional release. We suspect that this finding can be generalized to other groups of offenders.

Forging a link

To meet offender needs better and to accomplish goals of both reintegration and external supervision, it is important that institutional and community personnel work together. A particularly close, interactive relationship may be somewhat impractical, but treatment staff could certainly keep some things in mind when they are treating offenders in institutional settings. With this in mind, we have developed the following “wish list.” This list consists of issues and variables we believe are important for institutional staff to help offenders understand before the offenders are released into the community. It is our hope that by understanding these issues offenders can make a smooth transition to the community. A beneficial side effect, of course, would be that the jobs of community-based treatment staff will be much easier.

We have identified five domains in which offenders need preparation before being released to the community:

1. community;
2. programs and treatment;
3. family;
4. employment; and
5. leisure.

Community. The community often has a difficult time accepting sex offenders after they have served their sentences; recent media attention on this issue is just one indication of this. However, all members of the community — ordinary citizens, victims, families, offenders, media and correctional staff — have a stake in an offender’s successful reintegration. Offenders need to be prepared for community reception. Institutional staff can help them to understand that they have to prove themselves as worthy members of the community. Offenders need to accept that risk is initially elevated around the time of release; risk begins to moderate only after some period of acclimatization. Further, it is important to stress that they need to be responsible community team players, and that means doing what is expected of them by their community-based supervisors. The team typically consists of the offender, the case manager, treatment and programs staff, and

any one else who has a personal stake in the offender’s success in the community (e.g., spouse, parent, employer). Basically, the idea is to stress to the offender that all members of the team have the same goal: the offender’s successful reintegration.

Programs and treatment. The National Parole Board expects programs and treatment for virtually all offenders. The Board will often make recommendations that go beyond those made by the institutional case management team or treatment and programs staff. Offenders need help in understanding that good practice requires appropriate community follow-up of institutional treatment gains. This is especially true for sexual offenders, who routinely require generalization of skills to community settings with the collaborative assistance of case management and treatment staff. A formula for failure is to have an offender believe that he or she is finished treatment when the institutional program is done. Unfortunately, this happens in a surprising number of cases. To combat this problem, we suggest that institutional staff attempt to instill in offenders a strong belief in the necessity of community-based maintenance programming. Further, staff should make it abundantly clear to offenders that they should expect community follow-up.

Family. Families are important to offenders. However, many sex offenders offend within their family and, therefore, have a hard time returning to their family without getting into trouble with victims, the Children’s Aid Society, the police and the Service. Offenders need to understand that while they have had time to deal with things, their families might not have. This is especially true for children who were victims, who likely have not had treatment. Institutional staff would be well advised to inform offenders that they may not get to see their family immediately, especially family members from out of town.

Some offenders have to be careful about how they handle family reconciliation. This can be particularly difficult if the National Parole Board has stipulated that no contact be made between the offender and certain family members. For instance, an incest offender may be permitted to have contact with some family members, but not the victim. This can be

difficult if the victim lives in the same house as the other family members. Offenders need to understand the controlling factors in reconciliation, especially for victim understanding and empathy.

Employment. Jobs are hard to find, even for people without criminal records. Offenders need to recognize that although we expect them to work, we will also *help* them find work. Numerous programs are available through CORCAN and other agencies. However, all offenders need to understand that program requirements supersede employment. But we will make every allowance possible, including evening appointments for groups, one-on-one sessions, and the like.

Leisure. Leisure is also important; however, offenders should expect to have to clear many of their leisure activities with their parole officer. This is especially true for the people with whom they might want to associate and for travel destinations. It needs to be clearly stressed to offenders that conditional release, especially statutory release, does *not* mean freedom without supervision. Further, offenders need to understand that leisure time is only that time left over after all parole conditions have been met.

Community-based generalization of institutional treatment gains

Clearly, the goals of treatment and programming do not end the moment the offender leaves the institution. The underlying principles of programs offered in the Correctional Service of Canada stress the need for community-based generalization of skills acquired in prison settings. Two principal components of treatment, internal management and external supervision, are critical in the successful reintegration of any offender. Because it includes periods of community-based supervision, the Canadian system of corrections is, in fact, based on the need for system-facilitated return to community living.

For the most part, the system has done a reasonable job of informing offenders about the specifics of day parole, full parole, statutory release and the like. However, we are only now beginning to do the same with our expectations of offenders while they are on some form of release. A significant part of the work needed in this area might be easily accomplished by establishing a pre-release protocol that includes providing offenders with information on the need for and importance of community-based generalization of institutionally based treatment gains. ■

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² 133 Princess Street, Suite 215, Kingston, ON K7L 1A8.

