

FORUM

ON CORRECTIONS RESEARCH

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Featured issues

Youth and
corrections

Profiles

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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 correctional 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

Research in brief

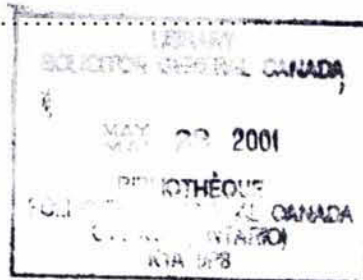
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Ideally, articles should be 1,000 to 1,500 words in length (six double-spaced pages). Feature articles must be no longer than 2,000 words.

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Youth crime trends in British Columbia

by Naomi Lee¹

Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Canada

This article presents findings from a study of youth court histories of young persons in British Columbia. The data, collected by the Youth Court Survey (YCS) of the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics from the British Columbia Young Offenders Registry, relate to individuals born from 1972 to 1975. They provide a unique, court-based view of the crimes and court experiences of individuals within the jurisdiction of the Young Offenders Act from 1984, when the oldest turned 12, to 1993, when the youngest turned 18.

The study determines the feasibility of using year-of-birth or generation-based data from the YCS for policy-relevant research. This article focuses on youth court histories that included offences in the person or weapons category. Age-crime profiles are also presented to compare the potential of preventive and reactive strategies to reduce different kinds of youth crime.

The prevalence of youth court careers and the frequency of offending

Approximately 12% of the male and 3% of the female population born from 1972 to 1975 were convicted of at least one offence under the *Young Offenders Act* in British Columbia.

The youth court histories of 10,904 male offenders included six times as many convictions (38,314) as those of 2,603 female offenders (6,326), or 85% of the total offences. Boys averaged 3.5 convictions and girls 2.4. A significantly larger proportion of female histories included only one offence — 57% compared with 44% for male histories.

Table 1

Convictions by Sex of Offender and Kind of Offence

Offender	Kind of Offence	Number	Proportion	Cumulative Proportion
Male	Breaking and entering	7,617	0.171	—
Male	Theft <\$1,000	7,573	0.170	0.340
Male	Fail to comply w. disposition	4,261	0.095	0.436
Male	Possession of stolen property	3,775	0.085	0.520
Male	Mischief	2,943	0.066	0.586
Female	Theft <\$1,000	1,979	0.044	0.631
Male	Assault (common)	1,777	0.040	0.670
Male	Theft >\$1,000	1,609	0.036	0.706
Female	Fail to comply w. disposition	1,171	0.026	0.733
Male	Failure to appear	1,094	0.025	0.757
Male	Possession of a narcotic	790	0.018	0.775
Female	Assault (Common)	596	0.013	0.788
Male	Motor vehicle theft	510	0.011	0.800
Male	Robbery	495	0.011	0.811
Male	Possession of a weapon	477	0.011	0.821
Male	Assault with weapon	475	0.011	0.832
Male	Sexual assault	403	0.009	0.841
Male	Impaired driving	386	0.009	0.850
Male	All other kinds of offences	4,129	0.092	0.942
Female	All other kinds of offences	2,580	0.058	1.000
Total		44,640	1.000	

Kinds of offences in youth court histories

Only 15 kinds of offences accounted for 85% of all convictions. The distribution in Table 1 positions the three offences most frequently committed by girls — theft under \$1,000, failure to comply with a disposition, and common assault, totalling 59% of all their offences — among those by boys.²

Table 2

Male and Female Offenders Convicted of Kinds of Offences

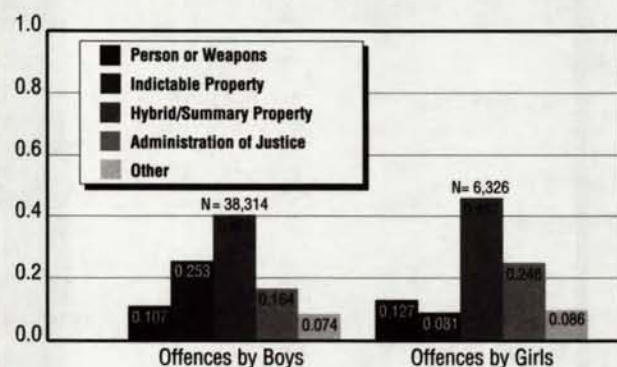
Kind of Offence	Boys	Proportion	Girls	Proportion
Person or weapons	2,790	0.256	602	0.23
Indictable property	4,247	0.389	368	0.14
Hybrid/summary property	7,120	0.653	1,776	0.682
Administration of justice	2,560	0.235	592	0.23
Other	2,199	0.202	405	0.16
N	10,904		2,603	

Table 3

Proportions of Male and Female Offenders with Offences in the Person or Weapons Category

Year of Birth	Proportion	Boys	Proportion	Girls
1972	0.22 of	2,761	0.19 of	623
1973	0.25 of	2,777	0.22 of	640
1974	0.26 of	2,734	0.23 of	670
1975	0.29 of	2,632	0.28 of	670
All Years	0.256 of	10,904	0.23 of	2,603

Figure 1

Convictions by Kind of Offence and Sex of Offender

In Figure 1, offences of male and female offenders are distributed separately in broader categories. The largest, "hybrid or summary property offences," accounted for 46% of female and 40% of male convictions.

The "person or weapons" category accounted for 13% of female and 11% of male convictions. For girls this consisted primarily of common assault (74%). For boys, that offence accounted for only 43% of the category. An additional 45% included approximately equal proportions of robbery, possession of a

weapon, assault with a weapon, and sexual assault.

Histories that included person or weapons offences

Although person or weapons offences accounted for relatively small proportions of convictions, approximately a quarter of the offenders — 26% of boys and 23% of girls — had at least one such offence in their court histories (see

Table 2). These proportions (but none of the others in Table 2) varied significantly, increasing with each year of birth of the offenders as indicated in Table 3.

Because the rate of increase was greater for girls, the ratio of male to female offenders in the category decreased significantly — from 5.2:1 among those born in 1972, to 4.2:1 among those born in 1975 (see Figure 2).³

Boys who committed person or weapons offences averaged 1.5 such offences and girls averaged 1.3. There was no significant variation in these measures by year of birth. Thus, even though the proportion of offenders in the category increased, the *intensity* of their offending did not.

The YCS data alone cannot address the question of whether the *seriousness* of offending increased with the year of birth.⁴ Research combining information on the offences from other sources with generation-based data from the YCS, however, could yield objective information on trends in the seriousness of offending by Canadian youth.

Age-crime patterns of offending from a youth court perspective

One advantage of data based on offender histories is that one can account for the age at which offenders *first* committed offences as well as the number of offences committed and the number of offenders active at each age. Figure 3 shows age-crime patterns for common assault, the only offence in the person or weapons category that both male and female offenders committed frequently.

The profiles suggest that girls tend to grow out of the activity and boys to grow into it. Female activity peaked at age 15 at 2.1 offences, 1.9 offenders and 1.6 first offenders per 1,000 girls born from 1972 to 1975.

For boys, the prevalence of offences, offenders and first offenders all rose sharply from 14 to 16 years of age, when a levelling out began. At age 17 there were 7.1 offences, 6.1 offenders and 5.4 first offenders per 1,000 boys.

The shape of the female age-crime profile for common assault was similar to female offending generally (see Figure 3, for example). The male profile, however, differed significantly from those of the more frequently committed offences of breaking and entering and theft under \$1,000, for which activity peaked at 15 and 16 years respectively, and for which the ratio of offences to active offenders was also larger (see Figures 4 and 5).

Patterns like those in figures 3 to 5 may be used to consider the scope for the youth court system to reduce various kinds of offending. The court system responds to offences after the fact and cannot affect the prevalence of first offenders. It can prevent only reoffending. From this perspective, a best-case scenario, the ratio of offenders to first offenders would be 1:1, that is, all offending would be first offending. Whether such a scenario could be attributed specifically to the system would be an open question. It would indicate, however, that further reduction of offending would depend on a reduction in the onset of offending and hence on influences beyond the court system. The profiles for common assault in Figure 3 approximate such a scenario.

In figures 4 and 5, however, the difference between offenders and first offenders is more pronounced and, for boys, increases steadily with age. This suggests there is room for the court system to improve in reducing repeat offending. Figure 6 charts the rise in the ratio of male offenders to first offenders for breaking and entering and theft under \$1,000, to 1.4:1 at 17 years. For common assault, the ratio rises only to 1.13:1.

A worst-case scenario for any kind of offence would be a steady increase in the frequency of offences and offenders following a decline in first offenders. Figures 4 and 5, however, show sharp declines from peaks in all measures — a good sign, although not necessarily attributable entirely to the youth justice system. It could, for example, reflect a tendency for youth to outgrow the activities.

All the profiles in figures 3 to 5 point to the importance of prevention. At every age, first offenders predominate. The steep rises in the onset of breaking and entering and theft under \$1,000 from ages 12 to 15 underline the significant effect prevention could have on the overall level of activity.

Figure 2

Ratio of Male to Female Offenders Convicted of Any Person or Weapons Offence by Year of Birth

Slope = -0.351, $R^2 = 0.99$, $p_{\text{slope}} = 0.007$

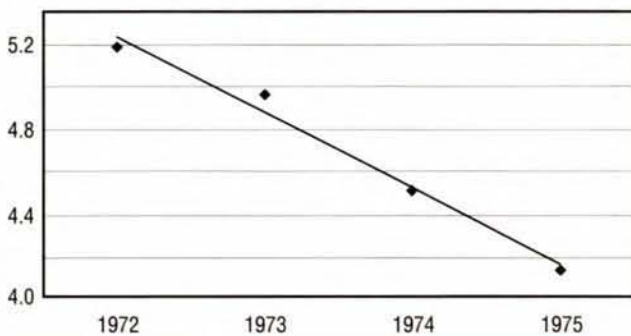


Figure 3

Offences, Offenders and First Offenders per 1,000 Population at Ages 12 to 17 Common Assault

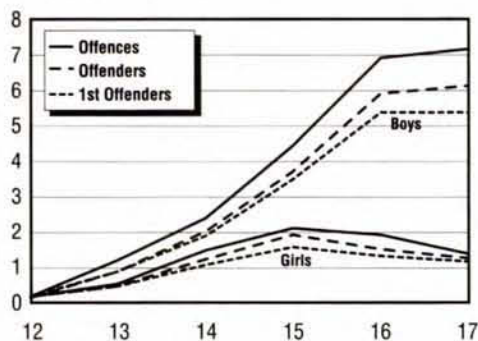


Figure 4

Offences, Offenders and First Offenders per 1,000 Population at Ages 12 to 17 Theft Under \$1,000

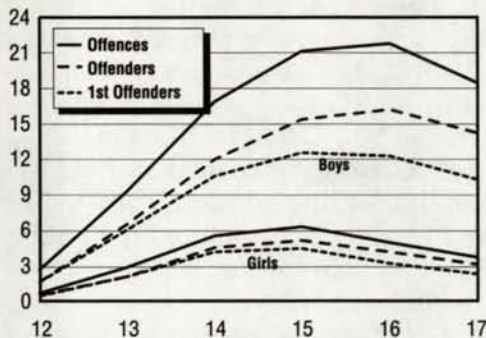
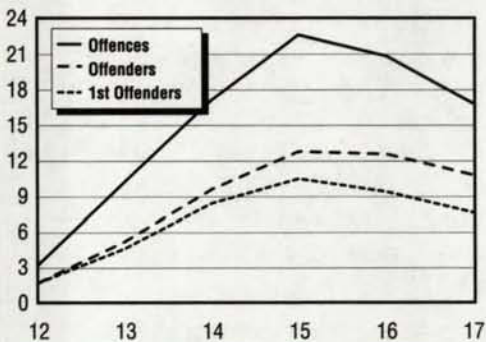


Figure 5

Offences, Offenders and First Offenders per 1,000 Male Population at Ages 12 to 17 Breaking & Entering



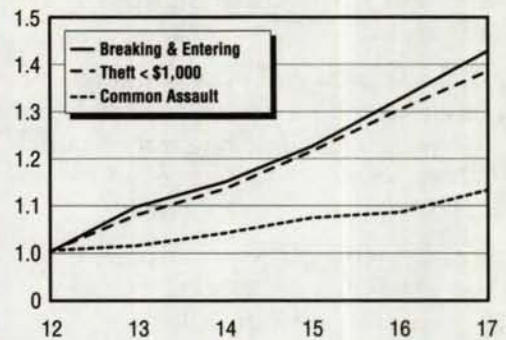
Discussion

These age-crime profiles do not account for when the first youth court intervention actually occurred and for how many offences

- ¹ 284 Wellington Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H8.
- ² Young offenders born from 1972 to 1975 passed through the jurisdiction of the *Young Offenders Act* before the *Criminal Code* was amended to raise the limit from \$1,000 to \$5,000 on the value of stolen property that defines theft as a hybrid offence, that is, one that may be a lesser indictable or summary offence.
- ³ Although these year-of-birth comparisons are based on proportions of youth referred to court and convicted, similar

Figure 6

Ratio of Male Offenders to First Offenders at Ages 12 to 17



were committed specifically before and after first dispositions. Because some individuals may have committed offences at more than one age before receiving their first dispositions, such profiles may exaggerate the extent to which youth courts could prevent repeat offending. Yet they still suggest more scope for preventive rather than for reactive strategies to reduce the amount of offending by youth.

This does not diminish the important role of the youth courts in reducing repeat offending, particularly by very young offenders. Further analysis focusing on recidivism will indicate that it is indeed significant. The age-crime profiles presented here are intended only to underline the relative importance of prevention. ■

results are obtained relative to the *populations* eligible for referral to youth court. The overall prevalence of offenders did not vary significantly by year of birth, but the prevalence of those with offences in the person or weapons category increased.

- ⁴ It should be stressed that youth who committed the most violent kinds of offences, such as homicide, were extremely rare, and there was no indication of a trend in their prevalence.

A profile of the adolescent sex offender

by **Marlo Gal**¹

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and **Robert D. Hoge**²

Department of Psychology, Carleton University

It has been estimated that adolescent sex offenders account for more than a third of all sexual assaults.³ It has also been found that half of convicted adult offenders committed their first sexual offence as an adolescent⁴ and that one of the best predictors of adult sex offending is an early onset of sexual offending.⁵ Therefore, knowledge about the characteristics of the adolescent sex offender may be useful in identifying etiological variables associated with sexual offending and in developing intervention. This paper provides a brief overview of some of the most commonly cited characteristics of the adolescent sex offender.

History of abuse

Many adolescent sex offenders report that their first sexual experience was abusive. For example, when Longo⁶ assessed 17 adolescent sex offenders, 13 reported that their first sexual experience occurred before the age of 12 and a majority of these adolescents had been sexually molested during their childhood.

The relationship between abuse and subsequent violent and/or sexual offending has been studied extensively, although its role in subsequent sexual offending remains controversial. The reported percentages of adolescent sex offenders who have been physically or sexually abused ranges from less than 20%⁷ to more than 50%.⁸ However, some researchers⁹ have failed to find higher sexual victimization among adolescent sex offenders compared with adolescent non-sex offenders.

Although a history of abuse has not been found to be predictive of sexual offending, its prevalence among adolescent sex offenders suggests that this issue cannot be ignored. Researchers¹⁰ have concluded that the link between sexual victimization and subsequent offending needs to be clarified.

Social skills and peer relationships

It has been speculated that inappropriate sexual behaviour stems from deficits in social skills. Numerous researchers¹¹ have found that adolescent sex offenders have social skill deficits, tend to be loners and are socially isolated. When Schram and colleagues assessed the social skills of adolescent sex offenders, they found that more than half were loners and isolated from their peers. In addition, more than two thirds of the offenders had deficits in social skills, while about half had deficits in

education, self-awareness and sexual knowledge. This was also found to be true when adolescent sex offenders were compared with other violent adolescent offenders. Fagan and Wexler¹² found that adolescent sex offenders were more socially and sexually isolated than other violent adolescent offenders.

Researchers have also suggested that there may be a relationship between specific social skill deficits and sex offender type, that is, child molester or rapist. Chewing¹³ found that male adolescent child molesters were less likely to have intimate relationships and had fewer female friends than other

males, both delinquent and non-delinquent. Similarly, Deisher and colleagues¹⁴ found that adolescent child molesters demonstrated poor social skills, were socially isolated from their peers and had low self-esteem.

