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A PRELIMINARY REPORT.....  
CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE COMMUNITIES NEAR THEM

PREPARED BY: Joseph Scanlon

School of Journalism

Carleton University

FOR:

The Canadian Penitentiary Service

WITH:

Jim Winter

Jane Wilson and

Heather Tully

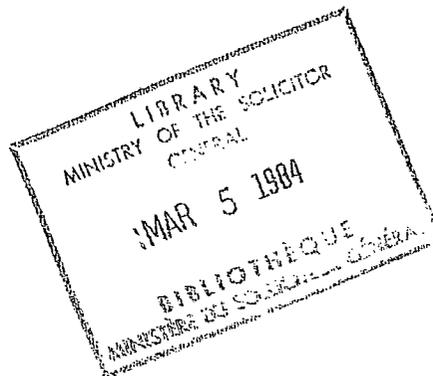
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March, 1977

In March, 1969, the Canadian Committee on Corrections made a series of recommendations about future Canadian prisons. Among other things, it said:

- . they should be relatively small;
- . they should be located in or near major centres (preferably ones with universities); and
- . there should be substantial interaction between these institutions and the public.

The committee argued that implementing these recommendations - especially the creation of prison-public interaction - would have a number of beneficial effects. It would avoid misinformation, forestall unwarranted criticism and pave the way for public acceptance of former inmates after discharge.

Unfortunately, the committee - in making these recommendations - did not ask: what is the public's view? Will people in established communities accept the idea of having new prisons built in or near those communities?

Even more unfortunately, the committee does not appear to have considered the possibility that the answer to those questions might be: the public does not want to have a prison installed as a new next door neighbour.

This report was commissioned by the Canadian Penitentiary Service to initiate a study of that problem - the problem of winning public acceptance for location of correctional institutions in or near established communities.

It must be stressed that the report is very preliminary: it is based on just three things:

- . a search of the literature;
- . a study of what happened in one instance when it was proposed to locate a new institution near an established community; and
- . an examination of some of the kinds of relationships that exist between one institution and the area

surrounding it.

This is a limited base but - despite this - I wish to suggest a number of conclusions:

1. It would appear - at least from the evidence located - that very little is known about this subject;
2. It would appear that the present strategy in attempting to find satisfactory locations leaves a great deal to be desired (particularly because of the absence of factual data); and
3. It would appear - at least on the basis preliminary information - that the present negative public attitudes may well be based on misinformation.

If all these things are true - then it would also appear that given some factual data it may well be possible to design ways of changing the present, negative public attitudes. I am prepared to try to do this if G.P.S. is first prepared to carry out some of the studies proposed in this report.

Before going into any further detail as to recommendations, I should like to present a summary of the findings of the three separate studies.\* After that, I will provide, in detail, specific suggestions about research.

### The Literature

The first step in the project was the literature search -- an attempt to learn what others might have found out about this topic.

Quite frankly, in one sense it was a waste of time.

According to the work done by Jim Winter\*, there seems to be only the scantiest information available about the effects of a new institution on an

\*All three research documents are included as part of this complete report.

\*Mr. Winter is a graduate student in Journalism at Carleton University and carried out the literature search while under contract to Carleton.

established community.

His research disclosed just one Canadian document in this area -- a report prepared in 1974 by P.D. Ross & Partners discussing the potential impact of a new medium security institution proposed for Maple Creek, B.C.

The Ross study does provide some useful information about potential impact for the authors interviewed persons at Matsqui, B.C.; Drumheller, Alberta and Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. But it also confirms our original statement for - although it promises to footnote all relevant material - it contains just 11 footnotes and none deal precisely with the question at hand.

The Ross study does suggest that the economic effects of a new institution are considerable. Using a calculation called the multiplier effect (which assumes money spent by the penitentiary service will create new jobs in the community) the report concludes the impact of a new institutions would be somewhere between \$4 million and \$6 million a year. (Average salaries were then around \$10,000 annually.)

It also lists a number of other possible beneficial effects:

- 1. Workshops, gymnasias, classrooms and other facilities would be available to local residents;
- 2. Inmates would provide services to the community (it is mentioned that elsewhere inmates have planted trees, painted an orphanage, manufactured playground and recreational equipment, repaired children's toys for Christmas, etc.) and
- 3. The federal government would pay a grant in lieu of taxes.

Then -- in addition to these postive benefits - the report spells out one negative effect apparently common to the three institutions surveyed:

... as many as sixty to seventy wives and girlfriends of inmates have moved to Matsqui and currently are on social assistance (they represent approximately 10% of the number of persons on social assistance)....

... many of the families which come to Drumheller because the family head is imprisoned there tend to be 'problem families' and put pressure on community social service agencies. Among problems mentioned were alcoholism, psychiatric problems,

child abuse and a generally high level of dependency upon government and community agencies...

the presence of the federal penitentiary has resulted in a fairly high number of wives and girlfriends moving to Prince Albert in order to be close to inmates. It was estimated that anywhere from 25 to 30 women on social assistance at any one time are in this category....

Finally, there was some suggestion that the presence of an institution affects local use of drugs. A probation officer in Prince Albert was quoted as saying small networks of criminal activity develop for the purpose of smuggling drugs and other contrabands. A police officer in Prince Albert said some people there believe increased use of hard drugs resulted from the presence of the institution. And the police chief at Matsqui was quoted as saying the presence of inmates with drug dependencies has increased the availability and use of drugs by residents and inmates alike.

Interesting as the above information may be, it obviously lacks something: it is a collection of quotations from individuals who sometimes are only passing on the opinions of others. It is not hard data in the sense it represents carefully documented research.

Unfortunately, the remaining material -- the material that is based on more substantial research -- has two other flaws: it is not Canadian and it is not directly relevant to the problems at hand.

According to Mr. Winter's research, there appear to be two studies which may have some direct relevance:

1. A Missouri study which found no difference in terms of levels of anxiety among those who lived close to an institution and those who did not, and
2. A study in two southern cities which found people who knew an inmate personally had different attitudes than those who did not.

Finally there is some evidence that the life of a prison guard or correctional officer may be generally, an unhappy one. T.C. Willett of Queen's University, in a report (available to us only in abstract form) found guards did not consider their job one to induce self-respect and, therefore, high morale. He found guards did not necessarily encounter much off-the-job public hostility but did tend to keep to themselves (away from the public and other guards). Willett found some evidence of drinking and also some evidence that the authoritarian nature of the job carried over into the home and could disrupt relationships.