³ W. Pithers, "Relapse Prevention with Sexual Aggressors: A Method for Maintaining Therapeutic Gain and Enhancing External Supervision," in W. Marshall, D. Laws and H. Barbaree (eds.), *Handbook of Sexual Assault: Issues, Theories,*

and Treatment of the Offender (New York, NY: Plenum, 1990): 343-362.

⁴ R. J. Wilson, L. Stewart, T. Stirpe and M. Barrett, *Community Risk Management of Sex Offenders: Outcome of a Program Merging Treatment and Supervision*, paper presented at the 16th Annual Conference of the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (Arlington, VA: October 1997).

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Conditional release: A federal parole officer's perspective

by *Philip Schiller*

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When I tell people what I do for a living, they often ask, "How can you work with those people?"

This reaction illustrates the parole officer's constant problem: reintegrating offenders into the community is difficult. As a federal parole officer with 10 years of experience in the Correctional Service of Canada, I have worked with many convicted offenders and, although parolees come from all walks of life and a wide variety of backgrounds, I have observed common themes in their lives.

Reintegration of offenders is complicated by society's opposition to and abhorrence of them. Although society's position is understandable and some incarceration is necessary for preserving security, society also needs to accept more responsibility for the problem correctional agencies routinely face — that is, reintegrating offenders into society so that they won't reoffend, while exercising reasonable, safe, secure and humane control.

Clearly, reintegrating offenders would be easier if the community were more involved in the process. The criminal justice system does not operate in isolation; it needs help and cooperation from all members and facets of society if *our* offenders are to have a chance at success. Community involvement or, at least, promoting society's role in the criminal justice system — specifically the mission, duties and successes of the Service — can only help the overall reintegration process.

Public participation is crucial to the reintegration process: for example, continuing to support friends and loved ones as they proceed through the criminal justice system, offering employment to those who need it, or volunteering to spend time with people in distress.

The truth is, by the time most incarcerated offenders are in federal custody they have already fallen through the cracks elsewhere. Our poor, our unemployed, our unemployable,

our neglected, our disenfranchised and our visible minorities are significantly over-represented in our prison population. Research has shown that the early years of any person's life set the tone for the rest of that individual's existence. It is well established that poverty, physical and sexual abuse, illiteracy, inadequate housing, school failure, unemployment, inequality and dysfunctional families breed crime, so a focus on early interventions, designed to change the path of young people at risk, is most likely to produce long-term benefits.

By the time most incarcerated offenders are in federal custody they have already fallen through the cracks elsewhere.

Offenders who "graduate" to the federal correctional system bring with them many years of damage that need to be responded to and repaired — a daunting task for any parole officer; one could argue that the Service can only hope to minimize further damage, whether it be to the community, to the offender or to our resources. However, if we are to make any inroads in the crime rate, we need to explore and expand positive interventions in the lives of disadvantaged and neglected people. Such interventions include job training, skills development, literacy and language training, counselling and violence-prevention programs, adequate child care, and treating everyone equitably and with dignity.

There are reasons to be optimistic about working with offenders in the community, but educating the public remains a difficult task. Research shows that community supervision works — as long as the offender has reintegration potential, and the risk he or she presents is managed. The cognitive-behavioural approach (or social learning theory) is based on the idea that community-based intervention strategies (e.g., responding to an offender's needs) can and do reduce recidivism. Successful treatment depends on targeting the offender's criminogenic needs (specifically, criminal

companions and antisocial attitudes) and taking his or her personality and history into account. Offenders who complete their programming in the community rather than in an institution are also less likely to reoffend. Indefinitely warehousing offenders (often put forward as the only real safeguard for society) may actually increase recidivism, especially if it is done without meaningful interventions and appropriate correctional planning.

Locking more people up for longer periods is expensive and ultimately futile. If high levels of imprisonment made society safer, then the United States would be the safest country in the world. Failing to address offenders' criminogenic needs sets them up for failure; on their release, they return to the community with the same needs and risks that led to their incarceration — and more.

To date, the research on treatment has produced no evidence to suggest that mandated intervention is less likely to succeed than voluntary intervention. What the research has shown is that offenders given inappropriate interventions or treatment, whether in the community or in an institution, are more likely to reoffend.

One of a parole officer's primary responsibilities is to analyze and assess risk while working to reintegrate offenders in the community *safely*. Simply put, public safety is paramount. An ongoing, comprehensive examination of conditionally released offenders' static and dynamic risk factors is critical. Addressing their needs quickly and appropriately is also essential. Therefore, information is the cornerstone of risk assessment and management, so the parole officer must have the relevant data — especially an accurate criminal history not based solely on interviews with the offenders. Confirmation of all relevant data is also important; uncorroborated information takes on a life of its own and becomes "fact" compromising the ensuing risk/needs assessment, and possibly causing the programming to target domains that are not necessarily criminogenic.