More recently, Ford and Linney¹⁵ examined the social skills and interpersonal relationships of four groups of adolescent offenders: rapists, child molesters, violent non-sex offenders and non-violent offenders. They found no differences in their perceived ability to establish peer relationships. However, examination of overt and desired behaviour

Numerous researchers have found that adolescent sex offenders have social skill deficits, tend to be loners and are socially isolated.

from others in interpersonal situations found that child molesters showed greater preference for initiating inclusion behaviour rather than receiving it, and reported the greatest desire to control interpersonal situations by giving orders or dominating others.

There appears to be support for the notion that specific social skill deficits are related to specific types of offending. Awad and Saunders found that assaulters were less likely to be socially isolated than a comparison group of child molesters and had older peers compared with other delinquents, while child molesters were found to be chronically isolated from same-age peers.

Substance abuse

The relationship between substance abuse and violent offending has been extensively studied at the adult level.¹⁶ This issue has also been explored with adolescents. For example, Schram and colleagues found that more than one third of their adolescent sex offenders had or were suspected of having a substance abuse problem.

However, only 14% were thought to be under the influence at the time of the offence. More recently, Hsu and Starzynski¹⁷ found that just over half of the adolescent rapists in their sample reported using alcohol or drugs before the assault. Less than one quarter of the adolescent child molesters, however, reported using either substance. Their results suggest that alcohol may play a stronger role in rape than child molestation.

Becker and Stein questioned adolescent sex offenders about the perceived impact of alcohol on their sexual arousal. Of those who admitted to consumption of alcohol, only 11% said it increased their arousal while the rest stated that it had no effect. Offenders who reported that alcohol increased their arousal had more victims than those who claimed alcohol did not affect their arousal.

Reviews of this literature suggest there is a link between substance abuse and adolescent sexual offending, although the link is weaker than that observed for adults. It also appears that

substance abuse plays a more important role in the case of rape than child molestation.

History of sexual offending

One of the best predictors of sexual offending is a history of previous sexual offending. Therefore, examination of an adolescent's criminal behaviour is an essential variable to examine. Fehrenbach and colleagues found that 58% of the adolescent sex offenders in their sample were involved in at least one sexual offence before their index sex offence, while other researchers have found that less than 10% of the adolescent sex offenders had a prior sexual offence. Schram and colleagues, however, found that nearly a third of the offenders they studied reported committing at least one other sex crime for which there was no conviction.

Overall, the percentage of adolescent sex offenders with a previous sexual offence conviction is quite low. Some evidence points to a greater level of non-reported sexual offending behaviour, however; the nature and severity of these behaviours needs to be examined further.

Family attributes

Familial relationships contribute to people's perception of the world and the people around them.

Familial relationships and attributes have been extensively studied in the adolescent sex offender literature.¹⁸ Studies examining the familial attributes of adolescent sex offenders are controversial, with some researchers¹⁹ finding no difference in family functioning between adolescent sex offenders and other delinquents, and others finding significant differences in family functioning.

Hsu and Starzynski examined the family histories of 15 adolescent rapists and 17 adolescent child molesters. They found that the families in both groups were extremely disturbed and that the two groups were not significantly different in the level of family functioning. However, Saunders and Watt²⁰ reported that rapists came from more disturbed

Fehrenbach and colleagues found that 58% of the adolescent sex offenders in their sample were involved in at least one sexual offence before their index sex offence.

backgrounds, characterized by long-term parent-child separations, while child molesters came more often from family backgrounds where there was a high incidence of familial violence, poor bonding and disorganization.

A history of victimization in one or more family members of the adolescent sex offender has been reported in a number of studies. Becker and colleagues²¹ found that mothers of incest offenders were more likely to report their own early victimization, later sexual dysfunction and psychotherapy experience than mothers of non-incest offenders. Similarly, Hsu and Starzynski found that approximately 10% of the mothers reported a history of sexual abuse.

Schram and colleagues found that more than 40% of the offenders reported that a sibling had been sexually abused. Similarly, Kahn and Chambers found that just over a third of the siblings of the offenders they studied were sexually abused by someone other than the offender.

Intrafamilial violence is commonly reported. Fagan and Wexler found that parental violence and violence toward the children was more common in families of adolescent sex offenders than other violent offenders. Other researchers found that approximately half of the adolescent sex offenders had been subjected to or had witnessed intrafamilial violence.

Another consistent finding in the literature is that most adolescent sex offenders come from single-parent homes or have been separated from their parents. Becker and colleagues found that only a third of the offenders were living with both parents, one third were residing with their mother, and the rest were living with someone else other than their parents (e.g., foster home, detention centre, group home or grandparents' home). Graves and colleagues employed meta-analytic techniques on articles published in the last 20 years to provide demographic and parental characteristics of adolescent sex offenders. They found that more than three quarters of the sexual assaulters and less than half of the child molesters and mixed offenders came from single-parent homes. In addition, more than half of the pedophiles reported living in foster homes.

A history of parental substance abuse has also been associated with adolescent sex offenders. Hsu and Starzynski found that half of the offenders had at least one alcoholic parent. The maternal alcohol abuse rate for pedophiles and mixed offenders was about 40% while the rate for assaulters was less than 20%. In contrast, there was little variability in the overall paternal alcohol abuse rate, which exceeded 50%. It was also found that 62% of the fathers and 43% of the mothers used illicit drugs or abused legal drugs.

Ford and Linney found that more than half of the offenders had no familial criminal history. However, Smith²² found that more serious sex offences were committed by adolescents who had another sex offender in the extended family.

In summary, the families of adolescent sex offenders can be described as disturbed, with a high rate of violence (both physical and sexual) and substance abuse. In addition, most adolescent sex offenders come from single-parent homes or have been separated from their parents.

Exposure to information about sex

The type of medium used to learn about sex often reflects the nature of people's attitudes toward sex. This issue has been explored with adolescents. Becker, Cunningham-Rathner and Kaplan²³ asked the adolescent sex offenders about their primary source of information on sexuality. A quarter reported that they had learned about sex in school, three-fifths learned from personal experience, their peers or family members, and the rest learned from the mass media or other sources. Ford and Linney found that more than 40% of the sex offenders had been exposed to hard core sex magazines while less than 30% of non-sex offenders had been. Sex offenders were also exposed to pornographic material at a younger age. Child molesters were exposed to pornography most frequently.

Becker and Stein found that nearly 90% of the offenders had used sexually explicit material and three quarters of these offenders reported that the material increased their arousal. The most frequently cited source of sexually explicit materials was magazines, followed by videotapes, television and books.

Reviews of this literature indicate that adolescent sex offenders have been exposed to more pornography and exposed at a younger age than any other adolescent group. It also appears that child molesters are exposed to pornography more frequently than rapists.

Conclusions and recommendations

These efforts to identify the characteristics of adolescents who engage in inappropriate or illegal sexual activity are important in the context of the risk/needs model of judicial interventions, which assumes that interventions are most effective when they are directed toward the specific needs of the individual.²⁴ Although some variables identified in the research are static (e.g., history of offending), others, such as social skill deficits, substance abuse and dysfunctional parenting, are amenable to change and, if changed, may reduce the likelihood of offending. This has important implications for

primary, secondary and tertiary strategies for dealing with adolescent sexual abuse.

This paper represents an important beginning in the understanding of sexual abuse by adolescents, but many areas require additional attention. First, individual studies have used only a limited range of variables. Numerous researchers²⁵ have presented theoretical analyses of the causes and correlates of serious criminal behavior in children and adolescents, while others²⁶ have reviewed recent research on the issue. These efforts show that youthful criminal activity is the product of many interacting factors, and this should be recognized in future research on sexual offending. Second, current research does not deal adequately with the issue of causality. Designs permitting the testing of causal hypotheses should be considered. Finally, further research is needed on the efficacy of interventions for the adolescent sex offender and those at risk for such behaviour. ■

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² 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6.

³ L. Horne, D. Glasgow, A. Cox and R. Calam, "Sexual abuse of children by children," *Journal of Child Law*, 3, 1 (1991): 47-151. See also G. Brayton, "Adolescent sexual offenders" in *Issues and Perspectives on Young Offenders in Canada*. J. A. Winterdyk, Ed., (Harcourt Brace, Canada, 1996): 219-236.

⁴ A. N. Groth, R. E. Longo and J. B. McFadden, "Undetected recidivism among rapists and child molesters," *Crime and Delinquency*, 28 (1982): 450-458.

⁵ R. K. Hanson and M. T. Bussière, "Predicting relapse: A meta-analysis of sexual offender recidivism studies," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 66 (1998): 348-362.

⁶ R. E. Longo, "Sexual learning and experience among adolescent sex offenders," *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 26, (1982): 235-241.

⁷ J. V. Becker and R. M. Stein, "Is sexual erotica associated with sexual deviance in adolescent sexual males?" *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 14 (1991): 85-95; see also P. Fehrenbach, W. Smith, C. Monastersky and R. Deisher, "Adolescent sex offenders: Offender and offense characteristics," *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 3 (1986): 363-385.

⁸ T. J. Kahn and H. J. Chambers, "Assessing reoffense risk with juvenile sexual offenders," *Child Welfare*, 70 (1991): 333-345; see also D. D. Schram, C. D. Milloy, and W. E. Rowe, *Juvenile Sex Offenders: A Follow up Study of Reoffense Behavior* (Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 1991).

⁹ J. L. Benoit and W. A. Kennedy, "The abuse history of male adolescent sex offenders," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 7 (1992): 543-548.

¹⁰ E. Vizard, E. Monck and P. Misch, "Child and adolescent sex abuse perpetrators: A review of the research literature," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 36 (1995): 731-756.

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Young adult offenders in federal corrections: A profile

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The Correctional Service of Canada's Offender Management System (OMS), Offender Intake Assessment (OIA) process² and Community Risk/Needs Management Scale (CRNMS)³ yield comprehensive information for profiling the federal offender population.⁴ Young adult offenders (18 to 20 years and 21 to 24 years) are compared with other age groups (25 to 49 years and 50 and over) by type of offence, institutional and conditional release status, admissions and releases, sentence lengths, criminal histories, and identified needs at admission as well as on conditional release.

National and regional distribution

A December 31, 1998, review⁵ of the Correctional Service of Canada's OMS identified 350 (or 1.6%) offenders aged 18 to 20 years, 2,000 (or 8.9%) offenders aged 21 to 24 years, 16,514 (or 73.6%) offenders aged 25 to 49 years and 3,583 (or 16%) offenders aged 50 years and over under federal jurisdiction.

The Service's Prairie and Ontario regions accounted for the most young adult offenders (under 25), each being responsible for more than one third and one fifth of the young adult offender population, respectively. When you examine each region's proportion of offenders, the Prairie and Atlantic regions had more young adult offenders relative to their proportion of all federal offenders.

The Ontario and Quebec regions had the most older offenders (50 and over), each being responsible for roughly one quarter of the older offender population. However, the Pacific region had a somewhat larger proportion of older offenders relative to this region's proportion of all federal offenders.

Institutional population (stock)

The end-of-1998 review also determined that there were 303 (or 2.4%) offenders aged 18 to 20 years, 1,314 (or 10.3%) offenders aged 21 to 24 years, 9,535 (or 74.7%) offenders aged 25 to 49 years and 1,606 (or 12.6%) offenders aged 50 and over in federal institutions. Young adult offenders made up roughly the same proportion (12.7%) as older offenders (12.6%) in the federal institutional population.

About one fifth of federally incarcerated young adult offenders were located in maximum-security institutions, slightly more than two thirds were in medium-security institutions and the rest were in minimum-security institutions.

The absolute number of young adult offenders in federal institutions decreased by 5% over the 1998 calendar year.

Conditional release population (stock)

Finally, this review determined that there were 47 (or 0.5%) offenders aged 18 to 20, 686 (or 7.1%) offenders aged 21 to 24 years, 6,979 (or 72%) offenders aged 25 to 49 and 1,977 (or 20.4%) offenders aged 50 and over on conditional release. It is not surprising that the proportion

of older offenders on conditional release was substantially higher than young adult offenders. The conditional release population included many offenders serving longer sentences such as life.

Young adult offenders were almost evenly distributed across three types of conditional release — day parole, full parole and statutory release. In contrast, more than two thirds of older offenders were on full parole.

Young adult offender admissions (flow)

The absolute number of young adult offenders in federal institutions decreased by 5% over the 1998 calendar year (see Table 1). The Atlantic region experienced the largest decrease in the absolute number of young adult offenders with a decrease of 13.1%. While the Quebec, Ontario and Pacific regions also showed declines in young adult offenders, the Ontario region had the largest increase in older offenders (2.3%) in federal custody.

When you compare regional "flow-to-stock" ratios, the Pacific region retained a greater number of young adult offenders in federal

custody compared with the other regions. Both the Ontario and Pacific regions retained the greatest numbers of older offenders relative to the other regions. Across regions, young adult offenders are turning over at the greatest rate in federal institutions.

Young adult offender releases (flow)

While the number of young adult offenders supervised under some form of conditional release increased by 4% over the 1998 calendar year, the number of older offenders increased by nearly 9% (see Table 2). Note that we removed from the release figures the nearly

400 federal offender releases who were at the end of their sentence.

Regionally, the Quebec region experienced the most growth in the number of young adult offenders under community supervision, with an increase of 35%. However, an examination of the regional flow-to-stock ratios reveals that the Quebec region experienced the lowest retention in young adult offenders under community supervision during 1998 relative to the number of community supervision releases. Again, young adult offenders are turning over at the greatest rate on conditional release.

Table 1

Regional Distribution of the Federal Offender Institutional Population and Admissions (1997-1998)

Region		Institutional population 1997 (stock)	Admissions 1998 (flow)	Institutional population 1998 (stock)	Flow-to-stock ratio	Growth
Atlantic	18 to 20	61	89	69	1: 0.78	+13.1
	21 to 24	190	145	149	1: 1.03	-21.6
	25 to 49	883	545	773	1: 1.42	-12.5
	50 plus	173	65	158	1: 2.43	-8.7
Quebec	18 to 20	39	74	50	1: 0.68	+28.2
	21 to 24	285	223	257	1: 1.15	-9.8
	25 to 49	2,813	1,501	2,673	1: 1.78	-5.0
	50 plus	393	161	395	1: 2.45	+0.5
Ontario	18 to 20	56	58	45	1: 0.78	-19.6
	21 to 24	327	242	316	1: 1.31	-3.4
	25 to 49	2,648	1,322	2,629	1: 1.99	-0.7
	50 plus	477	143	488	1: 3.41	+2.3
Prairie	18 to 20	116	152	124	1: 0.82	+6.9
	21 to 24	453	373	446	1: 1.20	-1.5
	25 to 49	2,296	1,442	2,175	1: 1.51	-5.3
	50 plus	307	116	291	1: 2.51	-5.2
Pacific	18 to 20	27	15	15	1: 1.00	-44.4
	21 to 24	151	94	146	1: 1.55	-3.3
	25 to 49	1,389	637	1,285	1: 2.02	-7.5
	50 plus	275	72	274	1: 3.81	-0.4
Total	18 to 20	299	388	303	1: 0.78	+1.3
	21 to 24	1,406	1,077	1,314	1: 1.22	-6.5
	25 to 49	10,029	5,477	9,535	1: 1.75	-4.9
	50 plus	1,625	557	1,606	1: 2.88	-1.2

Table 2

Regional Distribution of the Federal Offender Conditional Release Population and Releases (1997–1998)

Region		Cond. rel. population 1997 (stock)	Releases 1998 (flow)	Cond. rel. population 1998 (stock)	Flow-to- stock ratio	Growth
Atlantic	18 to 20	25	38	11	1: 0.29	-56.0
	21 to 24	94	162	123	1: 0.76	+30.9
	25 to 49	525	552	554	1: 1.00	+5.5
	50 plus	144	75	146	1: 1.95	+1.4
Quebec	18 to 20	7	25	10	1: 0.40	+42.9
	21 to 24	94	206	126	1: 0.61	-6.6
	25 to 49	525	1,808	2,123	1: 1.17	-0.1
	50 plus	144	217	612	1: 2.82	+11.3
Ontario	18 to 20	2	13	4	1: 0.30	+100.0
	21 to 24	152	209	165	1: 0.79	-8.6
	25 to 49	1,868	1,541	1,962	1: 1.27	+5.0
	50 plus	495	212	525	1: 2.48	+6.1
Prairie	18 to 20	20	40	18	1: 0.45	-10.0
	21 to 24	205	294	207	1: 0.70	-1.0
	25 to 49	1,454	1,448	1,497	1: 1.03	+3.0
	50 plus	303	159	343	1: 2.16	+13.2
Pacific	18 to 20	4	10	4	1: 0.40	0
	21 to 24	64	90	65	1: 0.72	+1.6
	25 to 49	798	807	843	1: 1.04	+5.6
	50 plus	325	119	351	1: 2.95	+8.0
Total	18 to 20	58	126	47	1: 0.37	-19.0
	21 to 24	650	961	686	1: 0.71	+5.5
	25 to 49	6,771	6,156	6,979	1: 1.13	+3.1
	50 plus	1,817	782	1,977	1: 2.53	+8.8

Sentence length

The average sentence length (in 1998) for newly admitted young adult offenders (lifers and revoked cases removed). Compared with the average sentence length of older adult offenders admitted to federal custody, it was almost one-sixth shorter (see Table 3).