All in all then, the literature appears to offer little to assist in dealing with the problem at hand.

(It should be noted that Mr. Winter's notes also cover material relating to public relations problems. This material was collected as part of the preparation for the long term -- the design of appropriate devices for dealing with inaccurately-based attitudes toward the establishment of new institutions).

#### Uxbridge

The second study -- the Uxbridge study by Jane Wilson\* -- was of considerably more assistance. It is more a piece of journalism than a piece of academic research and its major value is that it outlines -- step by step -- what happened when a community debated whether it wished to have a maximum security institution in its vicinity.

Miss Wilson's findings -- which are given in complete form in Appendix B -- suggest that the debate took place as a five-part process:

1. The Canadian Penitentiary Service presented its initial rationale -- basically a set of economic arguments;
2. The negative forces in the community replied by questioning those economic arguments;
3. The negative forces presented a set of other counter economic arguments;

\* Jane Wilson was a fourth year honors student in Journalism at the time of writing.

4. The negative forces presented a completely different set of negative emotionally based arguments;
5. CPS attempted to rebut some of these emotional arguments.

The initial arguments were basically those that would apply to any federal institution (or for that matter any private industry).

It was argued that the construction of the institution would bring employment and expenditures to the area. It was argued that the completed institution would employ staff - some of it imported, other hired locally - and that the staff would live in and spend money in the community. Third, it was argued the institution would purchase local goods and services. Finally, it was argued that the institution would provide tax support to the community (through a grant in lieu of taxes).

These arguments were aimed at those in the community - usually municipal councillors - who believe in more jobs, new industry, in short, believe in growth.

The initial response to these arguments by some, was to question their validity. It was argued in reply that the construction would be done by outside contractors who would move in and out fairly quickly. It was argued that the staff would be outsiders rather than locals (and, to some extent, outsiders who might not be the kind of person that is wanted in the community). It was argued that federal institutions must purchase through the department of supply and services - and that that means they will not buy locally. Finally it was pointed out that the federal government does not pay taxes - the so-called grants in lieu of taxes are discretionary, may not be continued and may not be equal to the costs of the services.

Those opposed also gave their own additional economic arguments. They argued that people will not want to live near a prison or in a community near a prison. This, they say, will make land values and real estate values fall. They argued that other industries will not want such a location either - that a prison will drive away other potential industry. And they argued that

the presence of a prison will drive up insurance rates (apparently this is intended to apply both to rates covering such things as risk to property and risk to life).

Those opposed also introduced a whole new range of arguments -- most of them tied to an emotional base.

They argued that there is a stigma attached to living in a community associated with a prison. The general attitude of the town will be altered -- people will be less content with their community.

They argued that there is hostility inside the walls of a prison; that the hostility will spill over into the surrounding area. Prison staff they said, are brutalized by their experience: this will rub off on their families and those they associate with. It will change the whole community attitude, making a community near a prison a generally less happy place to live.

Then, they argued, there are a number of risks attached to being near a prison. Inmates including murderers and rapists will be allowed out on passes. This means a threat to children, to the safety of individuals. Other inmates will escape -- posing the threat of theft and assault. Families of inmates will come to live in the community. Others of the criminal element -- including traffickers -- will want to live nearby as well.

The whole nature of the community will change -- and the prison will be the cause.

As a by-product of the argument that crime will rise, it was also argued that policing costs will rise.

Next there was a set of arguments designed to question the credibility of those who support - or appear to support - the idea of a prison.

In Uxbridge, this form of criticism occurred in three ways. There were accusations that the media were slanting their stories and that they had accepted free trips from CPS. There were charges that council was ignoring community attitudes, that the matter should be decided not by the elected representatives but by a referendum. And there were questions raised about the integrity of CPS - suggestions, for example, that once a reception centre was built other correctional institutions would follow.

CPS - working mainly through the consultants - did try to counteract some of these arguments.

It stated, for example, that when new institutions are built housing values rise (rather than fall) because of the demand for housing by the staff moving in. It stated there was no evidence life insurance rates had altered in Warkworth (where a medium security institution was located).

It stated that at Ste. Annes de Plains - a new reception centre - there had been no escapes in two and one-half years. And it argued that an inmate - even if he does escape - wants to leave the surrounding area.

It questioned the argument about the possibility of drug usages by pointing out - in a reception centre - visitors do not have direct contact with inmates. Visitors and inmates talk through glass.

Finally, there was one other minor dialogue. When some persons argued that the community had a moral obligation to do its share; the reply was that Uxbridge already did its share (a school for boys is already located there).

The issue at Uxbridge eventually became a major political football: it was taken to a referendum during a municipal election. The public not only voted against the idea of an institution; it voted out those municipal councillors who supported that idea.

Warkworth

The final study -- on Warkworth -- was somewhat different than the study at Uxbridge.

At Uxbridge, Jane Wilson recorded what people were saying might happen. At Warkworth, Heather Tully\* tried to document what actually happened when a new institution was built in a settled area.

Ms. Tully's data suggests that much of what has been suggested at Uxbridge is not borne out by facts.

One thing is clear from her research -- and this was suggested at Uxbridge -- that is that a prison is a substantial employer.

Warkworth employs roughly 300 persons and has an annual payroll around \$4 million. And--even in the intial stages--about 40 per cent of these employees were hired locally (though most of those in senior positions were brought in from elsewhere.)

But -- in terms of economics -- that would appear to be about all the impact. Local purchases of both goods and services are quite low. Local land values and real estate values were not affected up or down. (There was no evidence of any appreciable change in insurance rates.) And Warkworth institution since it provides its own water supply and its own sewage treatment service -- did not place many demands on surrounding communities.

In fact, aside from salaries, only two real effects were noticed. Prison staff created a demand for rental housing. And the township of Brighton, which receives the grant in lieu of taxes, was able to keep its mill rate lower than other neighboring townships.

In short, the suggestion that a prison is a substantial employer appears to be accurate: the suggestion that it will become an important local purchaser, inaccurate. And the suggestion that it has myriad other economic effects -- such as an impact on land values, an impact on insurance rates, etc. is simply

\* Heather Tully is a final year student in Psychology who had previous experience working with inmates.

not true. Total economic effects - other than salaries - are low.