Corrections professionals are constantly under fire from the news media — after all, good news does not sell papers. Generally, the Canadian public reads and hears about the Service only on its bad days. It's a rare news story that reports or discusses how an offender has actually succeeded in some manner. The public reaction to the hard work corrections staff put into monitoring conditionally released offenders and helping them reintegrate is often silence.

The Canadian public reads and hears about the Service only on its bad days. It's a rare news story that reports or discusses how an offender has actually succeeded in some manner.

The benefits to society of assisting even one offender to reintegrate safely cannot be underestimated or undervalued. The financial and social benefits of one individual no longer requiring a prison cell, a welfare cheque or access to food banks or other community support services are staggering. The pain, suffering and financial trouble that a family endures while one of its members proceeds through the correctional system can be overwhelming. Seeing and being a part of that individual's successful reintegration can be more than emotionally cleansing, it can even improve family relationships, for example, by breaking a cycle of domestic violence or substance abuse.

The truth is that the Service's approach to the management of offenders is working. The overwhelming majority of offenders are able to reintegrate into society safely. One indication is the dramatic decline in the number of sensational incidents over the past several years. Many factors have contributed to this decrease:

- the implementation of research-validated risk-assessment tools;
- thorough risk management and correctional planning by case management staff;
- the expansion of accountability levels in the Service and the National Parole Board;
- the strong link between case management staff and programming staff;
- the cognitive-behavioral treatment approach, which is based on the working principles of targeting risk, need and responsivity of offenders; and

- the continued dedication and hard work of Service employees.

We all need to work harder on increasing the participation of the community in the criminal justice system. The advantages of involving the public more fully in reintegration are substantial. Encouraging volunteer participation in parole offices is a good start. Creating innovative ways for community groups and the criminal justice system to discuss concerns would also be useful. Publishing the Service's research findings and improving relations with the news media may also help break down some barriers between the criminal justice system and the community. Accomplishing this goal means remaining open and responsive to

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our communities and sharing our ideas, knowledge, values and experience. Successful reintegration depends on attaining and maintaining the community's support and involvement in crime prevention and social justice interventions.

I hope that one day, when I tell people that I work in corrections, their response won't be "How can you work with *those* people?"; instead, they will say, "Don't we all?" ■

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New Research Briefs recently published

B-21 Adult Female Offenders in Canada: Recent Trends

Date of Publication: 06-01-1998

By: C. A. Dell and R. Boe

B-22 Male Young Offenders in Canada: Recent Trends

Date of Publication: 06-01-1998

By: R. L. Sinclair and R. Boe

A Strategy for Community Corrections

by *William Staubi*¹

Director, Community Reintegration Operations, Correctional Service of Canada

On the brink of the next century

Three themes run through the articles in this issue of *Forum* — the past, the present and the future. There are three other reasons why the past, present and future are on the minds of community corrections practitioners.

The first reason is that 1999 will mark the 100th anniversary of conditional release in Canada, which began with the Ticket of Leave system. There is much progress to reflect on, many pioneers and heroes to remember, and numerous accomplishments to acknowledge in the effort to provide Canadians with a humane and safe system of reintegrating offenders back into the community.

The second reason is that around 500 days from now we will celebrate the Millennium. Even now we are starting to be concerned about what the future will hold for us individually and as practitioners within community corrections. Meeting our Minister's challenge to find a better balance between our institutional and community populations, by safely reintegrating additional offenders and taking appropriate interventions to keep released offenders in the community, will give us a special reason to celebrate in the year 2000 and beyond.

Dr. Angus Reid of the Angus Reid Group delivered the third reason at the senior managers' meeting May 1998 — a wake-up call about the present. His thought-provoking description of the forces currently influencing Canadian society delivered some sharp messages for community corrections, indeed, for corrections generally. But in addition to the wake-up call, he delivered some advice that will help us build on what we have learned from the last 100 years and prepare us for maintaining our balancing of the population well into the next 100 years.

Period of paradox

Dr. Reid suggested that many of the rules that Canadians have been using to plan and live their lives have been thrown into chaos in the last 10 years. Like others, he describes this as a period of paradox where seemingly contradictory things are simultaneously true. He offers the example of growing public cynicism that science and technology can save us and the increasing public expectation that we can predict and prevent offending behaviour with greater precision and accuracy. Reading the material in this issue of *Forum* it is clear we have made significant gains in understanding the nature of criminality and what works to help offenders become law abiding.