As expected, the average sentence length in 1998 for most of the age categories released under supervision was lower than for their counterparts at admission. The exception was older offenders, who typically were serving longer sentences.

It is not surprising that the average sentence lengths of incarcerated young adult offenders

were found to be higher than for either the admission or conditional release populations. Similarly, the average sentence lengths of incarcerated middle and older age offenders were found to be higher than for those same offenders on conditional release. Of special note, the average sentence length of incarcerated older offenders was

Table 3

Average Sentence Lengths and Offender Age Groups

Population	Sentence length (years)			
	18 to 20	21 to 24	25 to 49	50+
Admissions	3.26	3.47	3.70	4.15
Releases	2.42	2.46	3.29	4.65
Institutional	3.54	4.45	6.87	9.18
Conditional release	2.64	3.37	5.87	8.09

found to be more than double the sentence length of young adult offenders in institutions.

Major offence categories

To examine differences in four major offence categories (homicide, sex offence, robbery and drug offence) across the selected age groups, we separated the end-of-December 1998 institutional (stock) and conditional release (stock) populations (see Table 4).

Table 4 shows that incarcerated young adult offenders (12.7%) are over-represented by robbery offenders (13.8%) and under-represented by homicide (5.0%), sex (4.6%) and drug (8.0%) offenders. A similar result was found for the conditional release population. In contrast, those aged 25 to 49 and older in federal prison (87.3%) are over-represented by homicide (95.2%), sex (95.4%) and drug (92.0%) offenders.

Profiling young adult male and female offenders

The Service's OIA process collects and stores information on each federal offender's criminal and mental health background, social situation and education, factors relevant to determining criminal risk (such as number and variety of convictions and previous exposure and response to youth and adult corrections) and factors relevant to identifying offender needs (such as employment history, family background, criminal associations,

Table 4

Major Offence Categories Across Age Groups

Population	Age of offender			
	18 to 20 years	21 to 24 years	25 to 49 years	50+ years
Institutional	2.4%	10.3%	74.7%	12.6%
Homicide***	0.7%	4.3%	75.6%	19.6%
Sex offence***	0.4%	4.2%	70.5%	24.9%
Robbery***	2.9%	10.9%	79.3%	7.0%
Drug offence***	1.1%	6.9%	84.5%	7.5%
Conditional release	0.5%	7.1%	72.0%	20.4%
Homicide***	0.0%	0.4%	51.5%	48.1%
Sex offence***	0.2%	2.2%	60.8%	36.8%
Robbery***	0.5%	9.5%	80.0%	9.9%
Drug offence***	0.3%	5.7%	80.4%	13.6%

*** The difference is statistically significant $p < .001$.

Table 5

Criminal Histories Across Selected Age Groups

Variable	18 to 20 years		21 to 24 years		25 to 49 years		50+ years	
	male (291)	female (7)	male (1,213)	female (28)	male (5,977)	female (191)	male (806)	female (18)
Young offender history								
Previous offences***/**	86.6%	85.7%	83.2%	35.7%	40.1%	23.0%	10.1%	0.0%
Community supervision***/**	80.4%	85.7%	73.2%	32.1%	27.3%	11.8%	4.2%	0.0%
Open custody***/**	60.9%	57.1%	53.1%	21.4%	19.3%	12.8%	3.3%	0.0%
Secure custody***/**	59.0%	57.1%	54.3%	25.0%	22.7%	12.8%	5.6%	0.0%
Adult offender history								
Previous offences***/**	32.4%	28.6%	70.0%	50.0%	90.4%	73.2%	68.7%	44.4%
Community supervision***/**	22.1%	14.3%	51.7%	42.9%	78.8%	59.3%	54.5%	27.8%
Provincial term(s)***/**	25.2%	14.3%	57.4%	32.1%	78.2%	53.9%	51.5%	22.2%
Federal term(s)***/ns	0.3%	0.0%	2.9%	3.6%	38.9%	10.3%	30.6%	0.0%

Note: statistical significance across age groups is presented as male/female.

*** The difference is statistically significant $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; ns = not significant.

Table 6

Identified Needs at Admission

Variable	18 to 20 years		21 to 24 years		25 to 49 years		50+ years	
	male (293)	female (7)	male (1,265)	female (28)	male (8,887)	female (219)	male (1,475)	female (24)
Employment ***/**	70.3%	57.1%	76.0%	78.6%	67.3%	69.9%	46.0%	33.3%
Marital/family ***/ns	34.5%	85.7%	45.5%	53.6%	56.5%	69.9%	59.9%	66.7%
Associates ***/ns	76.8%	85.7%	78.2%	64.3%	67.0%	59.8%	42.7%	58.3%
Substance abuse ***/**	62.7%	71.4%	71.5%	50.0%	76.2%	65.3%	52.2%	29.2%
Community functioning ***/ns	35.8%	42.9%	50.3%	39.3%	56.5%	57.1%	46.4%	45.8%
Personal/emotional **/ns	94.5%	100.0%	93.2%	85.7%	90.9%	89.5%	91.9%	87.5%
Attitude ***/ns	43.0%	28.6%	57.8%	39.1%	63.4%	29.7%	63.7%	29.2%

Note: statistical significance across age groups is presented as male/female.

*** The difference is statistically significant $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; ns = not significant.

addictions and attitudes). The results help determine institutional placement and correctional plans, but criminal history and case need variables can also be used to build a comprehensive profile of the federal offender population.

In November 1994, the OIA process was implemented Service-wide. Four years later we extracted case-specific information on available OIAs contained in the OMS. To facilitate comparative analyses we focused on male and female offenders who had full OIAs and were under federal supervision on December 31, 1998. Note that these results are generalized to a recent admission population (within the last four years).

Criminal history. Table 5 presents comparative statistics on selected criminal history variables from the OIA for male and female federal offenders across the selected age groups. We found highly significant differences across the selected age categories in relation to young offender (under 18) history. Young adult male and female offenders in federal prisons were more likely to have had previous offences, community supervision, and open and secure custody as young

offenders than offenders in other age categories.

Needs at admission. Among male offenders ($n = 11,920$) at admission, there appear to be statistically significant differences between the selected age groups in all need areas (see Table 6). For female offenders ($n = 278$), statistically meaningful differences were found between the various age groups in the areas of employment and substance abuse. Table 6 also shows that young adult offenders are more likely to be needy in the areas of employment, associates/social interaction and personal/emotional orientation.

Needs on conditional release. The Service has an automated means of monitoring offender risk/needs levels in the community. The OMS currently contains the overall risk/need and identified need levels gathered since implementation of the CRNMS (now known as the Community Intervention Scale). This information can be retrieved at any time to provide caseload snapshots. A national overview of seven separate identified needs (ratings of "some need for improvement" or "considerable need for

A national overview of seven separate identified needs (ratings of "some need for improvement" or "considerable need for improvement") in the conditional release population shows considerable variation across these need areas between young adult offenders and other age-specific offender categories.

Table 7

Identified Needs on Conditional Release

Variable	18 to 20 years		21 to 24 years		25 to 49 years		50+ years	
	male (33)	female (3)	male (541)	female (34)	male (5,469)	female (277)	male (1,631)	female (59)
Employment ***/**	48.5%	66.7%	57.9%	50.0%	40.9%	43.9%	22.8%	22.0%
Marital/family ***/**	39.4%	33.3%	39.3%	35.3%	29.5%	41.5%	16.6%	13.6%
Associates ***/**	57.6%	100.0%	57.5%	67.6%	32.8%	37.1%	13.1%	17.0%
Substance abuse ***/*	30.3%	0.0%	36.5%	29.4%	28.0%	22.7%	7.6%	6.8%
Community functioning ***/ns	30.3%	0.0%	34.9%	20.6%	26.9%	31.2%	14.7%	44.4%
Personal/emotional ***/**	69.7%	67.7%	60.5%	58.8%	48.6%	51.4%	34.0%	27.8%
Attitude ***/ ns	24.2%	33.3%	19.2%	11.8%	12.0%	6.5%	9.0%	6.9%

Note: statistical significance across age groups is presented as male/female.

*** The difference is statistically significant $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; ns = not significant

improvement") in the conditional release population shows considerable variation across these need areas between young adult offenders and other age-specific offender categories (see Table 7).

Among male offenders ($n = 7,674$) on conditional release, there appear to be statistically significant differences between the selected age categories in all need areas. For female offenders ($n = 373$), there are statistically meaningful differences between the various age groups in all need areas except community functioning and attitude.

Again, in Table 7 we see that young adult offenders of both sexes are more likely to be needy in the areas of employment, associates/social interaction and personal/emotional orientation.

The Service's capacity to produce meaningful and accurate profiles of the federal offender population across selected age groups can be used to raise awareness that we are managing a more diverse federal offender population than before.

Discussion

The Service's capacity to produce meaningful and accurate profiles of the federal offender population across selected age groups can be used to raise awareness that we are managing a more diverse federal offender population than before.

In federal corrections, young adult offenders are turning over at the greatest rate in institutions and on conditional release, are serving shorter sentences, are likely to be robbery offenders, have more criminal history as youths and possess unique criminogenic needs at admission and on conditional release. These findings suggest offering specialized programs and services to these individuals. Hence, careful attention should be paid to these individuals during reintegration. ■

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Younger offenders in the federal correctional system

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In Canada, provincial governments are responsible for young offenders (less than 18 years of age), but share responsibility for adult offenders with the federal government. Sentences given in adult court for less serious crimes and for offenders with few previous adult convictions — such as fines, probation, and periods of custody of less than two years — are the responsibility of the provincial government. As a result, most offenders who are convicted of crimes committed shortly after they attain adult age (18 years of age) become the responsibility of provincial correctional systems.

However, anyone sentenced as an adult to a term of two years or more in custody becomes the responsibility of the federal government, and serves the custody portion of their sentence in a federal penitentiary. Federal penitentiaries house the country's most serious adult offenders, most of whom have been convicted of committing serious violent offences. For a younger offender, the change from the juvenile corrections system, with short sentences and small residential facilities, to a federal penitentiary is dramatic.

This article profiles offenders 25 years of age or younger serving sentences in federal penitentiaries. This group of offenders is divided into two groups: 18- to 21-year-olds and 22- to 25-year-olds. After reviewing the number of admissions and the size of the younger offenders group in custody, the article details the criminogenic needs of younger offenders, identified when they are admitted to prison. We then compare the criminal history risk of younger offenders to that of other offenders in federal penitentiaries to determine the risk that each group poses to the community.

Admissions

Approximately one quarter of offenders admitted² to federal penitentiaries between 1994 and 1998 were 25 years or younger. Offenders between the ages of 18 and 21 accounted for approximately 12% of admissions — a number that varied by less than one percentage point during the five-year

period. Slightly older offenders, those between 22 and 25 years of age, accounted for an additional 15% of federal admissions. This amounts to a yearly average of 539 admissions for the 18-to-21 age group and 700 admissions for the 22-to-25 age group.

Our analysis indicates that, although younger offender admissions for the 22-to-25 age group are generally constant across regions, the 18-to-21 group shows some variation. The Atlantic region admits the largest percentage

of younger offenders, with 18- to 21-year-olds making up 18% of admissions — a rate six percentage points or 50% higher than the national average. In the Prairie region, 15% of admissions are for offenders between 18 and 21. Only about 8% of offenders admitted in the Quebec and Pacific regions are between 18 and 21, while in the Ontario region this group accounts for 10% of admissions.

In custody

Although admission rates are relatively high for younger offenders, in-custody rates are lower because younger offenders

normally have short sentences and are quickly moved to community supervision (parole) if they do not pose an undue risk to the community. Offenders between 18 and 21 account for 12% of new admissions, but only 5% of offenders in custody.³ Offenders between the ages of 22 and 25 account for 11% of offenders in custody.

Younger offenders are as likely as other offenders to have been incarcerated for committing a violent offence: about 71% of younger offenders were admitted for this reason. However, younger offenders were more likely than other offenders to have used a prohibited weapon in the commission of their

Younger offenders are as likely as other offenders to have been incarcerated for committing a violent offence: about 71% of younger offenders were admitted for this reason.

offence. Specifically, 15% of younger offenders from both groups used a weapon during their offence, compared with a reported 9% of offenders over 25.

The high level of violence of younger offenders in this study is partly a result of sentencing practices and does not indicate that all younger offenders commit violent offences. Younger offenders who commit non-violent offences are more likely to receive a sentence of less than two years, and therefore to serve their sentences in provincial institutions. Only a relatively serious offence would result in a younger offender receiving a sentence of two years or more, resulting in placement in a federal institution.

Need domains

An analysis of the need ratings from the Offender Intake Assessment⁴ system indicates that younger offenders do not differ from other offenders in their overall level of needs. About 6% were rated as low-need, 36% as moderate-need and 59% as high-need offenders. Some interesting differences come to light, however, when the individual need domains are examined.

Table 1 compares younger offenders to those more than 25 years of age across the seven need domains used in the Offender Intake Assessment system. Each of these domains has been associated with criminal behaviour.⁵ Younger offenders are more likely to be identified as having problems with the associates and employment/education domains. Approximately 81% of inmates between 18 and 21 and 79% of those between 22 and 25 are identified as having problems with associates, compared with 65% of inmates more than 25 years of age. Likewise, 77% of those 18 to 21 and 80% of those between 22 and 25 have employment/education identified as a need, compared with only 67% of offenders over 25.

Detailed data used to identify need areas indicate that younger offenders are more likely to have only criminal friends and acquaintances and are less likely to have non-criminal friends and activities that could reduce the

likelihood of criminal behaviour. For employment, younger offenders are more likely to have learning and skills deficits and an unstable job history. In fact, 35% have no work history.

Community functioning is less likely to be a need area for the youngest inmates (18 to 21 years): 48% have this need identified as a problem, as opposed to approximately 58% of offenders over 21. On their release, younger offenders may have problems stemming from their lack of experience with stable accommodation and financial matters.

Interestingly, younger offenders are less likely than older offenders to have needs in the attitudes and family domains.

There is little difference in the percentage of younger and older offenders identified for the need domains of personal/emotional problems and substance abuse. However, 90% of all offenders have personal/emotional problems identified as a need and 73% have substance abuse identified as a need. Younger offenders are more likely to have substance abuse problems with drugs, alone or in combination with alcohol.

Criminal history risk assessment

An analysis of the criminal history risk ratings from the Offender Intake Assessment system indicates that younger offenders are more likely to be classified as high risk. Criminal history risk was rated high for 40% of the 18- to 21-year-olds, for 35% of the 22- to 25-year-olds and for only 28% of other offenders.

The Correctional Service of Canada recently introduced a measure of reintegration

Table 1

Percentage within each age category with the need domain identified			
Need domain	Current age		
	18 to 21 years	22 to 25 years	Over 25 years
Associates	80.7	78.5	65.2
Employment/education	76.8	79.8	66.9
Attitudes	52.6	58.7	64.0
Community functioning	47.9	57.8	57.9
Family	44.2	50.6	59.8
Personal/emotional	92.6	91.0	91.3
Substance abuse	70.5	71.8	73.4

potential. This measure combines the criminal history risk assessment of the Statistical Information on Recidivism (SIR) scale,⁶ the Custody Rating Scale⁷ and the risk assessment portion of the Offender Intake Assessment system to rate an offender's likelihood of successfully reintegrating into the community. Offenders are classified as having either high, moderate or low reintegration potential. Within the incarcerated population, offenders are usually distributed evenly across the three levels of reintegration potential.