The Warkworth study does however, confirm to some extent, a number of the allegations about negative effects. It suggests some families of inmates did move into the area. It states that there were some escapes - four of which involved auto theft though none involved bodily harm to anyone. And it suggests some inmates have chosen to locate in the area.

However, these negative effects do not appear to have had the impact suggested either in the Ross report or by some people in Uxbridge. All in all the inmate families that moved into the Warkworth area were accepted by those in the community.

The men who escaped often actually made their escapes far from the town of Warkworth, because the escapes occurred while they were out on temporary absences.

And the inmates who have decided to settle in the area after discharge have turned out to be satisfactory citizens. None have been reported to have been involved in any criminal activity.

In fact, according to Ms. Tully's findings, the Warkworth institution has had few of the positive or negative effects suggested by the debate at Warkworth.

Ms. Tully did find, however, some other effects not covered in the research reports presented earlier in the Uxbridge debate. These findings include:

- . a suggestion that a prison is physically unobtrusive;
- . a finding that a prison is environmentally clean;
- . a finding that the presence of the institution at Warkworth helped create a demand which kept the area hospital open;
- . a finding that Warkworth created a demand for clerical services which allowed a Roman Catholic priest to stay resident at a nearby parish; and
- . a finding that Warkworth inmates have provided services to local service clubs.

Warkworth, therefore, has some positive benefits not suggested elsewhere.

In short, Warkworth has had some effects on the surrounding area - especially as an employer - but its impact appears to have been much less important than either side in the Uxbridge debate would have admitted.

Conclusions

It is impossible, of course, to draw completely satisfactory conclusions from the foregoing material (or even from the detailed accounts included in this report.)

The literature search reveals only an absence of data. The Uxbridge study covers attitudes in just one community. And the Warkworth study deals with just one institution (perhaps an a-typical one at that) and with some aspects of its operation.

Nevertheless, the evidence is suggestive.

First, it seems clear that there is no substantial research dealing with the particular problem at hand. The people arguing with each other at Uxbridge were speaking often on emotion rather than fact. If there is to be a rationale debate facts are needed.

Second, it seems equally clear that, at present, CPS does not have a strategy for handling an approach to a community when that community is being considered as a possible location for a new institution. (It is probably equally true that the absence of facts makes a viable strategy difficult to create.)

Third, it appears - from the evidence available - that there is reasonable cause to believe that people are basing their present opposition to new institutions on irrationale grounds. In other words, what we have done to date suggests we are not following a useless approach. It may be possible to change attitude.

Given the conclusions, I have two recommendations.

First, I believe CPS - either through its own resources or by using contractors - should try to acquire a great deal more information about the effects of institutions on established communities.

Second, I believe CPS needs to give some thought to exactly how it should approach this problem both on a national basis and in particular instances.

To achieve the first goal, I suggest:

CPS should commission a series of research projects designed to establish clearly for public use -- precisely what the facts are in relation to each element of the debate described in this report.

This means a series of economics studies.

It means a series of inmate studies.

And it means a series of attitude studies.

Let me deal with each of these in turn.

1. Economic Studies

It seems essential that specific data about the economic effects of a number of institutions should be gathered:

- . what is the local purchasing impact?
- . what is the level of staff salaries?
- . How much of staff salaries are spent in the local purchasing area?
- . what happens to land values when a new institution is located in an area?
- . what happens to insurance rates when a new institution is located in an area?
- . what happens to the real estate (and housing - including apartment) market when a new institution is located in an area?

- . what specific municipal services are normally required for an institution? What will these cost?
- . what contribution will an institution make to the surrounding area?
- . what services will the institution provide for itself? Which of these would normally be provided by the municipality?

All of these questions need to be answered -- and in some detail -- so that precise information is available to respond to the various objections and complaints.

## 2. Staff studies

There appears to be little data -- except perhaps for some studies of guards -- about the way staff relate to the surrounding community.

A number of questions need answering:

- . where do staff live in relation to an institution?
- . do they live in groups?
- . how do staff integrate into the surrounding communities?
- . what sort of demands if any do staff make on a community?
- . what sort of services if any do staff perform for a community (as residents)?
- . what are staff like -- are they married, single, young, old, etc.

## 3. Inmate studies

These studies need to concentrate in about three separate areas.

One needs to provide precise data -- insofar as that is possible -- about escapes and particularly about what if anything escapes have done or are likely to do in the area surrounding a prison. It would be extremely useful to be able to establish whether or not the performance there (in relation to crime) is any different than anywhere else.

A second needs to deal specifically with the amount of inmate contact with the surrounding community and especially with what sort of inmates have that contact. Very clear statistical and illustrative data is needed about the nature of temporary absences.

A third study should attempt to discover what if any affects are caused by those whom inmates attract to the surrounding area -- families, visitors, etc.

#### 4. Attitude Studies

The final series of studies -- in my view -- should be concerned with the establishment of general attitudes both in communities with a relationship to correctional institutions and in those that have no such relationship.

These studies should attempt to determine if persons in prison communities have a different perception of risk than those who live elsewhere and whether these persons have any real contact with a neighboring institution.

All this data -- once collected -- should reveal two things.

1. It should reveal what the facts are in the area of effects of existing institutions on surrounding areas;
2. It should provide a clearer understanding of existing attitudes.

Given this starting point, it should be possible to design a method of dealing with negative attitudes and reinforcing positive ones -- providing that the data is not in sharp contradiction to the evidence presented here.

Given this, I believe I would have the data necessary for what I conceive as the third stage of this project: the development of a strategy to overcome objections to location of institutions in or near established communities.

RESEARCH REPORT

The material in this next section of the report is a summary of the literature reviewed by Mr. Winter, literature which seems to have some relevance either to the specific problem at hand or to the general problem of dealing with attitude change in relation to institutions.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES

Ballinger, W., "A Report on Penitentiaries," paper presented to Uxbridge Town Council, Aug. 21, 1975.

The author, Chairman of the planning and development committee, reported the highlights of interviews conducted with residents during a two-day trip to the communities of Millbrook, Warkworth, Millhaven, Collin's Bay, Kingston, and the Women's Penitentiary at Kingston.

The study was, of course, conducted in an unscientific manner, as the author reports in his closing paragraph:

I can only say that I tried to make the questions as objective as possible. This was very difficult to do when over the past few weeks an opinion had already started to form in my own mind...