Aging was described by Dr. Reid as being part of the explanation for another paradox the corrections field is coping with — despite decreasing crime rates there is a general increase in fear about crime. Older people have a generally higher sense of vulnerability, lower tolerance of risk, and higher fear of personal injury; they therefore may react disproportionately to actual crime rates. Dr. Reid and many others make it clear that there will be lots more older people in the years to come.

Dr. Reid described market forces that are shaping what he, and others such as Nuala Beck, describes as the "new economy." Free trade, a shift from consumer-driven to business-driven growth, globalization, and a business environment of "more, and better, with less" might seem like forces far removed from parole offices and halfway houses. But the shift in employment opportunities, growth in entrepreneurship, rising service expectation, increased need for self-reliance, growth in empowerment and rising competition that have arisen from these forces affect us in community corrections.

Can you get there from here?

In trying to build a strategy for community corrections within the Correctional Service of Canada, we must find ways to incorporate and take advantage of the changes that are arising from our past and shaping our future.

If globalization is making the world so big that people try to identify themselves with smaller, more manageable groups such as neighborhoods and social groups, we must be part of those neighborhoods and groups. At one level this can be a greater presence of our staff in the community through increased community contacts. Collocating our operations with partners is another possibility. A third may involve joining community organizations and encouraging their involvement in the reintegration of offenders.

Globalization has brought the world to our doorstep. International visitors may be seeking to learn about our most successful strategies; others can share the way they have tackled problems that puzzle us. Dr. Reid described an increasing tendency for Canadians to find themselves having more in common with the states just under their part of the 49th parallel than with some of the provinces right beside them or across the country. Whether that thinking extends to adopting the U.S. example of community corrections acts remains to be seen. But it is clear we must understand the alternatives and choose from the best among them and to share the best we have to offer.

Our international partners are looking to the Service to provide leadership in the delivery of excellent correctional services. Our community corrections strategy needs to include learning about how other countries solve their problems and articulating our strategy and techniques in vehicles such as *Forum* and the many journals devoted to community corrections. Service staff need to be involved in conferences and professional community corrections associations and take leadership in their activities to encourage dialogue on corrections issues.

In trying to build a strategy for community corrections within the Correctional Service of Canada, we must find ways to incorporate and take advantage of the changes that are arising from our past and shaping our future.

Technology is but one tool

The Internet, which makes it easier for us to learn and reach out to distant partners, is one way technology has become part of our daily life and work. While we grapple with questions about how to prepare offenders to succeed in the “information economy” our strategy has to also include ways to ensure we ourselves succeed with this technology.

Efforts to extend access to our Offender Management System to our halfway house and contract supervision offices is one approach. Finding a balance between computer time and time with clients is a critical challenge, as is making sure our systems use the most efficient technology available. But an increasingly innovative and competitive market place is also offering inexpensive technology for monitoring offenders, voice verification and kiosks for reporting — complete with breathalyzer machines. We need to be continuously learning and evaluating technology, and its impact on society, so we can make the right suggestions to a public that is asking us to do more, do it better, but do it for less. If we do not advise the public, others will help the public make the choices for us.

If we believe that human intervention is our most significant tool, we must be willing and able to accept the accountability to the public that comes with that. If I believe it is “me” that makes a difference, then the Service must be able to prove to a better informed public, victims and others why “I” am worth their tax dollars. Differential approaches to supervision need to reflect what our research tells us, and must illustrate that we tried everything we could, not just the least we could do.

A powerful part of our strategy has been to nurture and support a vibrant base of community agencies and groups, not only among our traditional partners but also among those who can bring new perspectives to the challenges of reintegration. We need to state the principles for this relationship and then act accordingly.

Value for money

Our strategy for community corrections needs to be one that average citizens can understand and appreciate as value for their money. It also needs to be inclusive and respectful of the diversity in Canadian society. If Canadians do not see themselves in our community strategy then offenders will always be outsiders and someone else's problem.

Citizen engagement and involvement in community operations is an essential component of successful community corrections. It is not *community corrections* just because it happens there, it is community corrections because that is also who can make it happen and endure.

But how do we engage a public that may not already embrace what we are trying to do? *The Community of the Future* summarizes it nicely, "We need more public listening, in processes where we come together to discover the ideas and issues that are significant to each of us. We don't have to interpret an event or issue the same way, but we do have to share a sense that it is significant."² There is no guarantee that involvement will always lead to success, but it is certain that exclusion will always lead to failure in the long-term where it really counts.