Although 34% of offenders older than 25 are rated as having a high reintegration potential, only 26% of the group between 18 and 21 and 27% of the 22-to-25 age group are rated as having high reintegration potential. Younger inmates are also more likely to be rated as having a low reintegration potential than older inmates. These results suggest that younger offenders may have difficulty remaining crime free after release from a federal institution.

Other characteristics

An important difference between younger and older offenders is their exposure to the criminal justice system as young offenders. Although 34% of older offenders in custody were involved with the courts as young offenders, this number increases to 77% for offenders between 22 and 25 years of age and to 87% for offenders 18 to 21 years of age. In addition, 48% of offenders between 22 and 25 and 61% of offenders between 18 and 21 have been in secure custody: for offenders over 25, the number drops to only 19%. The 18-to-25 offenders are also more likely to have failed while on community supervision as young offenders and to have been moved to a higher level of custody.

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² Admissions include only new admissions. Admissions resulting from revocation of conditional release or transfers are not included.

³ Based on in-custody data from June 1998.

⁴ Not all offenders have complete Offender Intake Assessment data available. In particular, offenders admitted before 1995 only have overall risk and need ratings. Therefore, analyses of specific need areas may under-represent the percentage of offenders in the older age groups who are serving long sentences.

Summary

Younger offenders in federal custody present a complex problem. Their age and lack of experience make them vulnerable to the wide variety of very negative influences present in federal penitentiaries — institutions that house the most serious offenders in Canada. However, the younger offenders sent to federal penitentiaries are themselves highly criminalized. They are as likely as other federal offenders to have committed a violent offence, and their criminal history, even at a young age, indicates a higher risk of reoffending on release and a lower reintegration potential than other offenders.

Younger offenders are more likely than others to have associates and employment/education indicated as need domains. These are likely to be critical concerns when the opportunity for release to the community arises. Without the support of non-criminal community members, these offenders will have greater difficulty returning to the community and remaining outside of prison. In addition, their limited employment experience and education make getting a job difficult and increase the problems associated with community reintegration.

Younger offenders appear to have either the same or fewer problems with other need domains as other offenders. However, problems with drug abuse may further complicate younger offenders' chances of success after release.

These results suggest that younger offenders in federal penitentiaries may require interventions that target the associates and employment/education need domains. Other high-need domains, such as substance abuse and personal/emotional problems, may require greater intervention to reduce the risk of reoffending. ■

⁵ See *Forum on Corrections Research*, 10, 3 (1998).

⁶ The SIR is based on criminal history variables and provides an estimate of the likelihood an offender will reoffend when released.

⁷ The Custody Rating Scale is a standardized scale used to determine the level of security (minimum, medium or maximum) required for an offender after admission to a penitentiary. See F. P. Luciani, L. L. Motiuk and M. Nafekh, *An Operational Review of the Custody Rating Scale: Reliability, Validity and Practical Utility*, Report R-47 (Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada, 1996).

What works in young offender treatment: A meta-analysis

by *Craig Dowden and D. A. Andrews*
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Several meta-analytic reviews strongly support the clinically relevant and psychologically informed principles of human service, risk, need and general responsivity. More recently, meta-analyses have demonstrated that these principles are applicable to female offenders² and are effective in reducing both general³ and violent⁴ recidivism. The current investigation provides an in-depth examination of the principles of human service, risk, need and general responsivity for young offenders (younger than 18 years). Further analyses are conducted on the "more promising" and "less promising" treatment targets outlined by Andrews and Bonta.⁵ The results demonstrate that the mean effect size under conditions of adherence to each of the principles is significantly higher than for conditions of non-adherence. These results have important implications for both correctional administrators and front-line staff involved in delivering correctional treatment programs to young offenders.

Introduction

Several meta-analyses have revealed that correctional treatment programs have been effective for young offenders.⁶ Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau and Cullen⁷ conducted one of the most influential meta-analyses that presented the characteristics of the most effective correctional programs for both adult and juvenile offenders. They presented evidence that programs that adhere to the principles of risk, need and responsivity yield the largest reductions in reoffending. However, their paper did not have separate tests for the principles of risk and need for the entire sample of studies. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to conduct a meta-analysis on an expanded sample of studies using updated and more systematic coding procedures to explore the importance of the principles of risk, need and responsivity in delivering effective correctional treatment for young offenders.

Methodology

Sample of studies: This study used the two samples of studies reported by Andrews, Dowden and Gendreau.⁸ The first sample ($k = 131$) contained the juvenile offender studies used in the Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau and Cullen meta-analysis. The second sample ($k = 98$) included additional studies collected by Andrews and his colleagues after the publication of their 1990 paper, as well as studies gathered by Dowden.⁹

Procedure: The coding manual used for the present study incorporated items taken directly from Andrews and colleagues, several items introduced by Lipsey,¹⁰ as well as new variables introduced by Dowden.

The measure of interrater reliability was determined by dividing the total number of correct classifications by the total number of coding classifications. The rates of agreement for the four main variables introduced in this meta-analysis were 100% (Any Treatment, $r = 1.00$) and 90% for each of the remaining variables (Risk, Need and Responsivity, $r = .79$). The interrater agreement was 76% ($r = .88$) for the four-level Type of Treatment variable.

The measure of effect size used for this report was the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient and, more specifically, the Phi coefficient. The Phi coefficient was used because it can be readily translated into the binomial effect size display (BESD).¹¹ The BESD converts the Phi coefficient into a value that reflects the simple difference between the recidivism rates of the treatment and control groups. A correlation coefficient of .30, for example, translates into a recidivism rate of 35% for the treatment group and a recidivism rate of 65% for the control group (i.e., .30 becomes a 30 percentage point difference).

Overall results

The meta-analysis yielded 229 tests of the effectiveness of correctional treatment from 134 primary studies. Approximately 84% of the studies were composed predominantly or entirely of male offenders.

The overall mean effect size for the sample was +0.09 with a 95% confidence interval of +0.07 to +0.12. These results suggested that the effects of correctional interventions were mildly positive. Using the BESD, this value represented a recidivism rate of 45.5% for the intervention group and a 54.5% recidivism rate in the control group.

Further exploration of the data revealed that considerable variability existed within the effect sizes (from -.43 to +.83, $SD = .21$). Not surprisingly, the type of correctional intervention accounted for some of this variability. For example, the mean effect size for interventions based solely on criminal sanctions was -.02 ($n = 54$) compared with a significantly different mean effect size of +0.13 ($n = 175$) for human service programs, $F = 23.47$ ($n = 1,227$), $p < .001$, measure of association $Eta = .31$.

Clearly, the introduction of human service within a justice context is associated with strong reductions in the reoffending levels of young offenders. However, separate analyses were conducted on the principles of risk, need and responsivity to determine their relationship with reduced recidivism.

Risk, need and responsivity

Both the within-sample and aggregate-sample approaches to coding risk were used. Note that the aggregate approach was used only when a primary study failed to differentiate the risk level of their clients. In the aggregate approach, a study was coded as high risk if the

Clearly, the introduction of human service within a justice context is associated with strong reductions in the reoffending levels of young offenders.

majority of its offenders had formally penetrated the judicial system at the time of the study and/or had a prior criminal record.

The meta-analysis supported the risk principle of case classification because correctional interventions were associated with a significantly higher mean effect size when delivered to higher-risk (+.12) versus lower-risk (+.03) offenders, $F = 9.04$ ($n = 1,227$), $p < .01$ (see Table 1).

General responsivity was coded, in the same way used by Andrews and colleagues (1990), as being met if the program was behavioural or used several treatment methods such as modelling, graduated

practice, role-playing and several other skill-building techniques. The results revealed that for young offenders, the mean effect size for behavioural programs (+.24, $k = 60$) was significantly larger than the mean effect size for non-behavioural programs (+.04, $k = 169$), $F = 47.73$ ($n = 1,227$), $p < .0001$ (see Table 1).

Table 1

Mean Effect Sizes and Number of Contributing Tests of Treatment for the Principles of Human Service, Risk, Need and Responsivity

Variable label	Adheres to principle		
	No	Yes	Eta
Human service	-.02 (54)	.13 (175)	.31***
Risk	.03 (61)	.12 (168)	.20**
Criminogenic need	-.01 (126)	.22 (103)	.55***
General responsivity: Behavioural	.04 (169)	.24 (60)	.42***

** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

Programs were coded as appropriately adhering to the need principle if the majority of the treatment targets within the program were criminogenic needs. Programs that targeted an equal or greater number of noncriminogenic needs were coded as inappropriately adhering to the need principle.

Programs that had appropriately addressed the need principle yielded a significantly larger mean effect size (.22; $k = 103$) than programs that did not (-.01; $k = 126$), $F = 98.52$ ($n = 1,227$), $p < .0001$.

Type of treatment

The new approach to coding the Type of Treatment variable introduced by Andrews, Dowden and Gendreau was used. A simple count was conducted on the number of the principles of risk, need and responsivity that were appropriately addressed within the program and the coding was assigned based on this score. Criminal sanctioning approaches, however, were automatically placed in the Inappropriate Service category.

An analysis of variance revealed significant differences between the different levels of this variable, $F = 41.56$ ($n = 3,225$), $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .60$. Follow-up contrasts using the Scheffe correction demonstrated that Most Promising Service (.28; $k = 44$) yielded a significantly larger mean effect size than each of the remaining categories ($p < .05$). In addition, the Promising Service category (.21; $k = 44$) was associated with a significantly higher mean effect size than either the Weak Service (.08; $k = 111$) or Inappropriate Service (-.04; $k = 30$) categories, ($p < .05$). The Weak and Inappropriate Service categories were statistically indistinguishable. These findings demonstrate that the clinically relevant and psychologically informed principles of human service, risk, need and responsivity are key determinants of the therapeutic potential of a treatment program.

Criminogenic versus noncriminogenic needs

Table 2 lists the percentage distributions for the most frequently targeted criminogenic needs, as well as the mean effect size for each need when it was and was not targeted in a particular program and its corresponding relationship with effect size; Table 3 lists these items for noncriminogenic needs.

Inspection of Table 2 reveals that each of the criminogenic needs targeted in treatment was associated with a positive mean effect size. Clearly, criminogenic needs are the key when developing effective correctional treatment programs.

Table 2

Criminogenic Needs Targeted: Rank Ordered by Frequency and Their Correlation with Effect Size

Targeted need	Frequency	<i>r</i>
Academic	51	.23***
Other criminogenic needs	47	.36***
Anger/antisocial feelings	41	.28***
Self-control	40	.29***
Family: affection	24	.33***
Pro-social model	19	.19**
Antisocial attitudes	17	.13*
Family: Supervision	17	.35***
Vocational skills	17	.09
Barriers to treatment	12	.30***
Substance abuse treatment: Any	11	.04
Vocational skills + job	9	.26***
Reduce antisocial peers	8	.11
Relapse prevention	7	.07

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 3

Noncriminogenic Needs Targeted: Frequency and Correlation with Effect Size

Targeted need	Frequency	<i>r</i>
Vague emotional/personal problems	59	-.06
Physical activity	36	-.03
Family: Other interventions	22	-.11
Fear of official punishment	15	-.18**
Increase cohesive antisocial peers	15	-.12
Target self-esteem	14	-.09
Increase conventional ambition	12	-.00
Respect antisocial thinking	7	-.05

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Inspection of Table 3 reveals that each of the noncriminogenic needs were negatively associated with effect size. In other words, targeting these needs in correctional treatment programs was associated with increased recidivism in the intervention group. Programs that used a "fear of official punishment" approach (i.e., shock incarceration), in particular, yielded a significant negative relationship with effect size.

Conclusion

This meta-analysis provides strong empirical support for the applicability of the principles of human service, risk, need and responsivity for young offenders. In addition, increased adherence to these principles is associated with

increased reductions in reoffending. These findings suggest that the clinically relevant and psychologically informed approaches to reducing recidivism, outlined by many of the scholars of the rehabilitation literature, are indeed effective for young offender populations. ■

¹ 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6.

² C. Dowden and D. A. Andrews, "What works for female offenders: A meta-analytic review," *Crime and Delinquency* (in press).

³ D. A. Andrews, C. Dowden and P. Gendreau, "Clinically relevant and psychologically informed approaches to reduced reoffending: A meta-analytic study of human service, risk, need, responsivity and other concerns in justice contexts," *Criminology* (under review).

⁴ C. Dowden and D. A. Andrews, "Effective correctional treatment and violent reoffending: What works!" *Canadian Journal of Criminology* (under review).

⁵ D. A. Andrews and J. Bonta, *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct* (Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Co., 1998).

⁶ C. J. Garrett, "Effects of residential treatment of adjudicated delinquents: A meta-analysis," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 22 (1985): 287-308. See also M. W. Lipsey "What do we learn from 400 research studies on the effectiveness of treatment with juvenile delinquents?" *What Works: Reducing Reoffending*, J. McGuire, Ed. (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 1995): 63-78 and R. L. Izzo and

R. R. Ross, "A meta-analysis of rehabilitation programs for juvenile delinquents: A brief report," *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 17 (1990): 134-142.

⁷ D. A. Andrews, I. Zinger, R. D. Hoge, J. Bonta, P. Gendreau and F. T. Cullen, "Does correctional treatment work? A clinically relevant and psychologically informed meta-analysis," *Criminology*, 28 (1990): 369-404.

⁸ D. A. Andrews, C. Dowden and P. Gendreau, "Clinically relevant and psychologically informed approaches to reduced reoffending: A meta-analytic study of human service, risk, need, responsivity and other concerns in justice contexts."

⁹ C. Dowden, *A Meta-Analytic Examination of the Risk, Need and Responsivity Principles and their Importance Within the Rehabilitation Debate*, unpublished M.A. thesis (Ottawa, ON: Psychology Department, Carleton University, 1998).

¹⁰ M. W. Lipsey, "The efficacy of intervention for juvenile delinquency: Results from 400 studies," paper presented at the 41st annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology (Reno, NV: 1989).

¹¹ R. Rosenthal, *Meta-analytic Procedures for Social Research* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1991).

Just released

R-75 Case Needs Review: Substance Abuse Domain

Date of release: 12/01/99

By: F. J. Boland, K. Henderson and J. Baker

R-76 A Review of the Literature on Personal/Emotional Need Factors

Date of release: 03/01/99

By: D. Robinson, F. Porporino and C. Beal

R-77 Case Needs Review: Associates/Social Interaction Domain

Date of release: 12/01/99

By: C. Goggin, P. Gendreau and G. Gray

A community-based alternative for high-risk young offenders

by Alan W. Leschied¹

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and Alison Cunningham²

Research Coordinator, London Family Court Clinic

The clinical trials of multisystemic therapy (MST) are a collaborative effort of children's services in Ottawa, Simcoe County, Mississauga and London. Funding for services, training and consultation is provided by the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services. The evaluation component is funded through the National Crime Prevention Centre. The ongoing training and consultation of Multisystemic Therapy Services Inc. and the Family Services Research Center of the Medical University of South Carolina are gratefully acknowledged.³ The authors also acknowledge Wendy Lewis, Department of Psychology, University of Western Ontario, who assisted with the database searches.

Evidence-based support for effective service

Prison admissions for both adults and young offenders have risen steadily for two decades. Yet, in the United States, the near-exponential rise in prison costs has not been matched with increases in community safety.⁴ In Canada, we may look smugly at the havoc wrought by fear-driven penal policy, but the rate at which adjudicated young offenders are sentenced to custody in Canada, 33% of cases in 1996–97,⁵ is among the highest rate of youth incarceration in western industrialized countries.⁶

Compelling evidence from numerous sources suggests that human service programs, supported through court-based sanctions, contribute more to reductions in antisocial behaviour than sanctions alone.⁷ This conclusion applies equally for adults and young offenders.⁸ The paradox, therefore, is that reliance on imprisonment as a response to criminal behaviour is not

only costly, but also likely ineffective in meeting the goal of societal protection.