Another shortcoming of the report is that the author talked to several people in Warkworth about the institution, rather than Campbellford, which is closer to the "Warkworth" institution and which receives the greater effect.

The findings of the report are overwhelmingly positive and pro-institutional. Little or no negative community reaction to the various institutions was observed.

Banks, C., E. Maloney and H.D. Willcock, "Public Attitudes to Crime and the Penal System," British Journal of Criminology, 15:3, July 1975.

The pertinent section of this study deals with attitudes and information regarding prisons and prisoners. Unfortunately, there are some methodological problems.

It is important to note that large proportions of "no response" and wrong answers were reported in this section. Respondents were asked questions that are perhaps not comparable to the Canadian situation, such as whether or not prisoners use a pot in their cells - in England most apparently do have to use a pot for a toilet.

Respondents overestimated the amount of visiting allowed and did the same with the restrictions on letters. Many people were misinformed with respect to activities that occupy inmates, wages earned, and problems facing ex-inmates.

On the whole the authors concluded that respondents tended to be rather punitive, a finding that might well be strongly related to the lack of correct information.

Those sampled tended to go along with what they believed to be the status quo. Their attitude seemed to be that the prisoners are ok, leave well enough alone.

In general, the study supports the proposition that the public are misinformed re inmates, correctional institutions, and institutional life.

Bentz, W.K., and J.W. Edgerton, "Consensus on Attitudes Toward Mental Illness," Archive of General Psychiatry, Vol. 22, May 1970.

This study represents an attempt by the authors to explore the information and attitudes of the public about mental illness prior to initiating program activities.

The authors took two separate samples, a random community sample, and a second measurement of leaders, using the holding of formal positions or offices as a primary criterion for selecting the latter. Others designated as informal leaders within the community by community informants, were also included.

The authors found the two groups to be very similar in attitude, a finding which would be expected if leaders to in fact have influence.

Some sort of time lag between the two groups' attitudes would also be expected, and they did show a significant difference in some areas. The leader group, for example, "...is different from the public in that significantly fewer of them held the view that mental hospitals are needed on order to protect the community from the mentally ill (35% vs 70%)" p. 470.

The leadership group was also less in accord with the idea that institutions should be surrounded by high fences and guards, and they were more likely to reserve judgement on a given issue.

Brodsky, S.L., "The Prisoner As Agent of Attitude Change: A Study of Prison Profiles' Effects," British Journal of Corrections, (10), 1970.

In this small controlled study, the authors attempted to reduce the misinformation and incorrect stereotypes that exist about prisoners among university and high school-aged students and delinquents.

The study suffers from the lack of a follow-up, as it consists of only pretest and posttest, however it is interesting because of its use of inmate public speaking panels in the community as a means of disseminating information.

As a result of the study, the authors found that audiences did demonstrate attitude changes. As might be expected, the young people tended to become less punitive toward prisoners as a result of the inmate exposure.

The respondents appeared to transfer their negative feelings toward prisoners to the prison institutions instead.

Doleschal, E., "Review, Public Opinion and Correctional Reform," Crime and Delinquency Literature, NCCD, 2:4, Aug. 1970.

From a review of the literature, the author concluded that the attitudes of victims and nonvictims were not significantly different in relation to either the individual's concern with the crime problem or his perception of crime as an increasing phenomenon.

He found that the public's greatest fear is of those crimes that occur least -- crimes of violence, especially attacks by strangers. The majority of respondents feel that courts are too lenient in sentencing criminals, yet they overwhelmingly preferred rehabilitation to punitive goals in correction.

From the 1967 Harris poll, the concept of the halfway house was thought to be a good idea by almost eight in ten of the adults and teens interviewed, but support faded when respondents were asked whether they would agree to such a house in their neighbourhood -- only 50% favoured this idea.

The joint commission of correctional manpower and training concluded from this survey that;

a good deal of the present lack of public interest and legislative support may be ascribed to the failure of corrections to show how public funds have been invested and what the returns have been in men, women, and children who have returned to the community after imprisonment.

Simmons (1965) recommended that social scientists gather valid knowledge and influence public attitudes through its dissemination. Knight (1965) concluded that knowledge of an offender's past modifies the public's attitude and that ways must be found to educate both nonprofessional<sup>1</sup> correction workers and the general public in its judgment of offenders.

From public opinion polls and attitudinal studies, the author says that one conclusion is inescapable: the field of corrections is suffering from a serious communications gap and has failed to convey sufficient information on the social problems of crime. Since the educational level emerges as the key factor in determining attitudes, we should center our efforts on educating and informing the public.

Public misinformation, ambivalence, and confusion, he continues, appear to be greatest in four particular aspects of the crime problem; the fear of crime, attitude toward punishment and its effects, the cost of crime and its prevention, and the decisive role of society in defining what constitutes crime.

Under the area of fear of crime, he maintains that reported increases are the result of improved communications techniques and a better ability on the part of those involved to discover and report crime:

Going backward in time, fewer crimes were reported to police when urbanization was less extensive and the educational level of the nation lower than it is today ... A study of crime in Boston from 1847 to 1951 discloses that the crime rate there was highest in 1875-78 and has declined, almost without interruption to one-third the level reached at that peak... While the public is informed that in 1968 a murder occurred every 39 minutes, it is not told that the average citizen's chances of being a victim of violent crime is one in 400 years, or that the personal injuries that Americans risk daily from sources other than crime are infinitely greater.

This theory of a static crime rate was supported by L. McDonald in a Canadian study, "Crime and Punishment in Canada: A Statistical Test of the Conventional Wisdom."

Doleschal makes the somewhat startling statement that "the total cost of the average execution has been calculated as substantially greater than the total cost of life imprisonment" a statement he does not substantiate, but one that he gleaned from R. McGee, "Capital Punishment as Seen by a

Correctional Administrator," Federal Probation 28:2, 11-16, 1964.

He concludes that the public are predominantly concerned with the five to 15 per cent of the inmate population who are dangerous, violent, and chronic criminals, while ignoring the greater needs of the majority.

Douglas, D.F., B.H. Westley, S.H. Chaffee, "An Information Campaign that Changed Community Attitudes," Journalism Quarterly 47.

The authors examined the effect of an information campaign about mental retardation on an experimental community, with another control community, established for comparison. Significant differences were observed using pre-tests and post-tests to determine information level and attitude change in the experimental community. Attitudes were measured by 21 likert-type items.