Conclusion

During the same senior managers' meeting where Dr. Reid spoke, the Senior Deputy Commissioner spoke about the past, present and future of our business. If people questioned whether we could make it where we want to go, she challenged them to look

If Canadians do not see themselves in our community strategy then offenders will always be outsiders and someone else's problem.

over their shoulder at where we have been. When we were back there, in that time, did we think then that we would have achieved what exists today?

In a similar vein, Dr. Reid challenged us not to look to recreate "the good old days" — they are gone. We need to look back at what has been and choose the best lessons from it. We need to look at the information and data we have today and learn what it tells us about what is working and what is not. And then we need to look to where the future is heading, connect to companions

who want to make the same voyage, and work out how to get there.

In the spring of this year the Community Reintegration Operations division conducted listening sessions in each of our regional areas, with Aboriginal advisors, and with offenders. Some of the ideas expressed here come from those sessions. A document of those consultations is available on request. In the fall of this year two important studies will be completed; one on the role of Community Correctional Centres and one on workload measurement in community operations. These will be combined with other material into an overall strategy for community corrections within the Service for executive management to review. ■

¹ 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P9.

² Margaret J. Wheatley and Myron Kellner-Rogers, "The Paradox and Promise of Community," *The Community of the Future*, Frances Hesselbein, editor (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1997): 18.

Coming up in *Forum on Corrections Research*

The September 1998 issue of FORUM will focus on "Case Needs."

Community reactions to the new Prison for Women in Kitchener

by Laura Druar¹, Peter J. Carrington and John Goyder
Department of Sociology, University of Waterloo

Prisons, like factories, power plants, airports, garbage incinerators, toxic-waste disposal sites, freeways, halfway houses and shelters for the homeless, represent "locally unwanted land uses" or LULUs.² These uses benefit the community as a whole "but are opposed by the immediate neighbours who see them as a threat to property values, safety, or health"³ — the "not in my backyard" or NIMBY effect.

The Grand Valley Prison for Women in Kitchener, Ontario, and four other regional facilities across the country, were built in the early 1990s to replace the Prison for Women in Kingston, Ontario.⁴ Media reports suggest a high level of local opposition when the site of the prison in Kitchener was announced in September 1992. In particular, residents seem to have been alienated by the lack of public consultation in the site-selection process, in contrast to the more open, consultative process used for the new women's prisons in Truro, Nova Scotia, Joliette, Quebec, and Edmonton, Alberta.⁵

In the fall of 1995, shortly before the prison was scheduled to open, a questionnaire was mailed to a sample of Kitchener-Waterloo households to gauge the extent of support for, and opposition to, the facility. The survey attempted to identify factors related to residents' attitudes to the prison, particularly in relation to the site-selection process, the LULU and NIMBY phenomena, and the socio-demographic characteristics of residents.

Sample

The 1994–1995 tax assessment rolls for both Kitchener and Waterloo were used as the sampling frame. Three hundred addresses were selected in a disproportionate stratified random sample. One hundred and fifty households were randomly chosen from addresses very close to the prison site.⁶ The remaining 150 households were selected from the rest of Kitchener and from the adjacent city of Waterloo, in proportion to their respective populations.⁷ Ninety-three questionnaires were returned, giving an overall return rate of 31 percent.⁸

Reactions to the prison

As Figure 1 shows, the prison in its current location is generally accepted, suggesting that either initial opposition had diminished, or

that the media exaggerated it. To identify the reasons for positive or negative sentiments about the prison, respondents were asked to indicate what long-term effects they thought the Prison for Women might have on Kitchener. A list of 14 possible effects taken from the literature — five positive and nine negative — was provided, and respondents were asked to choose as many as applied. Responses to positive effects are shown in Figure 2, and responses to negative effects in Figure 3.

Consistent with the overall support expressed for the prison, positive long-term effects were chosen more than negative effects. Specifically, the majority of respondents agreed that the

Figure 1

Opinions on the prison and its location:
"If you had the power, would you..." (n=85)

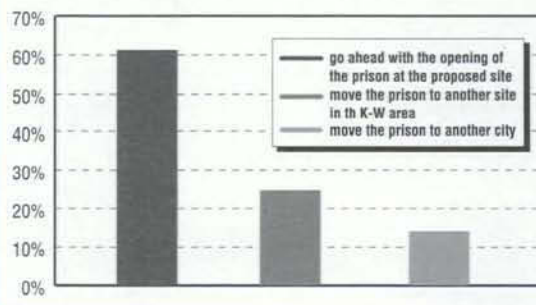


Figure 2

Expected long-term positive effects of the prison:
percent who chose this expected effect (n=93)