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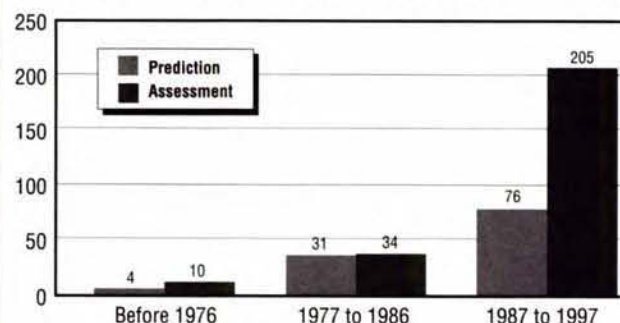
The growth of knowledge in young offender assessment

A PsychInfo database search was conducted for assessment, outcome evaluation, development of community-based alternatives, and prevention and early intervention. The growth in the number of articles in reputable journals has been overwhelming. Figure 1 illustrates the growing attention to the assessment of risk and needs with young offenders and the prediction of their recidivism. A general review of the direction that literature has taken suggests two trends:

- a move away from general personality theory and broad-based measures of antisocial behaviour; and
- more emphasis on risk measurement and measures of specific indices of criminogenic potential.

Figure 1

Published Articles Related to the Prediction and Assessment of Conduct Disorder and Antisocial Behavior, 1960 to 1997



We have also seen an enormous rise in the number of published program evaluations in youth corrections (see Figure 2), probably driven by the need to understand what works and for whom. Two major observations can be made for these studies:

- negative findings are generally reported for boot camps, shock incarceration and sanction-based programs without clearly identified human-service components; and
- positive findings support programs that clearly identify service components tied to known causes of crime.

This has been accompanied by a recognition that monitoring program integrity is an important aspect of service delivery.

Research suggests that programs with the best outcomes, as measured in lower reoffending rates, are associated with community-based programs as opposed to residential programs.

Another observation from the literature is that alternatives to custody are needed. This may surprise those who believe that high rates of custody admissions reflect the absence of demonstrably effective alternatives. Figure 3 shows that three times the number of articles about alternatives to custody appeared in refereed journals over the past decade compared with the period 1960 to 1976. Research suggests that programs with the best outcomes, as measured in lower reoffending rates, are associated with community-based programs as opposed to residential programs.⁹

Perhaps nowhere has the increase in knowledge been as apparent

as in the area of prevention and early intervention. From 1960 to 1976, a total of eight articles on this topic appeared in refereed journals. But from 1987 to 1997, more than 300 published accounts focused on providing program support for at-risk youth and their families either before or early in their criminogenic histories (see Figure 4). The major trends in this area suggest the following:

- programs tied to known causes of antisocial behaviour are associated with better outcomes; and
- programs that emphasize an integrated community response to the multi-determined nature of high-risk children and families show better outcomes than programs that are discretely offered, targeting one-dimensional causes of high-risk children.

With this rapid increase in literature on programs for at-risk youth, terms such as *validated*, *empirically supported* and *evidence-based* are now commonly used to describe the yardsticks by which interventions are described and prescribed.¹⁰

Lastly, funders are demanding that programs be both effective and cost-effective. Any assessment of effectiveness must address the cost of the program vis-à-vis the impact on community safety.

Figure 2

Published Articles Related to the Evaluation Treatment in Youth Corrections, 1960 to 1997

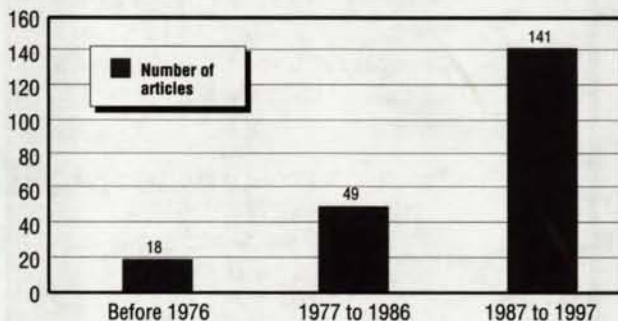


Figure 3

Published Articles Related to Community-based Alternatives in Youth Justice, 1960 to 1997

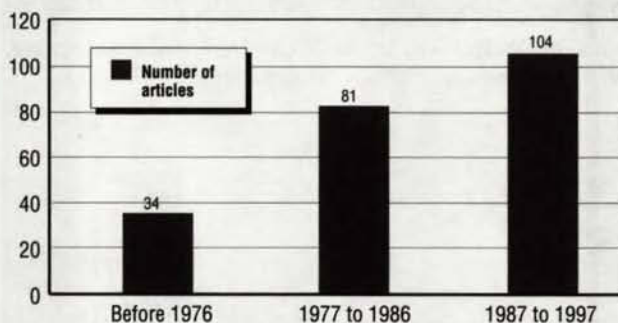
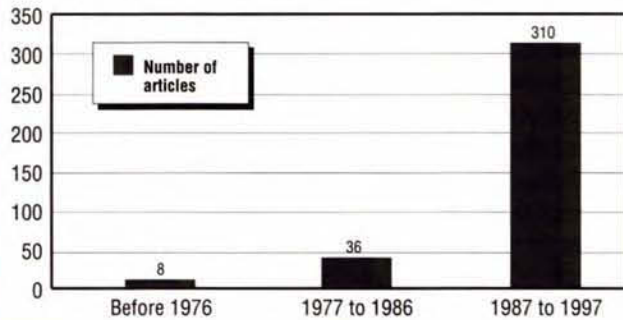


Figure 4

Publications Related to the Prevention of Antisocial Behaviour, 1960 to 1997



components of assessment and service that have strong research support. It is considered systemic, working with the youth's family, friends and school. It is intensive, short-term, strength-based and solution-focused. The skills of a successful MST therapist include an ability to quickly engage with the family, to develop workable short-term goals that require daily effort, and to select goals that are related to the youth's antisocial behaviour. The therapist is available 24 hours a day, seven days a week and is responsible for creating the conditions for change with the family.

Table 1

Cost-Benefit View of Selected Youth Justice Programs

Program	Change in criminal offences	Years before program cost repaid
Juvenile boot camp	Average increase of 16%	Never
Multisystemic therapy	Average decrease of 44%	2 Years
Perry Preschool Project	Average decrease of 48%	Never
Big Brothers/Big Sisters	Average decrease of 20%	3 Years

Source: Compiled from data in Washington State Institute for Public Policy, Watching the Bottom Line: Cost-Efficient Interventions for Reducing Crime in Washington (Olympia, WA: Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 1998).

Many randomized and quasi-experimental studies document the effectiveness of MST in reducing offending and service utilization.¹¹ MST is specifically designed for use with high-risk youth, as defined by the degree of their penetration into the juvenile justice system or by the seriousness of their offences.

MST for Young Offender Services in Canada

The federal Department of Justice has outlined a series of proposed revisions to Canadian youth justice.¹² Among these proposals is a call for redressing the high use of custody through the development of community-based alternatives. It would appear that, both politically and substantively, direction is being sought for cost-effective services with a proven track record in lowering the risk potential of higher-risk youth. The recent literature in this area suggests that MST would measure up to the above outlined standards for many reasons:

1. There is a research base to support MST as an effective intervention for reoffending and serious offending youth, who consume a disproportionate amount of the corrections dollar.

The data from a Washington survey, found in Table 1, examines effectiveness in the context of costs of service. These data suggest that the politically driven boot camps, for example, do not measure up to services that emphasize human service-driven components such as Big Brothers and Big Sisters and MST.

What is multisystemic therapy?

MST was developed over a 15-year period by Scott Henggeler and his colleagues at the Family Services Research Center at the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston. MST is an empirically derived approach to the community-based treatment of high-risk young offenders. As an intervention, it reflects the

The skills of a successful MST therapist include an ability to quickly engage with the family, to develop workable short-term goals that require daily effort, and to select goals that are related to the youth's antisocial behaviour.

2. Components of MST service reflect a theoretical orientation that is consistent with risk-based classification and service planning. That is, MST ties intervention to known causes of youth crime. These causes are systemically linked to risk and concentrate on the influences of family, peers and school.
3. The delivery of service is community-based and focused on both individual and systemic strengths.
4. The training protocol is well articulated, ensuring the development of MST teams who offer service faithful to the model through adherence to the principles of MST. The training is intensive and challenging, requiring clinicians to participate in a one-week training session, quarterly "booster" training sessions and weekly, case-specific telephone consultations with the MST consultant in South Carolina.

Strong commitment to evaluation

With the support of the Department of Justice through the National Crime Prevention Centre, the implementation of MST in Canada is being evaluated to answer the question "Does it work and for whom?"¹³ Features of the study include the following:

- initial screening of referred cases to ensure inclusion of only high-risk cases as measured by the Risk/Needs Assessment;¹⁴
- random assignment to MST or usual services, the latter group to be a control group;
- process measures of change in family functioning, social skills, cognitive orientation toward antisocial behaviour and a set of factors related to general well-being

as measured by the Standardized Client Information System of the Ontario Association of Children's Mental Health Centres;

- measurement of treatment integrity and adherence to the MST model;
- follow-up of up to three years after discharge from the program to measure two key outcomes: offending and service utilization; and
- assessment of the cost-effectiveness of MST relative to usual services.

The training protocol is well articulated, ensuring the development of MST teams who offer service faithful to the model through adherence to the principles of MST.

Site selection took place in the summer of 1996. Sites were selected on the basis of interest and commitment to developing the model, but mindful of the need to have diversity in the sample. Implementation began with training in April 1997. Currently, all four trial sites are fully operational and fully adhere to the evaluation.

Conclusion

The implementation of the MST clinical trials in Ontario represents, we believe, a model of policy and program cooperation that is almost as multi-faceted as the treatment intervention itself. Cooperation among two levels of government and multiple agencies in several communities to implement and

empirically evaluate an intervention is a rarity in youth justice in this country. In the spring of 1999, the first data describing the impact of service on youths seen in the first year will be available. Training and consultation in MST has already shown itself to be possible with the consultative support of MST Services Inc. and the clearly written manuals now available. Integrity of implementation, in the context of that training, will be a primary focus in the data. ■

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³ Interim results of the clinical trial are posted as they become available on the Web site of the London Family Court Clinic

(www.lfcc.on.ca). Additional information on the MST approach can be found at www.mstservices.org

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- ¹¹ For a review of previous research, see S. W. Henggeler, S. K. Schoenwald, C. M. Bourduin, M. D. Rowland and P. B. Cunningham, *Multisystematic Treatment of Antisocial Behaviour in Children and Adolescents* (New York, NY: The Guilford Press, 1998).
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- ¹³ L. W. Sherman, *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising* (Washington, DC: Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, 1997).
- ¹⁴ Andrews, Leschied and Hoge, *Review of the Profile Classification and Treatment Literature with Young Offenders: A Social Psychological Approach*.

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Early intervention for sexual behaviour problems among young offenders

by *Randall Fletcher*¹

Sexual Deviance Assessment and Treatment Program, PEI Correctional Services

Patterns of deviant sexual behaviour are being detected at increasingly early ages. Although sexual behaviour in even very young children is considered normal, problem behaviour that is persistent, intrusive or aggressive may be an indication that a child has learned to use sexual behaviour to meet important emotional or psychological needs. Although such behaviour may start out as "abuse reactive," children who are not able to get their needs met in other ways may form deviant patterns that can persist into adolescence and adulthood.

Most treatment programs have a narrow mandate to provide treatment to adults, adolescents or children, and do not include initiatives aimed at primary prevention. This article describes a comprehensive approach that is being developed in Prince Edward Island. The approach combines relatively scarce expertise on sexual deviance with available skills and knowledge in the treatment of adults, adolescents and children by forming a partnership between corrections and other human service agencies. Prince Edward Island is attempting to maximize the impact of its treatment efforts by developing primary, secondary and tertiary intervention programs.

By focusing on the underlying problem rather than on the criminality of the behaviour, these programs remove the boundaries that isolate treatment professionals who work in different settings.

Background

It has been recognized that some adult sex offenders have offence patterns that originated during adolescence. A study that evaluated 306 adult sex offenders² found 42% of them reported that a deviant arousal pattern had been established by age 15. This and similar studies led to an increased interest in developing treatment programs for adolescents.

Traditionally, these have been offered either through private institutions or through programs that had a history of providing adolescent treatment, but did not have connections to adult treatment programs. Whether an adolescent's problematic sexual behaviour leads to being assessed by a specialist in sexual deviance, or to receiving specialized treatment, has largely been hit or miss.

When first implemented in March 1995, the PEI Sexual Deviance Assessment and Treatment Program had a mandate to provide skilled assessment and specialized treatment to anyone, regardless of age or gender, who had sexually deviant fantasies, urges or behaviours. Although the program is offered through the provincial department of corrections, these services are provided regardless of whether the person has been convicted of a sexual offence. The rationale for this approach is that the best time to intervene in problems with deviant sexual fantasies or urges is before they lead to criminal behaviour. Even when behaviour that would qualify as an offence takes place, treatment should not be restricted to those that result in a criminal conviction.

In a study of 263 adolescent perpetrators, Dr. D. Burton³ found that 43% had been children with sexual behaviour problems. Among

these, the average age at which the behaviour could first be viewed as having criminal characteristics was 10 years. The sexual acts included behaviours that are displayed by adult offenders, with the exception of intercourse and climax.

Although sexual behaviour in even very young children is considered normal, problem behaviour that is persistent, intrusive or aggressive may be an indication that a child has learned to use sexual behaviour to meet important emotional or psychological needs.

In most of the cases studied by Burton, the children had been sexually abused themselves. This is consistent with the traditional belief that children who act sexually aggressive toward other children have themselves been the victims of abuse. However, this does not appear to be exclusively the case as 28% of the males in the study had been exposed to adult sexual behaviour in a non-abusive way, either through pornography, from seeing adults in the home interact sexually, or through other children.

A descriptive study of the characteristics of youths aged 12 to 15 who had been committed to the Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice for sexual offences⁴ indicated that they began committing sexual offences at an average age of 10 years, 10 months. These youths had committed a median of 69.5 sexual offences each, with a median number of 16.5 victims, before being charged.

Premature exposure to adult sexual behaviour may explain what appears to be an increase in the number of children under 12 who are acting out sexually. Children in today's society are much more likely to be exposed to explicit depictions of adult sexual behaviour through the Internet, cable or regular television programming and movies. This exposure may not be accompanied by opportunities for the children to ask questions and develop an understanding of what they are seeing or the values that govern human sexual behaviour. It has become very difficult for parents to exercise control over their children's exposure to sexual knowledge and, with two-income families, children are increasingly left to fend for themselves. As a result, more children fail to develop the adult attachments they need. Sexual behaviour with other children may offer an otherwise scarce opportunity for intimacy.

Developing a model for a comprehensive approach

Initially, the PEI program offered group treatment programs to adults and adolescents. The content of these programs was similar, covering a basic understanding of how sexual behaviour can be used to relieve non-sexual needs, sensitization to victims, the effects and consequences of sexual abuse, and relapse prevention. The adolescent program was distinct from the adult program to address developmental differences and differences in offence dynamics. The adolescent program also included separate sessions for parents and/or caregivers to build support for the adolescent in the home while giving the

parents guidelines about normal and problematic sexual behaviour in teens.

Modified programs of shorter duration, such as an educational program for adolescents and their caregivers, were added as it became apparent that not everyone with problematic sexual behaviour needed the same level and intensity of treatment. Children under 12 whose behaviour required treatment were either assessed and seen individually, or had treatment interventions incorporated into approaches at home or school that were already being taken to deal with their

general behaviour. Given limited resources there was some reluctance to develop a group program for children, particularly since not enough children with sexual behaviour problems were being referred initially to support such a program. As the referral sources for young children, primarily child welfare and the school system, became aware that specialized assessment and treatment was available, and more children were identified as having sexual behaviour problems that required focused intervention, it became apparent that a group treatment program for children was needed.

Premature exposure to adult sexual behaviour may explain what appears to be an increase in the number of children under 12 who are acting out sexually.

Subsequently, a manual was developed for use with children aged 6 to 12: *The Touching Problem*. As with the adult and adolescent group programs, treatment is provided through a partnership between corrections and the other provincially funded human service agencies. When it comes to sexual behaviour problems, these agencies have overlapping responsibilities and impacts; so it makes sense to share resources to provide a comprehensive approach to dealing with these problems. Although specific knowledge regarding the assessment and treatment of sexual deviance exists primarily within the department of corrections, these other agencies have a wealth of knowledge, experience and skills that are relevant to providing group treatment.

The first children's group was run by two staff members, a male and a female, from Child and Family Services, Southern Kings Region, under the supervision of the province's sexual deviance specialist. The success of and opportunity for learning from this experience provide a model for running the program in other parts of the province.