The authors found a positive correlation between information gain and attitude change, but postulated that this result is probably limited to certain topics on which informed persons are unlikely to differ...

Dow, Thomas, "The Role of Identification in Conditioning Public Attitudes Toward the Offender," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 58:1, 1967.

The author suggests that the negative attitude of the public toward offenders is the result of a failure in identification. He measured the ability of 549 students to identify with delinquency and adult criminality, and found it to be extremely limited. He suggests that the lack of identification conditions the attitude toward offenders:

...it was apparently this failure in identification which made (the respondents) unwilling to support research relevant to the treatment of the offender.

Galliher, John, "Attitudes of Missouri Citizens Toward the State Prisons," Criminology, Nov. 1970.

In a statewide probability sample, the author found that a sizeable minority do not distinguish public mental hospitals and local jails from other types of correctional facilities.

No significant relationship was found between anxiety and how close respondents believe their home is to the nearest institution. This finding suggests that fears that the members of the public may hold prior to the establishment of an institution in a community soon fade once that community has been established and the fears are discovered to be unfounded.

The author found no significant relationship between established number of escapes and fear.

Galliher concluded that citizens in Missouri have no fear of prisons. They believe that prisons do quite a bit to protect society during incarceration and after release by helping inmates to adjust to society. Even people who live very close to an institution are not afraid since they know they are protected. However, while people are not afraid, they

want no relaxation of the prison system -- neither greater leniency nor reduced protection.

Even though people are not afraid of prisons, their belief in, and desire for protection seem of great importance in determining their total evaluation of prisons.

The author found that the less educated want more protection, and the highly educated want the same protection. He found that those who had toured an institution are pleased or favourably impressed with what they had seen, to the point where tours are seen as creating a favourable image of prisons among respondents.

Poveda, Tony, "The Image of the Criminal: A Critique of Crime and Delinquency Theories," *Issues in Criminology*, 5:1, 1970.

The author provides an overview of the literature regarding criminal image and its association with the lower class.

He points to the disparity between popular stereotypes of offenders and offenses, and their actual nature. Poveda quotes the figure that only 12.2% of murders involve complete strangers from the Presidents commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, 3,39.

The author reviews studies which have compiled statistics on prisoners in the U.S., statistics which tend to disprove popular notions of low SES and unemployment as prerequisite to criminal activity.

The article is valuable as an alternative point of view from the typical association between criminals as poor, youthful and lower class, as he posits that it is untenable to focus on the lower class, and to attempt to distinguish between law-abiding and law-breaking types of social, psychological or physical reasons. It provides more direct evidence for the public stereotyping of inmates.

D.L. Smith, C.M. Lipsey, "Public Opinion and Penal Policy", *Criminology*, May 1976.

Several methodological problems are apparent in this study, which drew its sample from two southern U.S. cities. Although the authors do not attempt to extrapolate from their findings, they emphasize the intra-study reliability between the two populations sampled.

The study selected respondents from telephone directories, and interviewed the person who answered the phone, if they were 18 years of age or older.

Females had a higher tendency to answer the phone, and the method of sampling excluded those people in the cities who work between the hours of 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. Although a reasonable completion rate was attained in one of the cities (82%) in the other one the completion rate was only 56%.

With these shortcomings in mind, a look at the results:

More than 50% of both samples favoured a conjugal visitation program for inmates. The older respondents (over 50) strongly (over 70%) rejected conjugal visits. This finding led the authors to posit that the administrators and prison officials who feel that conjugal visits (as one example of public attitude) are frowned on by the general public - because the officials are basing their opinions on beliefs that in the past were held by the majority.

A significant difference was found between the attitudes of those respondents who personally knew an inmate, and those who did not. This finding, the authors concluded, supports the current interest in community-oriented treatment, as "Community contact may have a beneficial effect on the public as well as the inmate," with regard to public education.

If one can conclude that respondents who know an inmate personally would, on the whole, have more accurate information about inmates and institutions than this may support a relationship between information and attitude. Of course, the effect of personal acquaintance on attitude would have to be taken into account as well.

The authors came to the conclusion that the appraisal of public concern and opinion by legislators, prison administrators and criminologists is often incorrect.

Williams, J.E.H., "Public Issues and Professional Concerns in the Field of Criminal Law and Penal Reform in Britain," The Canadian Journal of Corrections, (8), 1966.

Williams points out the reasons for the failure of correctional staff to improve conditions when the opportunity arises:

Prison riots and escapes are news, and draw attention to a situation which has become morbid for various reasons. But do we seize the opportunities, as prisoners do, and insist on appropriate measures, and measurable appropriations? Do we insist on professional standards being raised, on encouragement of those who are so dedicated and do we involve the public sufficiently in our professional work and show them our needs and concerns?

The way to informing the public, says Williams, is through the leaders of thought and opinion, 'opinion leaders'. The author is one of many to point in this direction (see OPINION LEADERS, Rachin).

Any public relations programs, he says, must be directed at the members of the media and influential individuals. Although these people may initially be harder to reach and convince, he maintains that once this has been done, "...they can do more in a day than some of us have achieved in years in influencing the climate of opinion."

#### COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

Greenberg, D.F., "Problems in Community Corrections," Issues in Criminology 10:1, Spring, 1975.

This article is mainly relevant as useful background material in the area of half-way houses. Not surprisingly, public reaction to community corrections is if anything, more negative than it is in the area of correctional institutions.

Reasons for this include the lessened security - a major area of public concern - as well as the increased potential viewed for such activities as drug pushing in the community.

Parker, Ann, Carol MacDonald, Justus Freimund, Harold Bradley, Richard Groskin, "So You Want to Start a Community Corrections Project" NCCD, Nov. 1974.

The authors discuss the importance of influencing and obtaining the support of "the power structure" which includes community leaders from politicians to church leaders and labor leaders.

They outline two major approaches, the "High Noon" and the "Dark of Night". As the names imply, the former means doing everything out in the open, contacting first your citizens advisory council and working from there; the latter approach which Riley (1974) called the "MidnightCowboy" approach, involves going as far as possible and only attempting the Public Relations campaign when the program is discovered.

Zeitoun, Louis, "The Development of Community-Based Residential Centres in Canada" Solicitor General Canada, N.P.S., July 1976.