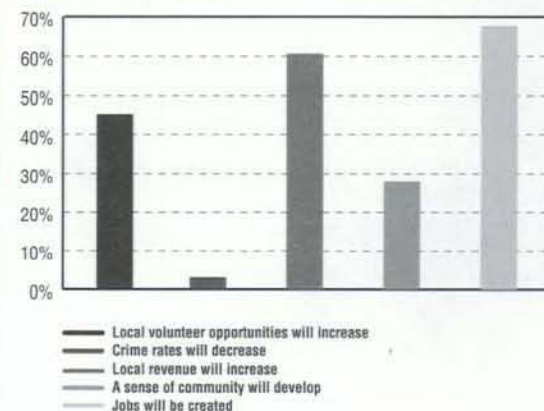
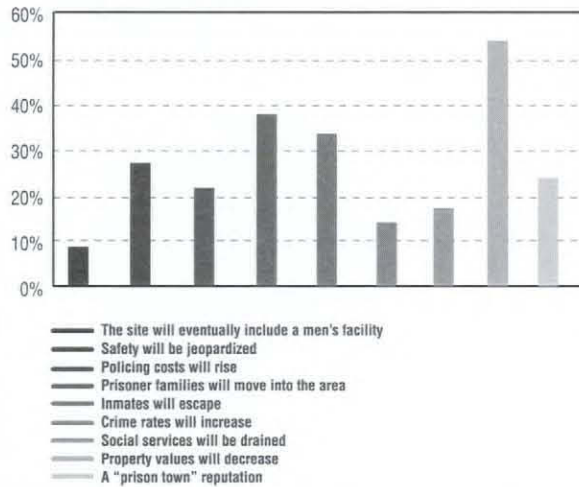


Figure 3

Expected long-term negative effects of the prison: percent who chose this expected effect (n=93)



Prison for Women in Kitchener would ultimately lead to new jobs and an increase in local revenue. Just under half of the respondents surveyed believe that local volunteer opportunities would increase as a result of the prison. On the other hand, many respondents expected inmate escapes and a decline in property values, and expressed concerns for their personal safety. One respondent wrote:

The politicians' assurances that women prisoners are not a threat to society ring pretty hollow after the details of Karla Homolka's crimes were made public. The security measures proposed by prison officials don't provide me with any reassurances.

Many respondents also volunteered criticisms of the style of the new prison, expressing disagreement with the correctional ideology behind its architecture and design:

I am not entirely supportive of this prison 'cottage' concept. I don't think prison goals are to emulate 'home'.

For some persons with disabilities or welfare recipients these prison accommodations are luxurious. The general population of Ontario are being faced with cutbacks in all areas. What, if any, cutbacks are these prisoners experiencing?

My biggest disagreement about this women's prison is — 'Is it really a prison?' It sounds more like a condo complex resort for 'bad girls,' not a prison for convicted felons. This is supposed to be a punishment for committing a crime, not a slap on the hand and enjoy your stay!

People (men and women) in prison don't deserve facilities which are more likely better than the ones they lived in prior to prison . . . People will be discouraged from committing crimes if they think they may go to a prison which is a 'hell-hole' rather than a country club.

Views on the site-selection process

The problem inherent in the site-selection process was succinctly identified by one respondent, who suggested that the major obstacle to the prison's success was the government's inadequate attempt at public relations.

Consistent with the overall support expressed for the prison, positive long-term effects were chosen more than negative effects. Specifically, the majority of respondents agreed that the Prison for Women in Kitchener would ultimately lead to new jobs and an increase in local revenue.

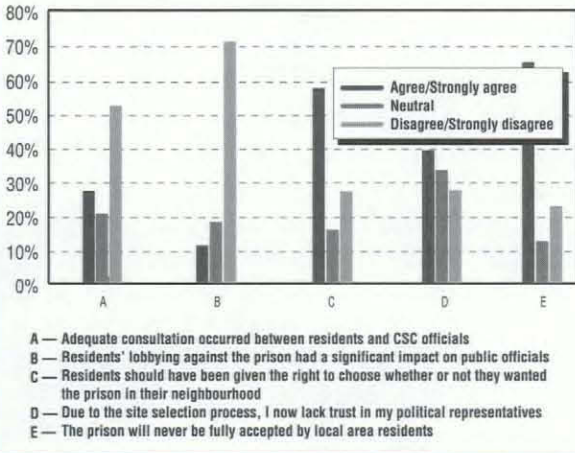
The government badly mishandled the announcement, making very little pretence at consultation, and no effort at selling the idea locally. It seemed to be handled in a very dictatorial fashion, which of course (predictably) stirred up a lot of resentment in the local residents. With a little care and some public relations savvy the whole thing could have been practically a non-issue . . . Surely any government in the 1990s knows enough about public relations to avoid this kind of fiasco.