As with adults, adolescents and children who exhibit sexual behaviour problems are not a homogeneous group. They differ significantly in terms of the intrusiveness, nature and risk associated with their behaviour. With adolescents and children there is a much higher probability that the behaviour, although posing a problem, is not motivated by deviance but by curiosity or normal developmental issues. In such cases, a response of setting clear boundaries while offering sanctioned opportunities to learn is the appropriate intervention. In some cases, this may be facilitated by educational sessions for the youth and the youth's caregivers. Educational sessions in which both generations are present have the added effect of opening up communication between them on sexual

matters. This is essential in ensuring that the child or adolescent feels comfortable about approaching his or her caregiver on future matters.

With adolescents and children it is especially important to keep in mind that everyone occasionally acts aggressively. Learning to control aggressive urges is one of the tasks of childhood and adolescence. Behaviour that is sexually aggressive should not be viewed in isolation or as intrinsically different from other

aggressive behaviour. It must be assessed in the context of the person's full range of behaviours and the circumstances in which it occurred. Heavy-duty, and potentially intrusive, treatment programs should be reserved for behaviour that is clearly maladaptive and persistent. A decision to place a child or adolescent in such a treatment program should not be made solely because the behaviour poses a problem or creates anxiety among caregivers.

As well, problematic sexual behaviour in adolescents and children is more likely to represent a transitory attempt to deal with the effects of being sexually victimized. In such cases, victim-centered counselling is the more appropriate response. Control-focused treatment should only be used when the behaviour shows signs of becoming a pattern, divorced from the abuse experience. This happens when the child or adolescent finds that his or her own abusive behaviour satisfies or relieves needs

that are otherwise not being met.

It is important that intervention decisions be based on a knowledgeable assessment and chosen from a range of interventions to match the response to the need.

Sharing resources and expertise among the various governmental and private services that deal with the effects of sexual behaviour problems allows for a broader range of treatment interventions. Sharing specific

Although specific knowledge regarding the assessment and treatment of sexual deviance exists primarily within the department of corrections, these other agencies have a wealth of knowledge, experience and skills that are relevant to providing group treatment.

expertise on sexual deviance helps to ensure that authorities can access the knowledge and experience that will lead to the best matching of need and response.

Future directions

Current initiatives in Prince Edward Island focus on primary prevention. This includes identifying opportunities to educate segments of the population that are likely to have higher levels of risk for sexually offending. In many cases, being aware that specific circumstances may lead to deviant sexual urges and being

armed with awareness of its consequences and alternative responses may be enough to prevent an offense from occurring. A good example would be including a segment in babysitting courses on how "checking things out" with a young child can lead to impulsive and criminal sexual behaviour.

These initiatives need not be expensive, especially when resources and knowledge are shared. Preventing sexual offending early is cheaper than treating criminals later, and saves the suffering of everyone affected by a sexual offence. ■

¹ P.O Box 1929, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island C1A 7H5

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Coming up in the September 1999 issue of *Forum on Corrections Research*

The September 1999 issue of FORUM will focus on "Women Offenders."

Suggested themes of upcoming issues include: "Lifers and Long-term Offenders" and "Aboriginal Offenders."

Ontario's strict discipline facility is not just another "boot camp"

by Stephen Wormith, Jeffrey Wright, Isabelle Sauve and Paul Fleury¹
Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services

The Government of Ontario established a Task Force on Strict Discipline for Young Offenders in 1995. Its mission was to develop a strict discipline program for young offenders. The Task Force defined strict discipline as "an orientation that uses a structured and consistent learning environment to teach high-risk, repeat young offenders the advantages of socially acceptable behaviour."²

After extensive consultation with professionals and practitioners in the field and a number of site visits, the Task Force proposed that a pilot project be undertaken to evaluate the strict discipline concept. It suggested that procedures developed in the pilot project could then be expanded to all young offender secure and open custody facilities in Ontario.

Over the last decade, there have been many reports on US boot camps, also referred to as "shock incarceration."³ The movement began in Oklahoma and Georgia with adult offenders in 1983 and then moved to include youth by the late 1980s.⁴ These programs are characterized by a strong militaristic regime including drills, physical labour and a highly structured schedule.⁵ Consequently, they are generally perceived as being part of the "get tough" punishment approach to the reformation of the offender.⁶ As such, controversies about them abound.

Whereas some studies have shown that boot camps can result in a positive, prosocial attitude change on the part of offenders in voluntary boot camps that devote some time to rehabilitation,⁷ others have argued that there is nothing inherent about military training that makes this so. They suggest that staff commitment, program integrity and the timing of program delivery are the key issues to any positive attitude change, if it occurs at all.⁸ Regardless, there is no substantial evidence indicating any difference in recidivism rates for this type of regime.⁹ Therefore, it was not surprising that Ontario's first privately run strict discipline facility, Project Turnaround (PT), opened in July 1997 amid considerable controversy and media attention.¹⁰ The following is a brief description of PT, its development and the plans to submit it to various levels of evaluation.

Young offender screening and selection

To be eligible for PT, young offenders must meet a set of objective screening criteria. These include:

- being male;
- having no current or previous convictions for homicide, arson or sex offences;
- being from 16 to 19 years of age;
- being medically fit and free of a major physical disability that would prevent program participation;
- having 4 to 10 months remaining in a secure custody disposition; and
- having no serious mental disorder (i.e., no affective or psychotic disorder, including depression, not currently suicidal and not on psychotropic medication).

Selection teams have been established in each of the province's youth facilities to identify prospective candidates for placement at PT. They comprise a unit manager, a clinician and a staff representative from PT. The selection teams are guided by the initial objective screening criteria and work closely with a placement coordinator attached to the Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General

and Correctional Services. The placement coordinator reviews nominees from the selection teams and establishes a pool of eligible young offenders. They are then assigned to PT or a control condition that has been established to conduct an outcome evaluation of PT.

After extensive consultation with professionals and practitioners in the field and a number of site visits, the Task Force proposed that a pilot project be undertaken to evaluate the strict discipline concept.

Table 1

Daily Schedule for Squad 1 (Entry-level) Cadets

Weekday		Weekend	
Time	Activity	Time	Activity
06:00	Reveille	06:00	Reveille Washroom parade
06:05	Prep. for inspection	06:15	Prep. for inspection
06:45	Washroom/inspection parade	06:45	Shower parade
07:15	Breakfast parade	07:15	Breakfast parade
07:45	Hygiene parade	08:00	Inspection parade
07:50	Inspection parade	08:15	Deep cleaning parade, incl. Kitchen, laundry, gym, rotunda, admin, dorm, classroom, sumpoom, washroom
08:00	Mess hall cleanup parade	09:30	Movie/discussion
08:10	Drill & ceremony parade	11:30	Performance guide
09:15	Phys ed. (Mon, Wed, Fri) Vocational (Tue, Thu)	12:30	Lunch parade
10:45	PPC groups/core program	13:00	Sports parade
11:30	PPC groups/core program	15:00	PPC
12:15	Prep. for lunch	16:00	Drill
12:30	Lunch parade	17:00	Supper parade
12:55	Hygiene parade	17:30	Dorm time — reading, homework
13:00	School parade & physical ed. Parade 13:00 English classroom B 15:50 Math classroom A 15:40 Break 15:50 Personal Life Management Health (Wed)	18:10	Telephone calls, privilege incentives — guitar, radios, games, magazines
17:00	Supper parade	19:10	Sports parade
17:25	Hygiene parade	20:00	Area cleanup — showers Last laundry
17:30	Dorm time — reading, homework	20:30	Evening snack parade
18:15	Telephone calls Performance guide, prep for next day, cleaning	20:45	Bunk area parade — medication
19:15	Sports parade	22:00	Lights out parade
20:15	Dorm time		
20:30	Evening snack parade		
20:45	Hygiene parade		
21:00	Mess hall, rotunda, bathroom cleanup		
21:45	Lights out — kit lockup		

Program description

PT is designed to introduce the best practices of our youth justice system into the context of a military structure and, therefore, it consists of many components. The military milieu establishes a structure where the youths' attention may be focused on positive activities and progress may be assessed and rewarded by promotion.

The military model is evident by the dress and titles assigned to staff and youth (i.e., sergeants and cadets). Each day begins with reveille, followed by washroom, breakfast and inspection parades. The daily schedule, which allows for little free time, also follows military precision. However, great care has been taken to ensure a wide range of activities (Table 1).

In addition to military activities, PT offers the academic, vocational and recreational programs that are common to most young offender facilities, as well as specialized treatment in four specific areas (cognitive skills, substance abuse, anger management, and values and moral reasoning), a behaviour-based reward system, a general group milieu program and an aftercare program.

The Cognitive Skills Program is a 12-session, compulsory program for all cadets. The program premise

is that one's problem-solving behaviour is preceded by what one thinks about the situation. The program teaches cadets to develop a problem-solving framework that supports non-criminal thinking and acting.

The Substance Abuse Program consists of 12 sessions over a four-week period. The first part of the program deals with drug awareness. Specifically, participants learn about drug terminology, various types of drugs and their short-term and long-term effects. They also explore and gain an understanding of their drug use through self-assessment. The second part of the program focuses on goal setting, decision making and skill development.

The Anger Management Program is a 24-hour, compulsory program for all youths who attend PT. The emphasis is on learning to express anger in a helpful way, thereby changing destructive patterns of behaviour. The cadets are provided with tools to develop basic anger- and tension-reducing strategies, along with the opportunity to practise these skills on an ongoing basis.

The Values and Moral Reasoning Program is a 20-session, compulsory program for all cadets. Participants learn how to identify the attitudes, values and beliefs that rationalize, justify or minimize criminal behaviour.

The Behaviour Management Program specifies appropriate or desired behaviours, as well as antisocial or inappropriate behaviour. Staff rate cadet performance daily on a 5-point scale in seven domains: routines and chores, relations with peers, relations with staff, group program participation, academic performance, physical fitness, and dress and deportment. Movement through the ranks is structured by the Cadet Performance Guide. This guide specifies tasks that must be completed to move from Level 1 through Level 4 of the behaviour system. The military aspects of PT are evident in some of the specific tasks such as "memorize the cadet

motto" and "perform drill movements/ proper saluting." However, the tasks are wide ranging and also include "open and positive contributions in group counselling" and "prepare a letter to your probation officer outlining your goals and plans."

A Positive Peer Culture (PPC) program, developed from the general delinquency treatment literature,¹¹ is offered twice a week to each of the four squads and is run by the staff sergeants. It gives the cadets an opportunity to air their concerns and to express their personal or group requests up the chain of command to the administration. A designated chairman structures the meeting by asking each

participant to identify either a "positive" or "negative" piece of information to convey to the group. In addition, each youth is assigned a case manager (counsellor) and a primary worker (sergeant) who are available to monitor progress and provide individualized services.

Finally, for greater continuity of service for the cadets, an aftercare program is provided to cadets who have completed the secure custody portion of their disposition and have "graduated" to the community. It includes PT staff who work in outreach in the community, as well as subcontracted counsellors who provide the service in more distant locations. These services, which include client advocacy, counselling and supervision, are all done according to the plan of care

that is prepared at discharge.

Program evaluation

The Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services has contracted private, external organizations to conduct independent process and outcome (recidivism) evaluations of PT. Additionally, PT is part of a large, multi-site environmental evaluation of strict discipline and boot camp programs across North America.

Movement through the ranks is structured by the Cadet Performance Guide. This guide specifies tasks that must be completed to move from Level 1 through Level 4 of the behaviour system.

Table 2

**Assessment of Project Turnaround on the Correctional Program
Assessment Inventory**

	First Assessment		Second Assessment	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Program implementation	8/11	73%	9/11	82%
Client preservice assessment	11/11	100%	11/11	100%
Program characteristics	10/18	56%	16/19	84%
Staff characteristics	4/7	58%	6/7	86%
Evaluation	4/5	80%	4/5	80%
Other	5/6	83%	6/6	100%
Total Score	42/58	72%	52/59	88%

The process evaluation will assess PT, focusing on the rehabilitative potential of the program. The Correctional Program Assessment Inventory (CPAI)¹² examines program descriptions and operations in relation to what research literature suggests are more promising approaches to reducing reoffending.

The CPAI has now been administered over three separate occasions (April and September 1998 and January 1999), with the results of the first two reviews now available (see Table 2).¹³

After the first administration of the CPAI, the process evaluator concluded that PT fell in the low range of the Very Satisfactory classification. According to CPAI norms, this rating was very promising for promoting public safety through reduced reoffending. On the second administration, PT fell well into the Very Satisfactory range, so much so that its rating was one of the highest in the history of the CPAI.¹⁴ The community portion, which has only recently been introduced to the program and is still in its implementation phase, scored in the Satisfactory range in its first review.

As part of the outcome study, other contracted researchers will assess the recidivism of PT cadets and compare it with youths from the

Ontario control group. They will also examine whether the reoffending young offenders had successfully completed all phases of PT, whether the new offences were more or less severe than the original offence, how much time lapsed until the new offences occurred, and what in-program changes were related to success in the community.

The multi-site evaluation compared the milieu of 25 strict discipline facilities

to traditional programs for juvenile offenders. Although the findings of the multi-site evaluation are not broken down by individual facilities, such as PT, the general pattern of results is noteworthy. Youth in boot camps

perceived their environment to be more controlled, active and structured. They also felt boot camps are less dangerous and provide more therapeutic and transition programming than traditional youth facilities.¹⁵ Similarly, staff in boot camps reported that they felt their facilities were less dangerous for themselves and residents, their work environment was more satisfying, and they enjoyed better communications with management than did their counterparts in traditional youth facilities.¹⁶

Youth in boot camps perceived their environment to be more controlled, active and structured. They also felt boot camps are less dangerous and provide more therapeutic and transition programming than traditional youth facilities.

Summary

It is premature to determine the impact of PT on young offender recidivism. However, the process evaluation has shown that the key indicators of meaningful correctional programming are present, probably because great

care was taken in establishing a balanced, evidence-based combination of services. Moreover, preliminary results from a multi-site evaluation environment assessment of youth

facilities in North America suggest that there may be several favourable features of strict discipline facilities in comparison with traditional youth centres (i.e., increased activity, structure, control and feelings of safety reported by staff and youth).

Once the outcome study of PT is completed, the Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General

and Correctional Services expects to have a clearer sense of whether traditionally accepted methods of program delivery (staff commitment, program integrity and appropriate content) are related to positive correctional outcomes when delivered in a military-style context. ■

¹ Box 4100, 200 First Ave. W., North Bay, Ontario P1B 9M3

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Recent trends in youth crime

by Roberta Lynn Sinclair and Colleen Anne Dell¹
Research Branch, Correctional Service Canada

Youth crime is a major topic in Canada, generating diverse opinions based on a plethora of sources, such as media portrayals and statistics. Research indicates public opinion of youth crime can be heavily influenced by media sensationalization. This article challenges the perception of youth crime as having increased in both frequency and seriousness against statistical data acquired from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Since the early 1990s in Canada, crimes committed by youth, violent crimes in particular, have received increased public attention. This is evident in media reports, opinion polls and the public opinion driving the new youth criminal justice legislation.² Research strongly supports the claim that public opinion, directly or indirectly, is influenced by media portrayals of information and does not necessarily reflect current statistical information.³ The media portrayal of youth crime is that it has both *increased* and *become more serious*.⁴ Consequently, the Canadian public, in general, holds six beliefs about youth crime:

1. There has been an increase in the number of youths charged by the police.
2. There has been an increase in the number of youths processed through the youth court system.
3. There has been an increase in the number of youths charged and processed through the youth court system for violent crimes.
4. Youths have been getting involved in crime at a younger age.
5. Youths have received more lenient dispositions.
6. There has not been an increase in the number of youths transferred to adult court.

Research strongly supports the claim that public opinion, directly or indirectly, is influenced by media portrayals of information and does not necessarily reflect current statistical information.

This article examines whether perceptions of heightened youth involvement in the Canadian criminal justice system are supported by data acquired from two Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics⁵ publications: the Uniform Crime Report Survey and the Youth Court Survey.⁶ Although official statistical data have their limitations,⁷ we believe they are reliable tools for documenting crime trends.⁸ This analysis examines female and male young offenders.