Zeitoun, Director of Community Resources for N.P.S., outlines the classic case for the need for research in public attitudes information with respect to half-way houses. Although half-way houses are privately run and as such not the responsibility of the ministry to publicize, the ministry obviously has a direct interest in whether or not enough centres will be accepted and therefore can be established.

Zeitoun states in part;

knowledge is lacking as to the best means of establishing a community-based residential centre in a way that will not alienate the public. As a result of this lack of knowledge, extreme opposition on the part of the public toward such facilities has been encountered in certain instances resulting in the closing down of the centre.

The author provides no discussion of pertinent U.S. publications on the topic (Rachin) (Riley) (Williams), but basically provides case studies to support the notion of problems in the area.

Zeitoun describes three instances of active public opposition to half-way houses. In Stoney Point, Ontario and St. John's, N.F.L.D., projects had to be abandoned, and in Granby, Quebec, nuns in a convent have been struggling to stay in operation despite a Quebec Superior Court ruling in their favour.

The author points to the three case studies as "clues to the community climate towards offenders and a glaring example of how inadequate we are in handling public attitudes."

The problem with public attitudes stems from a basic ignorance vis-a-vis prisoners and prisons - what they are and what their effect is. If as has been indicated, people cannot identify with inmates, then one can hardly expect them to take their sense of civic duty seriously when it comes to accepting an institution in their neighbourhood.

The large portion of white collar criminals, and misdirected youths do not make up the stereotypical image in the public mind. They tend to think of only the relatively small percentage of the prison population who have been incarcerated for crimes of violence, murders, rapes, etc. They think of this and worry - at least initially - about a local prison.

That stereotypical image is reinforced by media coverage which focuses on hostage-taking and riot events and escapes, all of which are perpetrated by a small minority.

The findings of Douglas et al indicate that information levels and attitudes in communities can be influenced via media campaigns.

One method of influencing public reaction found practical in the community correctional centre context is through the use of community opinion leaders. (Parker et al, Rachin, Riley, Williams.)

Information campaigns, therefore, must focus on an attempt to correct the stereotypes and misconceptions that exist;  
First - with regard to inmates themselves,  
Second - regarding real institutional effects.

A practical means of implementing information programs may be found by focussing on community opinion leaders.

1. J.L. Simmons, "Public Stereotypes of Deviants," Social Problems, 13:2, 223-32, 1965.

Douglas Knight, "Punishment Selection as a Function of Biographical Information" Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 56:3, 325-27, 1965.

## CORRECTIONAL STAFF

Hansen, Inger, "Report of Inquiry Millhaven Incident," Nov. 3, 1975,  
Dept. of Solicitor General of Canada, June, 1976.

This report is most pertinent to the current study in relation to staff attitudes, and the manner in which it documents the staff-inmate relationship. Conditions in Millhaven are such that "Polarization of attitudes, distrust, and strong loyalty to one's own group are fostered...."

"Correctional officers in general, and custody staff in particular, live with a great deal of tension from the criticism levelled at the system. They feel powerless and unappreciated. They are almost never pictured in the media as heroes. They do not catch the criminal after brilliant detective work or in one courages moment; but they do have the frustrating and sometimes dangerous job of keeping these very same criminals in when they would rather be out."

One possible shortcoming in the study is the failure to recommend an investigation into the cause and occurance of overtime and custody staff, despite the fact that at the time of the Millhaven gassing incident on November 3, almost 40% of the CO's on duty were or had been working overtime. The authors remark that "It seems incredible that proper standards can be maintained by officers who are working double shifts regularly...the effect both on the treatment of inmates and the welfare of correctional officers deserves to be thoroughly examined." Yet no recommendation is made to that effect.

Results of the Millhaven investigation indicate that the positions low on the socio-economic status scale such as custodial officers, although they may be high-paying jobs for the locality, may also carry expensive stigmas in terms of psychological well being.

"Guard Image to Change in CPS" Discussion, 3:2, June 1975.

An interesting account of correctional officers - their problems and attitudes, overall numbers, pay scale, training facilities, and improvements planned for the future.

## CRIME

McDonald, Lynn, "Crime and Punishment in Canada: A Statistical Test of the Conventional Wisdom," McMaster University

The author tested three propositions which express the conventional wisdom about crime and punishment, with least squares regression analysis.

The author found that the over-all crime rate between 1950 and 1966 had not increased (except for trivial infractions); that sentences have not become more lenient; that disparities in sentencing have not decreased. The increase in rate of less serious offences was found to be positively correlated with increases in the size of police forces.

"This is not to say that the crime rate is decreasing, or that sentences are becoming more severe or that disparities are increasing. The simple conclusion to be drawn is that there have not been, in any of these three matters, changes strong enough to appear in the data. The few trends found were weak and often counteracted by others in the opposite direction. Since the data allowed ample opportunity for findings of meaningful trends, it is fair to conclude that the failure to find them means that they probably do not exist.

The author posits that because of rapidly-increasing police forces, and the crackdown on trivial infractions, "If labelling theory is correct, that early identificatin of people as delinquents stimulates their development as deviants, this increased apprehension of juveniles will eventually result in more adult crime."

#### INMATES

Hanse, Inger, "Annual Report - Correctional Investigator," Solicitor General of Canada, 1974-75.

The report deals with inmates' grievances, and recommendations arising out of an investigation into those grievances, where deemed necessary. Hansen also discusses action taken (or not) on previous recommendations arising out of the first annual report, 1973-74.

The report provides insight into the inmate-guard relationship, as well as problems inmates encounter in the system.

#### OPINION LEADERS

Rachin, Richard, "So You Want to Open a Half-Way House," Federal Probation, March, 1972.

The author puts forward the argument for approaching community leaders vis-a-vis half-way houses, but his reasoning could be applied to the intititional setting as well.

Community leaders should be contacted early and informed of an agency's plans. This is particularly true when programs are designed for offender groups. To do otherwise is to omit gaining, and risk alienating, the support of people and agencies whose acceptance and involvement is essential. It makes little sense, and it is unlikely, that efforts to confront a community with a fait accompli will succeed. This simply polarizes community resistance and hinders understanding and cooperation.

Rachin recommends meeting individually with community leaders in the planning stages of development, where they must be allowed to air their questions and misgivings. He says "The numbers opposed initially are not nearly as important as determining who the opposition is, its following, and motivation."