Figure 4 shows that the respondents were critical of the site-selection process and expressed substantial dissatisfaction. Respondents' resentment is illustrated by the following comments:

I believe when decisions are made as to such things as location of prisons, it has already been finalized before it is presented to the public

Figure 4

Reactions to the site selection process: level of agreement with suggested statements (n=88)



in the area. Therefore, it really doesn't matter how much protesting the locals do, the decision has already been made.

Even having the meetings at the end pretending to listen to residents was a farce. They had no intention of changing the site — why waste the taxpayers' money by pretending there was a chance?

A jury of average people decides whether or not someone goes to prison. This is the accepted practice of our Law System. In this case, average people are not even given the opportunity to comment on location choice for a prison.

Support for or opposition to the prison itself was related to respondents' reactions to the site-selection process. For example, 91% of residents who were satisfied with the public consultation process also supported the prison. Of the respondents who were not satisfied with public consultation, only 33% supported the prison. Similarly, 26% of respondents who no longer trusted their political representatives as a result of the site-selection process did not support the prison. Of those who still trusted political leaders, 96% supported the prison. Perhaps the procedures followed in the site-selection process caused unnecessary opposition to the prison itself, but it is also possible that some residents already resented the prison and anything connected with it, whatever public relations strategy had been adopted.

Factors relating to opinions on the prison and the site-selection process

It was expected that, because of the NIMBY phenomenon, people living closer to the prison would be more opposed than people farther away. Several respondents expressed NIMBY-like views:

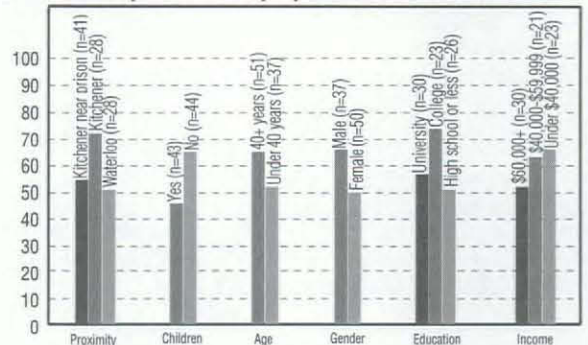
[The prison] isn't in my immediate neighbourhood and hasn't impinged on my reality.

I'm not very hostile about [the prison], as are the people in the neighbourhood where it's locating.

Surprisingly, the data produced only a very weak confirmation of the NIMBY hypothesis. Fifty-four percent of respondents in the sample living near the prison site said that they would go ahead with the prison as planned, compared with 71% of those living farther away in Kitchener, and only 50% of those living farthest away, in Waterloo (see Figure 5); the differences are not statistically significant.

Figure 5

Factors related to opinions on the prison: percent of respondents who "would go ahead with the opening of the women's prison at the proposed Homer-Watson site"



Note: All percentage differences are statistically non-significant, except between respondents with and without children at home.

As a further test of the NIMBY hypothesis, the actual distance of the respondent's place of residence was correlated with expressed concern for personal safety. Consistent with the hypothesis, respondents who did not think that their safety would be jeopardized lived on average 5.6 km away from the prison site, while individuals who expressed safety concerns lived on average 3.1 km away from the prison. However, the *t*-test of the difference was not significant at the .05 level, so the difference could have been due to chance.

As Figure 5 shows, the relationships between opinion regarding the prison and the respondent's age, gender, level of education and income were weak and not statistically significant. However, respondents with children at home were significantly more likely to oppose the prison and to express safety concerns.

Conclusion

Most of our expectations, based on the literature on LULUs and on prisons in particular, and on local media reports, were not confirmed by this survey of residents' attitudes in the fall of 1995. There was little evidence that the prison was regarded as a LULU, since only 14% of the sample said that they would, if they had the power, move the prison to another city. Nor was the NIMBY phenomenon very apparent, since respondents living in the area closest to the prison were only slightly more opposed to it than those living farther away.

There was little or no evidence that support for or opposition to the prison was related to

feelings of personal or economic vulnerability, as indicated by gender, age, income or education. However, there was clear support for the hypothesis that people with children living at home would be more likely to fear and oppose the prison than those without children at home.

We also found that support for or opposition to the prison was strongly correlated with resentment of the site-selection process, but we do not know whether the experience of the site-selection process created opposition to the prison, or whether people simply tended to support or oppose both the site-selection process and the prison.