1. Youths Charged by Police

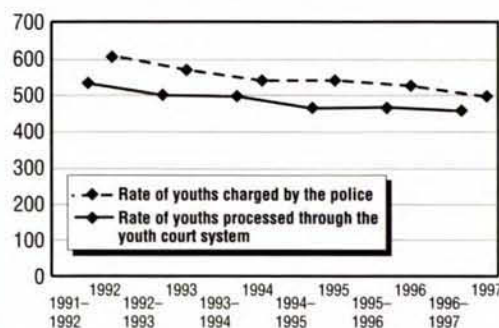
The rate of youths charged by the police for an offence decreased consistently from 1992 to 1997. The rate decreased from 607 per 10,000 youths in 1992 to 495 per 10,000 youths in 1997 (see Figure 1).

By offence,⁹ the greatest decrease was in property crimes, followed by the category of other federal

statutes and other crime. Violent crimes increased minimally and the rate of drug offences nearly doubled, although consistently remaining the lowest rate per 10,000 youths (see Figure 2).

Figure 1

Rate of Youths Charged by the Police and Processed Through the Youth Court System per 10,000 Youths

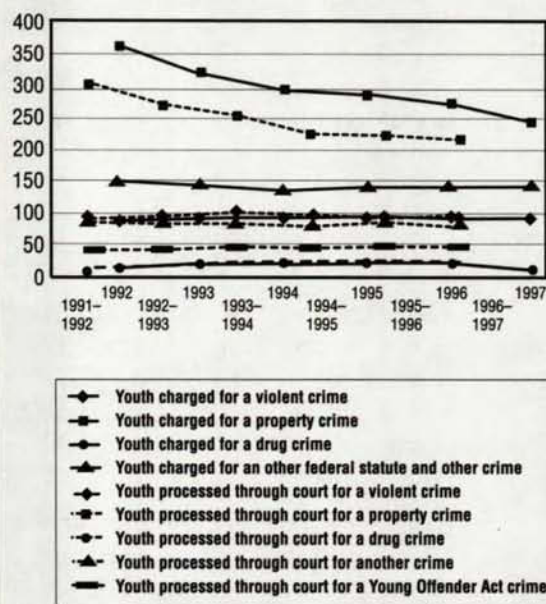


2. Youths Processed Through the Youth Court System

Concordant with the decrease in youths charged by the police for an offence, the rate of youths processed through the youth court system¹⁰ decreased from 1991–1992 to 1996–1997. The rate decreased from 531 per 10,000 youth in 1991–1992 to 455 per 10,000 youth in 1996–1997 (see Figure 1).

Figure 2

Rate of Youth Charged by the Police and Processed Through the Youth Court System for an Offence per 10,000 Youths



By offence,¹¹ consistency was again apparent between police charging practices and youth court processing. There was a substantial decrease in property crimes and a slight decrease in the category of other crime. *Young Offenders Act* and violent crimes increased slightly. Drug offences nearly doubled (see Figure 2).

3. Youths Charged and Processed Through the Youth Court System for Violent Crimes

Overall, youths charged with a violent crime¹² increased minimally from 1992 to 1997 (see Figure 2). By specific offence, homicide,

attempted murder and abduction rates all remained relatively stable. Sexual assault and other sexual offences decreased. Youths charged with robbery increased and non-sexual assault increased slightly.

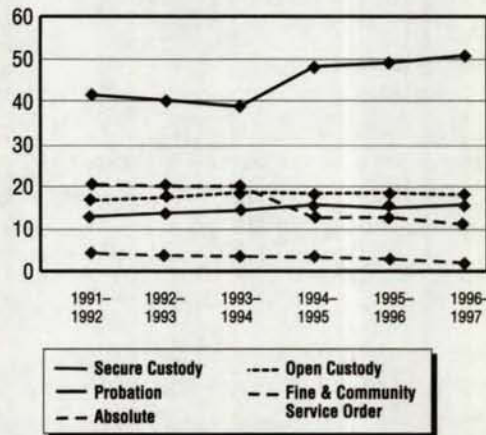
Youth processed through the youth court system for a violent crime also increased slightly (see Figure 2). By specific offence, homicide, attempted murder, abduction and the category of other crime remained relatively stable from 1991–1992 to 1996–1997. Sexual assault and other sexual offences and weapon crimes decreased. Youth processed for non-sexual assault slightly increased and robbery increased. These findings are consistent with police-reported data.

4. Age of Youth Processed Through the Youth Court System

The average age of youths processed through the youth court system¹³ has remained stable at 15 years of age from 1992–1993 to 1996–1997.

Figure 3

Percentage of Youth Court Dispositions per Total Youth Dispositions



5. Seriousness of Youth Dispositions

From 1991–1992 to 1996–1997, there has been an increase in the seriousness of youth dispositions¹⁴ (see Figure 3). The order of sentence severity is secure custody, open custody, probation, fine and community service order, and absolute discharge. Secure

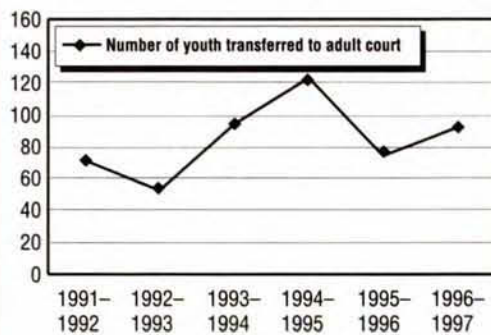
custody, open custody and probation all increased. Less serious dispositions, fine and community service order and absolute discharge, decreased. The most notable change was the marked increase in probation and the marked decrease in fine and community service order in 1994–1995.

6. Youth Transferred to Adult Court

There was no apparent pattern in the number of youth transferred to adult court¹⁵ between 1991–1992 and 1996–1997 (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Number of Youth Transferred to Adult Court



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

² B. Schissel, *Blaming Children: Youth Crime, Moral Panic and the Politics of Hate* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishers, 1997) and *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice* (Ottawa, ON: Department of Justice, 1998).

³ K. Onstad, "What are we afraid of? The myth of youth crime," *Saturday Night*, 112, 2 (1997) 46–58. See also A. Doob, *Criminal Justice Reform in a Hostile Climate* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Centre of Criminology, 1995); and see A. Doob and J. Roberts, "Public punitiveness and public knowledge of the fact: Some Canadian surveys," N. Walker and M. Hough, (Eds.) in *Public Attitudes to Sentencing: Surveys from Five Countries* (Aldershot, UK: Gower, 1988).

⁴ J. Sprott, *Understanding Public Views of Youth Crime and the Youth Justice System*. Unpublished MA research paper (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Centre of Criminology, 1995). See also A. Doob, *Criminal Justice Reform in a Hostile Climate*; and see R. Mofina, "Young offenders and the press," J. Winterdyk, Ed. in *Issues and Perspectives on Young Offenders in Canada* (Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace and Company, Canada, 1996).

Discussion

The data examined in this article reveal that, overall, youth charged with a criminal offence and youth processed through the youth court system for criminal offences decreased from 1992 to 1997. This challenges the general media portrayal that youth crime has *increased* in Canada over the past six years.

When violent crimes committed by youth are examined, a slight increase is evident, but not one that reflects the magnitude often being portrayed. Rates of homicide, attempted murder and abduction among young offenders have remained relatively stable, sexual assault and other sexual offences decreased and only robbery and non-sexual assault offences increased, albeit not significantly.

Other findings from our analyses: (1) the average age of youth processed through the youth court system has not decreased — it has remained stable at a mean of 15 years of age; (2) youth transfers to adult court have neither increased nor decreased; and (3) the seriousness of youth dispositions has increased, contrary to the public perception of increased leniency.

Overall, the six common beliefs about youth crime are in direct contrast with the statistical data. ■

⁵ The data sources and population estimates used in this report may not be the most recent revision of the data. Data are revised by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics the year after the original release. The changes are small, however, and do not affect the findings of this report.

⁶ The data used to compile this report do not measure the actual number of youths charged with a crime, processed through the youth court system or remanded into custody; the unit of analysis is cases (Youth Court Survey), incidents (Uniform Crime Report Survey) or counts (Corrections Key Indicator Report). For further clarification, please refer to the original source.

⁷ Common criticisms of police- and court-collected data include: there is not total coverage (i.e., 1996 Uniform Crime Report Survey represents 47% of the national volume of reported crime); excessive judicial and police discretion regarding the charge, prosecution and sentencing processes; inconsistent application of the legal implementation of the *Young Offenders Act*; broad spectrum of behaviours that fall under the category "violent crime" (i.e., from verbal threats to homicide); statistics do not account for cases where the charge is dropped; and underreporting.

⁸ The Youth Court Survey data are presented for fiscal years. The Uniform Crime Report data are presented for calendar years. Caution must therefore be made in comparison of the data.

⁹ "Other federal statutes and other crimes" is defined as "Other Federal Statutes and Other Criminal Code." Drug offences is defined as "Food and Drugs Act and Narcotics Control Act." For specific offence category definitions, see the Uniform Crime Report Survey.

¹⁰ Source: Youth Court Survey.

¹¹ Overall statistics derived from Uniform Crime Report Survey. For specific offence category definitions, see the Youth Court Survey.

¹² Source: Uniform Crime Report Survey and Youth Court Survey.

¹³ Source: Youth Court Survey.

¹⁴ Source: Youth Court Survey.

¹⁵ Source: Youth Court Survey.

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Consequences of research on maladjusted adolescents

by *Marc Le Blanc*¹
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At a time when new legislation for young offenders is under discussion, it is essential to recall that certain research findings have been interpreted in a questionable manner. The managers of Quebec's system of residential rehabilitation centres for adolescents, who are responsible for the secure custody of juvenile delinquents, set up eight commissions of inquiry between 1975 and 1998, commissioning a large number of reports and issuing policy statements. They also encouraged scientific research (although the number of studies actually conducted was small) on the effectiveness of residential centres.²

Thus, the research findings were disseminated through a variety of media, such as books, reports, and scientific articles. Then the mass media joined in, giving voice to their own conclusions. Opinions were also shared on the findings at forums, such as conferences and seminars, as well as during chance meetings with managers and educators. That still left plenty of room for personal interpretation of the findings, which has created a very grey area in the transfer of knowledge. This article is a discussion of two examples of research findings whose interpretation was distorted or had adverse consequences. Other examples are analysed in a different article.³

Length of stay

Around the time when we began our evaluation of Boscoville, the rumour was spreading that this facility's good results were attributable to its selection procedures: Boscoville only admitted the "best" cases, i.e., the most intelligent, least maladjusted boys. However, research showed that, although a significant number of adolescents were refused admission in the first place, or chose to leave Boscoville at a later date, this charge was unfounded.⁴ Moreover, two key discoveries were made. First, boys who spent more than two years in Boscoville stopped making notable improvement in terms of psychological development after the two years. Second, the improvements in question were obtained after a stay of 12 to 15 months, depending on the individual.

These findings buttressed another way to promote a policy of deinstitutionalization. A study of all youth rehabilitation centres in Quebec⁵ confirmed that boys sent to secure facilities were spending an excessive amount of time there. As a result of this study, a new policy was established making it impossible to order a term of more than two years in a centre for delinquents. Thanks to this policy, the length of the stay could be tailored to the specific needs of the adolescent clients of the centre and gave educators the flexibility they needed to work toward the boys' rehabilitation.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the clinical and organizational imperatives had been met. A reasonable policy had been implemented on the basis of the research findings. However, managers and practitioners in the field of residential measures say that it is now rare for a youth to spend more than one year in a residential facility. The only available statistics are on young offenders in the province of Quebec.⁶ Secure custody placements of fewer than six months, which had accounted for 55% of all placements in 1984–1985, increased to 80% in 1993–1994. This indicates that the system created for helping young offenders has been favouring shorter periods of secure custody.

This decrease in the length of the stay in a residential centre has made it impossible to rehabilitate delinquent youth effectively in that environment. Our research shows that it is unrealistic to expect significant change in less than a year. This means a reasonable policy has been applied in a severely distorted manner, considering the degree of social and psychological maladjustment experienced by teenagers in conflict with the law.⁷ For example, 63% of teenaged wards of the courts had been the subjects of previous judicial measures, whereas 40% of young offenders found themselves in the same situation.

The residential setting: From ideal to reality

According to our observations, Boscoville proposed a program of treatment that had been well thought out and implemented by a competent casework staff. It was a healing environment, and the program was of high quality. The results were in keeping with the expectations. Boscoville claimed that the results were excellent and that the psychoeducational model could be applied to all troubled adolescents with adjustment difficulties.

At first glance, the results emanating from Boscoville were indeed excellent.⁸ The troubled teens who were admitted to Boscoville made statistically significant gains during their stay there in terms of their social and psychological adjustment. These gains could be attributed to the program at Boscoville, as these teens appeared to make greater progress than teenagers who had received no treatment or had been placed in a different centre. Boscoville's clients, therefore, appeared to have showed more improvement than could have been expected as a result of the normal maturing process. However, the evaluations of Boscoville and of the Boys' Farm showed that the personality of the young offenders had not been changed — all that had occurred was that their ability to function psychologically had improved.⁹

Youths who had spent time at Boscoville had a lower recidivism rate and made a more successful transition back to their communities than teenagers who had been in similar facilities.¹⁰ Fewer than half of all "graduates" reoffended within the two years following their release. This suggests that if a former resident of Boscoville did reoffend, he was more likely to do so fairly soon. Also, their reoffending was less likely to be more severe than their earlier offence. There were important differences to be noted among individuals, depending on whether they had

completed their treatment, with those who finished the treatment obtaining better results than those who did not. Finally — and this is surely an important result — recidivism did not appear to depend on how much treatment had improved a boy's ability to function psychologically. It was far more likely to be a result of lifestyle choice, particularly when the lifestyle was characterized by idleness, association with delinquent peers, drug or alcohol abuse, etc. Another point that emerged is that, at the Boys' Farm, a process of community reintegration with real support from the residential centre made it possible to limit the psychological regression that frequently occurred after a stay in such an institution.¹¹

In retrospect, these results rank among the best. Boscoville achieved a 30% reduction in recidivism — a very good outcome. Boscoville could also be described as a member of the school of cognitive-behavioural intervention that is structured around a system of responsibility; activities that reinforce social skills; the setting of behavioural objectives; and regular evaluation of progress toward their attainment. It is precisely this school of intervention that obtains the best results at the present time.¹²

Unfortunately though, some of the findings were very disappointing. First, the theory of phased progress was not supported. The most

disappointing result was definitely what we call the differential effect. Boscoville had claimed that the psychoeducational model could be applied to all troubled adolescents, but our results showed that intervention clearly worked better with teenagers who displayed neuroses than with those who were more egocentric. This finding was corroborated by our study of the Boys' Farm.¹³ Since then, it has become more widely recognized that the application of a method that is thoughtfully designed and thoroughly familiar to a competent staff does not necessarily produce uniform results with all delinquents.¹⁴

The troubled teens who were admitted to Boscoville made statistically significant gains during their stay there in terms of their social and psychological adjustment.

These findings were greeted with delight by the detractors of Boscoville, and particularly by the critics of residential centres, and they contributed to the creation of a new myth: psychoeducation isn't as good as it's claimed to be, and Boscoville accepts only the best cases, which is why it can boast good outcomes. The findings were interpreted unfairly, and so the psychoeducational model came to be discredited.

The most adverse consequence of these findings was that Boscoville was undermined and educators were discouraged. They lost confidence in the phased progress theory as a frame of reference; they tried to introduce new intervention models without real conviction or adequate support; and they experimented with alternative measures (e.g., social workers in the schools, day centres, opportunity classes).

The eventual result of this process was to confuse people about what the psychoeducational model actually involved. Some of the model's components were retained, while others were dropped. They no longer formed a cohesive whole, for various reasons. Even at Boscoville, educators were hired who were not trained psychoeducators. Others did have training, but no experience with the model we described earlier. The collapse of the model can be seen from the following data. A 1993 analysis of the team environment and of the social atmosphere in a number of centres for delinquent boys, including Boscoville, showed that these centres obtained appreciably the same averages (around 6 out of 10), whereas in the late 1970s Boscoville had obtained better results (in the neighbourhood of 8 out of 10).¹⁵ The other side of the disintegration of the Boscoville model is that the centres that had obtained mediocre results in the 1970s are performing much better now. The up-side is that residential centres appear to be getting better, but the down-side is that this improvement is occurring at the cost of diversity, for the centres are adopting more

uniform treatment methods. Therein lies another distortion of the research findings. Seeing differential results, managers ought to have realized that a degree of specialization is necessary if the needs of all types of maladjusted youth are to be served. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic reflex to standardize everything seems to have carried the day.