...the problem of enlisting community support lies in assuaging the anxieties of the least-informed but potentially most vocal community groups... Early consideration should be given to organizing local leaders into a community relations committee. ....In a nutshell, forming this committee is probably the single most important task facing new program administrators.

These committees can be important as buffers between programs and communities, as demonstrated by the Community Guidance Committee, Sanford, North Carolina. (See also COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS (Riley) and PUBLIC ATTITUDE (Williams.)

Above all, the author recommends, "The program should be explained honestly. It is inadvisable and mistaken to not discuss the program in all its ramifications - this means difficulties and problems expected, as well as benefits and advantages.

The author outlines the necessity for public information programs in the area of corrections - and ultimately, the need for studies such as the present one.

...the job before us is more nearly one of public education, whereby we seek to develop broader public understanding of correctional issues as they really exist in order ultimately to achieve improvement. In other words, the job is primarily that of disseminating factual information through use of every conceivable media of communication, always having faith that once our citizens are armed with the facts, an effective majority will reach conclusions comparable to our own.

In terms of the published articles in the area, this must be regarded as something of a landmark. Delivered by a Canadian representative to the American Prison Association annual conference in 1954, the article represents a qualitative - if brief - justification for public relations in penology.

McNutt, Paul, "Probation and Parole - Good Public Business," Focus, National Probation and Parole Association, November 1948.

McNutt zeroes in on the importance of making the public aware that criminals are not all dangerous offenders and in fact, reports that very few offenders (10-15%) fall into the dangerous category.

The public attitude toward prisons is largely based on the information and attitudes they hold about inmate offenders. What they fear about the idea of an institution in their community is the idea that a dangerous, stereotypical hard-core offender could break out and inflict harm on persons or property.

What must be impressed upon the public, says the author, is the normality of the average offender. They are not all "goody two-shoes" by any means; neither are they all murderers. He maintains that criminal offenders "differ in no essential respect from the rest of us...Their lives take a different course due to social pressures which in many cases would make offenders of us if we were placed in the identical circumstances."

Street, George, "Public Relations - Parole and the Police," American Correctional Association, 1969.

This article is an updated version of several arguments on parole put forward in the 1930's. Its basic relevance to this study is that it shows how little prison public relations theory - and the corresponding public information - has changed over the years.

Although this article deals specifically with the area of parole, given that parole was and is an important area for correctional public relations, it probably is safe to generalize the lack of progress vis-a-vis public relations, to other areas of corrections.

Street, who was at the time Chairman of the National Parole Board in Canada, is saying "the public should be told" in the same manner that Stuckert (1939) and Cox (1938) and Halpern (1939) and even Warrington (1924) did. See Stuckert (1939)

Given this evidence and the current state of public opinion, one is forced to conclude that public relations in corrections has not yet progressed beyond the talking point.

Stuckert, William, "Publicizing Probation" American Prison Association, 1939.

Cox, William, "The Public's Stake in Progressive Prison Policies,"

American Prison Association, 1938.

Halpern, Irving, "The Interpretation of Probation to the Public," American Prison Association, 1939.

Warrington, C.C., "Public Opinion and the Probation Service," American Prison Association, 1924.

In the absence of a direct literature on the "publicizing of establishment of institutions in communities" the above public relations material, though dated, is still pertinent. (See Public Relations, George Street.)

Zemans, Eugene and Louis Schneiderman, "Public Relations Techniques," American Prison Association, 1951.

In itself this article represent a miniature handbook for basically obvious prison public relations techniques. Its existence does raise an important point however in this regard.

Although some of these statements have been made as early as the 1920's and are still being made today - they do not appear to be recognized by present day institutional staff.

In this article the author points out the advantages to a simple technique such as informing the public when inmates make worthwhile contributions to society. As basic as such a public relations technique could appear to be, the tendency is still for only the bad news - escapes, hostage incidents, riots - to reach the public.

As a result, the general public is misinformed or uninformed with regard to areas such as prison programs - despite continuous speeches and articles expounding public relations since the 1920's.

#### CONCLUSION

In an article in the American Correctional Association in 1970, the Honourable George McIlraith, former Solicitor General for Canada, argues in favour of public information programs on the grounds that once convinced, the public will lend tax support to the legislators. McIlraith gives evidence for the theory that with prisons, the only news is bad news:

In a new medium security prison at Springhill, Nova Scotia, there has been set up a therapeutic community of staff and inmates, but what bothers the good people of Springhill when they think at all about the prison? Escapes. I doubt if they know anything about our attempts at rehabilitation because I don't think we have bothered to tell them. The last editorial from the local paper blasted our inability to hold men in security. Nothing has been said editorially about our experiment. We obviously are not getting across to the public the positive side of the corrections programmes.

Generally, McIlraith maintained that the public only spring into action when a crisis such as an escape arises, and at other times they think nothing of and expect nothing from the institutions, including anything in the way of rehabilitation. He is not supported by the literature in this view, but nonetheless, McIlraith is still mouthing the obvious methods of public relations techniques that have been mouthed for forty years. As George Street put it:

Better public understanding can be achieved by talking to the media, by letting people see, through newspapers, radio and television, what it's like to be a prisoner.

McIlraith has, however, picked up on the importance of community leaders in the dissemination of information. Unfortunately he delegates the responsibility of approaching and informing these individuals to the already overloaded institutional staff themselves. Little wonder that nothing gets done in the area. How much more effective would it be to establish a public relations position in correctional institutions.

The basic problem with correctional public relations has been not only the media emphasis on the sensational, but the lack of effective prison information campaigns, as indicated by Zeman (1951). By way of example: inmates at the Warkworth, Ontario federal institution were responsible for constructing playground equipment for a park in Brighton Township - but an item as obvious as a simple plaque to commemorate the contribution is nowhere to be seen.

No studies have been documented which deal specifically with the effect of correctional institutions on the immediate community. Nor have any been found which deal specifically with local attitudes toward institutions. Some research has centered on general attitudes, which appear to be shaped by misinformation and stereotyping in the order of "hardened criminal types" (Doleschal, McDonald, McNutt).

UXBRIDGE REPORT

The material in this section is an account of what happened when the possibility of locating a reception centre was raised at the Ontario community of Uxbridge. The study is presented as written by Ms. Wilson.

On May 9, 1975, the Regional Director of the Canadian Penitentiary Service sent a letter to the Township of Scugog stating, "The Ontario Region of the Canadian Penitentiary Service (federal) is proceeding with its plan to construct a number of small penitentiaries to be located in various locations within the region. In this regard we wish to locate one of these institutions in your township."