In sum, the Prison for Women in Kitchener (Grand Valley Institution) seems to have emerged from the controversy of the site-selection process largely unscathed. Most area residents appear willing to accept the prison as part of the community. Whether these sentiments stem from lack of interest, resignation or genuine support, they are unlikely to inhibit the operation of the facility. ■

¹ Based on *Kitchener's Prison for Women: A Case Study in Prison-Community Relations*, Senior Honours Essay, Department of Sociology, University of Waterloo, 1996, by Laura Druar, 673 Keatswood Crescent, Waterloo, Ontario N2T 2R7. This research was supported by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Research Grant 410-95-0661 to Peter J. Carrington.

² J. D. Krause, "The Effects of Prison Siting Practices on Community Status Arrangements: A Framework Applied to the Siting of California State Prisons," *Crime and Delinquency*, 38 (1992): 27-55. See also M. Chambers, "Learning to Live with LULU's," *Environmental and Urban Issues* (Spring 1989): 17-22.

³ D. Shichor, "Myths and Realities in Prison Siting," *Crime and Delinquency*, 38 (1992): 70-87. See also K. A. Carlson, "Understanding Community Opposition to Prison Siting — More Than Just Finances," *Corrections Today*, 50 (1991): 84-90; K. A. Carlson, "Doing Good and Looking Bad: A Case Study of Prison/Community Relations," *Crime and Delinquency* 38 (1992): 56-69; F. A. Silas, "Not in My Neighborhood — But Most Want Them Someplace Else," *American Bar Association Journal* 70 (1984): 27-29.

⁴ "Proposed Women's Prison—Kitchener," *Newsletter* [of Correctional Service of Canada] (March 10, 1994): 1-4; K. Moffat, "Creating Choices or Repeating History: Canadian Female Offenders and Correctional Reform," *Social Justice* 18 (1991): 184-203; M. Shaw, "Issues of Power and Control: Women in Prison and their Defenders," *British Journal of Criminology* 32 (1992): 438-452; M. Shaw, "Reforming Federal Women's Imprisonment," in E. Adelberg and C. Currie, eds., *In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Justice System* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1993): 50-75.

⁵ For open versus closed siting processes, see J. Fox, "Creating Choices Through Community Consultation and Partnership: The Site Selection Process for the Edmonton Federally

Sentenced Women's Facility," *Forum on Corrections Research*, 6 (1994): 37-39; D. K. Sechrest, "Understanding the Corrections and Community Response to Prison Siting," *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 17 (1991): 1-16; D. K. Sechrest, "Locating Prisons: Open Versus Closed Approaches to Siting," *Crime and Delinquency* 38 (1992): 88-104. For examples of reports in the Kitchener newspaper, see G. Crone, "6 Alternative Sites for Prison Revealed in Kitchener Memo," *The Record*, November 5, 1992; T. Galloway, "Selection Process of the Prison Site Was Fatally Flawed," *The Record*, April 12, 1994; P. Rygg, "Prison Opponents Lock Horns with Its Supporters at Public Meeting," *The Record*, March 18, 1994; C. Thompson, "Prison Bungled Its Public Relations," *The Record*, September 17, 1994; D. Wood, "Prison Foes Vow Fight: Go-Ahead Stuns Pioneer Park Residents," *The Record*, June 7, 1994.

⁶ The "psychological" boundaries for this oversampled area were the main roads and highways surrounding it: Conestoga Parkway, Highway 8, Highway 401, New Dundee Road and Trussler Road.

⁷ Waterloo — 63 residents sampled from 71,180; Kitchener — 87 residents sampled from 122,799; Kitchener near prison — 150 residents sampled from 45,486. This area was oversampled in anticipation of relatively strong views from residents.

⁸ Waterloo — 20 returns; Kitchener — 29 returns; Kitchener, near prison — 42 returns; location unknown — 2 returns. This raises the issue of non-response bias. Since those with the strongest involvement with the topic of a survey are most likely to respond (J. Goyder, *The Silent Minority: Nonrespondents in Sample Surveys*, chapter 9 (Cambridge, U.K. Polity Press, 1987), one would expect any existing non-response bias would take the form of exaggerating both strong opposition to and strong support for the prison, the site-selection process, or both.

Also just released

R-62 *Day Parole: Effects of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992)*

Date of Publication: 01-02-1998

By: Brian A. Grant

R-63 *Case Management Preparation for Release and Day Parole Outcome*

Date of Publication: 01-02-1998

By: Brian A. Grant and Marlo Gal

R-64 *Work Release Program: How It Is Used and for What Purposes*

Date of Publication: 01-02-1998

By: Brian A. Grant and Chris A. Beal

R-65 *Personal Development Temporary Absences*

Date of Publication: 01-02-1998

By: Brian A. Grant and Sara L. Johnson

R-66 *The Temporary Absence Program: A Descriptive Analysis*

Date of Publication: 01-02-1998

By: Brian A. Grant and William A. Millson

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