It must be admitted that Boscoville was pursuing an ideal: to re-educate all troubled teens. Reality was quite different: significant improvements were achieved with some of these boys. The discrepancy between the ideal and the real was quite a shock. This was the adverse consequence of evaluative research. At the same time, other centres gradually improved the quality of their services by incorporating components of the psychoeducational model. The results of the evaluative research were distorted to the point that the product was standardized intervention at the expense of the specific needs of some categories of troubled adolescents.

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Conclusion

In this article we have sketched out an analysis of the relationships between our evaluative research studies and the policies on residential centres for young offenders. Our analysis certainly does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it does reveal some of the problems in transferring knowledge. These problems stem not only from the interpretation of research findings on the basis of individual experience, training and social roles, but also from the political and administrative constraints of the day. Our analysis has identified certain adverse consequences and distortions that result from an intervention model in which theory and practice are too far apart. Each obeys the dictates of its particular discipline — whether it be science, management, or education — which drive theory and practice further apart

instead of bringing them closer together. How can they be reunited?

We believe that the field of psychosocial intervention must integrate research and development into an intervention environment that assumes responsibility for a group of clients every day. This environment must be given a specific intervention mandate and supplementary resources; a team must be built from the best-trained, most highly motivated, and most creative clinical practitioners and managers; they must be supervised by the

most competent professionals; the most experienced research staff must be assembled; and, finally, the organization must be allowed to work with maximum administrative and clinical autonomy. This fits the description of a teaching hospital, which sets itself apart from other categories of hospitals. At a time when we are discussing new legislation for young offenders, we believe it is relevant to recall this model of research and development in the field of residential rehabilitation. ■

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² M. Le Blanc, "Les mesures pour jeune délinquant," *Traité de criminologie empirique*, 2nd ed., D. Szabo and M. Le Blanc, Eds. (Montréal, PQ: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1994).

³ M. Le Blanc, "L'internat et la recherche évaluative, vingt-cinq ans d'échanges au Québec : des effets pervers à la perversion des résultats de la recherche évaluative," in G. Gendreau, Ed. *Boscoville la tendresse, Boscoville un débat de société* (Montréal, PQ: Sciences et culture, 1998).

⁴ M. Le Blanc, *Boscoville : la rééducation évaluée* (Montréal, PQ: H.M.H., 1993).

⁵ R. Ménard, *La durée de séjour des bénéficiaires en centre d'accueil* (Québec, PQ: Department of Social Affairs, 1981).

⁶ M. Jasmin, *Les jeunes contrevenants, au nom ... et au-delà de la loi* (Québec, PQ: Department of Health and Social Services and Department of Justice, 1995).

⁷ M. Le Blanc, "Y a-t-il trop d'adolescents placés en internat aux Centres jeunesse de Montréal?" *Revue canadienne de psychoéducation*, 24, 2 (1986): 93-120.

⁸ Le Blanc, *Boscoville: la rééducation évaluée*.

⁹ M. Le Blanc, *L'efficacité de l'internat pour la rééducation des jeunes délinquants: modèle homogène, Boscoville; modèle hétérogène, Boys' Farm* (Ottawa, ON: Solicitor General of Canada, 1983).

¹⁰ M. Le Blanc, "Réussite sociale et inadaptation: épidémiologie prospective," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 28, 4 (1995): 363-377.

¹¹ Le Blanc, *L'efficacité de l'internat pour la rééducation des jeunes délinquants : modèle homogène, Boscoville; modèle hétérogène, Boys' Farm*.

¹² M. Lipsey, "Effective intervention of serious juvenile offenders: A synthesis of research," *Serious/violent/chronic offenders*, R. Loeber and D. Farrington, Eds. (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Study Group on Serious/Violent/Chronic Offenders, 1998).

¹³ Le Blanc, *L'efficacité de l'internat pour la rééducation des jeunes délinquants: modèle homogène, Boscoville; modèle hétérogène, Boys' Farm*.

¹⁴ M. Le Blanc, J. Dionne, J. Proulx, J. Grégoire and P. Trudeau-Le Blanc, *Intervenir autrement : le modèle différentiel et les adolescents en difficulté* (Montréal, PQ: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1998).

¹⁵ M. Le Blanc, "L'intervention de réadaptation en 2010, le prévisible ou le souhaitable," *Revue canadienne de psychoéducation*, 27 (1998): 27: 307-343.

Young offender legislation in Canada: A commentary

by Colleen Anne Dell¹

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In May 1998, the federal government announced a plan to replace the Young Offenders Act with new legislation. The new legislation, tentatively titled the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA),² presents a series of changes to facilitate Canada's approach to addressing the needs of young offenders. This article provides a brief historical review of Canada's strategy against youth crime and previews the newest recommendation of the YCJA. Although the proposed legislation has numerous positive aspects, this article raises some concerns that could serve as a note of caution prior to its implementation.

The first major review of youth justice legislation in Canada took place in the early 1980s, with the outcome being the federal government's implementation of the *Young Offenders Act* (YOA) in May 1984. The YOA introduced a substantial change in philosophy in the treatment of young offenders from the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* (JDA), which had been in effect since 1908. The YOA instituted a move from the child welfare approach, characteristic of the JDA, to an offence-oriented approach. Table 1 shows the evolution of youth justice legislation in Canada.

The YCJA was initiated in response to recommendations of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice, which spent a year reviewing Canada's approach to youth justice. The YCJA appears to be a fusing of elements of both the JDA and the YOA. It focuses on both the offender (reflecting the JDA) and the offence (reflecting the YOA); therefore, it is important to have an understanding of both systems before examining the proposed system under the YCJA.

The Juvenile Delinquents Act

The JDA, which came into effect in 1908, had two hallmarks. First, the JDA was one of Canada's initial child-focused pieces of legislation because it established a childhood age, from 6 to 17 years. Before the JDA, children in conflict with the law were not treated differently from adults. The second hallmark was the introduction of an ethic (*parens patriae*) for applying law to children.

This ethic granted a judge the power to act in the best interest of a child, giving a pseudoparental role to the judge.³ The act emphasized court dispositions based on the needs of the young offender, rather than the seriousness of the offence.

In the early 1960s, the JDA came under the scrutiny of many Canadian sectors that expressed doubt that this needs-based or child welfare approach to youth crime was satisfactory and began to demand change. The next two decades were witness to increased public awareness and numerous inquiries into the JDA, and consequently, the YOA was proclaimed in Parliament in 1984.

The Young Offenders Act

The YOA has four guiding principles:

1. Young people must assume responsibility for their illegal behaviour;
2. Society has a right to be protected from illegal behaviour;
3. Youths are entitled to traditional legal rights and some additional protections; and

The YCJA was initiated in response to recommendations of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice, which spent a year reviewing Canada's approach to youth justice.

Table 1

Chronology of Canada's Youth Justice Legislation

1908 <i>Juvenile Delinquents Act</i> into effect	- Child welfare approach - Significant judicial discretion
1984 <i>Young Offenders Act</i> into effect	- Emphasis on: youth responsibility, protection of society, special rights and youth needs
1986 amendments to YOA	- Technical amendments to custody placements
1992 amendments to YOA	- Increased maximum sentence from 3 to 5 years for murder - Clarified rules for transferring youth to adult court
1995 amendments to YOA	- Increased maximum sentence to 10 years for murder - Created presumption of transfer for 16- and 17-year-olds charged with serious violent offences to adult court - Allowed victim impact statements in court - Supported information sharing among youth justice professionals
1996 (August) Federal-Provincial-Territorial Task Force on Youth Justice Report	- Review of the YOA - Report referred to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs for consideration
1997 (April) Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs review report	- Review of the youth justice system - 14 recommendations
1997 (August) Meeting of First Ministers	- With exception of Quebec, called for meaningful amendments to the YOA - Committed to improving preventive and rehabilitative programs for young offenders
1997 (December) Federal-Provincial-Territorial Meetings of Ministers responsible for justice	- Proposed amendments to the YOA
1998 (May) Federal Youth Justice Strategy Announced	

Source: Department of Justice, *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice* (Ottawa, ON: Department of Justice, 1998).

4. Young people, because they are not fully grown or mature, have special needs and should not be held accountable in the same manner or to the same extent as adults.⁴

These principles reflect a divergence from the JDA — the move from a needs-based to an offence-based Act. One principle carried over from the JDA was that young offenders should be dealt with differently from adults.

The principal concerns with the YOA can be divided into three categories. First, insufficient

The YCJA proposes increased public participation in community-based alternatives to the court system, such as youth justice committees.

attention is allotted to the prevention of youth from entering a life of crime. Second, ways of dealing with the most violent offences are inadequate. Third, the system relies too heavily on custody as a response to youth crime. Acknowledgement of these deficiencies in the Act, specifically those regarding violent offences and custody, is evident as a result of its legislative amendments (see Table 1).⁵ The YCJA was devised to address these limitations of the YOA.⁶

The Youth Criminal Justice Act

The YCJA has three aims: (1) to address the identified limitations of the YOA; (2) to reform the youth justice system and legislation; and (3) to address the root causes of youth crime (i.e., poverty, child abuse).⁷ To implement these aims, it focuses on three complementary areas. These areas, in fact, correspond to the three primary limitations of the YOA outlined above.

1. *Prevention*: The need to address the root causes of crime, support youth, encourage community efforts to reduce crime, promote crime prevention and introduce effective alternatives to the formal youth justice system.
2. *Meaningful consequences for youth crime*: The need for specific measures for violent and repeat offenders, to help young offenders understand the impact of their actions and allow them to make good on the harm done to the victim and community.

3. *Intensified rehabilitation, especially for violent young offenders*: The need for measures for violent and repeat young offenders that are more firm, more controlling, and more effective in providing treatment and support for rehabilitation and reintegration.⁸

These three complementary areas are “put into action” in 14 key strategies, also divided into three categories: (1) public participation and information, (2) prevention, and (3) legislative and supporting programs.⁹ In the next section of this article, a potential concern is highlighted in each area of action as a note of caution toward the implementation of the YCJA.

Public participation and information

The YCJA proposes increased public participation in community-based alternatives to the court system, such as youth justice committees. It also suggests increased government dissemination of accurate information to the public about youth crime,¹⁰ to address the perception that violent youth crime has risen considerably in recent years (see Sinclair and Dell in this issue).

Consequently, the YCJA allots high priority to violent crime — it is one of the three primary areas of action. The YCJA also, however, acknowledges that violent crime is a small proportion of all crime committed by youth. Thus, the YCJA is addressing an issue that many in society view as a rapidly escalating problem, which, in reality, is not supported by some research.¹¹

Prevention — “Gender limitation”

The YCJA proposes government initiatives to deal with the root causes of crime. Concerns have been expressed that the proposed prevention strategies of the YCJA seem to ignore the unique crime prevention needs of female youth in comparison to male youth. Criminological research often overlooks females. When females have been considered, it has commonly been as an “extension” of the male offender and not as “an entity in their own right.” Neglecting to acknowledge gender as a specific influencing factor in youth involvement in crime has resulted in an

absence of gender-focused preventive community programming and services.¹² It is inadequate to apply to females preventive programs that have not been developed to meet their needs. This problem is especially important when we consider that the rate of female youths charged and convicted of violent crime has increased slightly over the past six years, but not for male youths.¹³ Females will continue to be subjected to inappropriate crime prevention initiatives if they are not treated as entities in their own right.

Legislative and supporting program components

The YCJA proposes several legislative and supporting programs congruent with its aims. Two of these components are offender rehabilitation and violent offenders.

Offender rehabilitation: Offender rehabilitation is the focus of one of the three areas of the YCJA and is implicit in several of its specific recommendations, such as alternatives to the formal court process, community-based sentences, and treatment of violent and non-violent young offenders. The concept of offender rehabilitation received considerable attention and support in the early 1970s. A severe backlash led by the conservative and liberal justice model perspectives,¹⁴ however, resulted in harsher treatment of offenders. Much was learned from this, and most prominent was that caution must be employed in use of the term *offender rehabilitation*. The YCJA appears to assume a universal definition. Offender rehabilitation must be specifically defined, since definitions can range from prosocial conformity programs based on positive reinforcement to the “hard” approach currently taken in Ontario, with the young offender boot camp (see Wormith, this issue). If offender rehabilitation is not specifically defined, it becomes too easy to simply claim this component of the YCJA failed.

The violent young offender: The YCJA proposes both rehabilitation and harsher treatment for violent and repeat young offenders. However, some research supports the premise that the most serious or repeat offenders may not require incarceration, but rather, a non-

custodial sentence that still protects society, to have the greatest chance of rehabilitation. Proposing harsher treatment of young offenders can have serious implications, both socially and individually, and this must be given great consideration, particularly as violent youth crime has increased only very minimally in the recent past. The use of harsher treatment on violent offenders may be setting a precedent for the future harsher treatment of non-violent offenders.

Conclusion

In the transition from the 1908 JDA, to the 1984 YOA, to the proposed 1998 YCJA, we witness a transition from a child welfare approach, to an offence-oriented approach, to a combination of the two — the apparent “best of both worlds.” Although the proposed legislation has numerous positive aspects, there are concerns that could serve as a note of caution toward the future implementation of the YCJA. ■

- ¹ 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6. Please note that this article was written in September 1998, before the proposed Youth Criminal Justice Act was considered in Parliament.
- ² The introduction of the *Young Offenders Act* in 1984 influenced the federal Canadian correctional system by significantly decreasing the number of young offenders sentenced as adults (R. Boe, “In the shadow of the *Young Offenders Act*: Youths admitted into federal custody since 1978–1979,” *Forum on Corrections Research*, 7, 1 (1995)). This article concentrates on the proposed Youth Criminal Justice Act because it too has the potential to have an effect on the federal correctional system.
- ³ A. Leschied, “The *Young Offenders Act* in review: A more than modest proposal for change,” *Forum on Corrections Research*, 7, 1 (1995): 37–40.
- ⁴ Department of Justice, *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice* (Ottawa, ON: Department of Justice, 1998).
- ⁵ Department of Justice, *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice*.
- ⁶ Other concerns with the YOA include: (1) lack of public confidence; (2) omission of the role of parents, family and victims from the criminal justice process; (3) inadequate reintegration, rehabilitation and aftercare services and support in the community; (4) minor recognition of female and Aboriginal youth crime; and (5) lapse in time from when an offence is committed and a sentence is imposed (Department of Justice, *A Strategy for Renewal of Youth Justice*).
- ⁷ Department of Justice, *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice*.
- ⁸ Department of Justice, *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice*.
- ⁹ The 14 key elements are: **Public Participation and Information**: (1) participation in community-based alternatives, and (2) public information, education and accountability; **Prevention**: (3) initiatives that deal with the

root causes of crime (Crime Prevention Initiative, National Children’s Agenda, and Response to the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples); and **Legislative and Supporting Programs**: (4) new youth justice legislative framework, (5) statement of principles and objectives, (6) alternatives to the formal court process, (7) violent and repeat young offenders, (8) range of community-based sentences, (9) minimum age, (10) alternatives to the courts, (11) publication of names, (12) role of parents and victims, (13) admission of statements and (14) efficient and effective administration.

- ¹⁰ Department of Justice, *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice*.
- ¹¹ K. Hung and S. Lipinski, “Questions and answers on youth and justice,” *Forum on Corrections Research*, 7, 1 (1995): 6–9 and R. L. Sinclair and C. A. Dell, “Challenging public opinion: Youth involvement in the Canadian criminal justice system.”
- ¹² Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, *Submission of the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies to the Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs Regarding the Comprehensive Review of the Young Offenders Act — Phase II* (Ottawa, ON: April 1996).
- ¹³ C. A. Dell and R. Boe, *Female Young Offenders in Canada: Recent Trends*, Report B-18 (Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada, 1997); and R. L. Sinclair and R. Boe, *Male Young Offenders in Canada: Recent Trends*, Report B-22 (Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada, 1998).
- ¹⁴ “During the 1970s, the ideological hegemony of the individualized treatment ideal suffered a swift and devastating collapse. Previously a code word for ‘doing good’, rehabilitation came to be seen by liberals as the euphemism for coercing offenders and by conservatives as one for letting hardened criminals off easily.” (D. A. Andrews, I. Zinger, R. D. Hoge, J. Bonta, P. Gendreau and F. T. Cullen, “Does correctional treatment work? A clinically relevant and psychologically informed meta-analysis,” *Criminology*, 28 (1990): 369–404.

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