The letter briefly described the type of institution proposed, possibly a reception centre. "We are proposing to construct, on 25-40 acres of land, a 180-man institution which will possibly be designated as a regional reception centre. This institution will accept convicted offenders from the courts and carry out psychological and psychiatric assessments, academic and vocational evaluation which will enable us to properly assign them to one of the regional institutions. There are a number of benefits to a township in having an institution of this type in their area. We expect that the capital costs of between \$8-10 million will employ a staff of 150-180 and have an operating annual budget of about \$3 million. It is customary for the federal government to pay a grant in lieu of taxes to municipalities."

The Regional Director then stated he would be pleased to attend a council meeting and make a presentation.

The letter was put before Scugog's Township Council at a meeting on June 9, 1975, where it was decided to invite CPS to attend a future meeting. Comments from council at this time touched on the employment and revenue aspects of the institution as being worthy of further investigation and the question of whether or not CPS had any sites in mind.

It was reported in the Oshawa Times on June 10, that a letter from the Solicitor General to the MP for York-Simcoe had tentatively offered the institution to Innisfil Township, near Barrie. The Solicitor General's letter was dated May 23.

Scugog's weekly newspaper, the Port Perry Star, carried a report of council's decision in the June 11th issue.

Scugog council held a special meeting on June 16 which was attended by the Deputy Regional Director of CPS. He outlined the institution. It would employ about 180 people, 25% of whom would be brought in from outside, there would be a grant in lieu of taxes paid to the township which would fall in the neighborhood of \$90,000 a year and the estimated annual budget would be \$3 million. He emphasized the point that CPS would not impose the institution on the township if the local council didn't approve.

The gallery was packed at the meeting and questions were fielded from the floor. It was suggested that a public meeting be held and the CPS representative agreed to attend.

The public meeting called by the Ratepayers Association was held on June 27. About 150 citizens attended the meeting. Questions from the floor were submitted in writing to the Deputy Regional Director for CPS. The major concerns were: security arrangements, escapes, issuing of passes, impact on land values and insurance rates.

The only positive viewpoints raised at the meeting were voiced by members of council who had toured Warkworth institution, a medium security penitentiary, that afternoon. None of the councillors committed themselves, but said they now had, "second thoughts on opposing a penitentiary in the township."

The Port Perry Star took a rather cynical view of the citizen's behavior at the meeting in an editorial on July 3. "Had the deciding vote been held Friday night, the outcome would have obviously meant no penitentiary for Scugog. We take strong exception, however, to the questioner who suggested that this is necessarily a reflection of the rest of the community."

At the next Scugog council meeting, June 30, council reported on their visit to Warkworth. Thirty citizens were in attendance. After the meeting some of them gathered outside the council chambers and wrote a petition, the results of which they wanted to present at the next council meeting. They received an assurance from the councillor representing Scugog Island that he would vote according to the results of the petition.

The citizens divided up the township, made phone calls to solicit help and set out to reach every household. According to one citizen they were working on the assumption, that, "I don't want it on Scugog Island and I wasn't going to shove it on someone else. We were trying not to be selfish."

The petition was worded, "We the undersigned residents of Scugog Township are opposed to the building of any federal penitentiary or reception centre in Scugog Township." It was taken door to door and in some of the more remote areas, it was hung in stores. The final count was 2,715 signatures.

Around this time a group identifying themselves as the Stop The Pen Committee (STP) circulated an open letter to residents of the township through the mail. The letter outlines the following points in opposition to the institution.

1. There will be no apparent economic contribution.
2. No taxes will be paid, only a paltry grant.
3. The township will receive no employment benefit.
4. Policing and insurance costs will go up.
5. Real estate values will go down.
6. Since it is a maximum security institution the worst criminals will come into the township.
7. Council is trying to railroad the decision through.

The results of the petition were submitted to council on July 7. Over 200 citizens showed up at the meeting. One councillor submitted a survey of 100 homes and the results showed 60 per cent opposition. The council vote on whether or not to accept the institution ended in a 3-3 tie. The mayor then voted "no" and the motion was defeated - council would not accept a reception centre.

The Chamber of Commerce submitted a letter to council that day urging them to proceed with the penitentiary. The letter was made public in the newspaper two days later.

At a regional council meeting, July 8, the Regional Councillor for Uxbridge Township (just west of Scugog), remarked to the Scugog mayor that Uxbridge would be interested in the reception centre. This was picked up and carried in the Oshawa Times, Port Perry Star and Uxbridge Times-Journal, July 9. That same issue of the Port Perry star carried articles written by the editor after visiting Warkworth and Millbrook. The articles were intended to provide the readers with more information on the issue. They contained little or no negative commentary.

The paper also carried five letters to the editor on various sides of the issue. Two letters named specific reasons why Scugog should not want a penitentiary. The first concern was that it would effect a total change in the outlook and emotional climate of the community. The second letter quoted an article from Readers Digest about violent acts committed while inmates were on temporary absence passes (see footnote #1).

The Uxbridge Times-Journal made its editorial stand at this time. "This writer is definitely in favor of attracting the project to this community. We know that it will have a dramatic effect on life in Uxbridge, but the change will only be for the better of the area and not for the worse.... The decision that our council members will made in the

next few weeks could be the most important that they will ever have to face in this term, or any term of office."

The Regional Councillor for Uxbridge lost no time in contacting CPS officials in Kingston. A story in the Oshawa Times, July 10, stated that the regional information officer for CPS said, "Uxbridge has indicated an interest in talking to us and we are certainly interested in talking to them."

At CPS headquarters the Regional Director issued a memo stating that, "Unofficial reports from national headquarters indicate that the CPS building programme is being curtailed because of the Turner budget ... Before we make an approach to Uxbridge we had better find out if a regional reception centre is still on the books."

Two letters to the editor were published in the Uxbridge Times-Journal, July 16. One letter spoke of the peace of mind that would be lost due to the presence of an institution, the other letter said that it might as well be in Uxbridge as in Scugog. (see footnote #2)

The issue was still alive in Scugog. A group of local businessmen had set out to get council to change its mind. They began by trying to prove that the petition was invalid. "We got a copy of the petition and checked all the names. We found many people who were not residents, and most of the legitimate names were residents of Scugog Island. The story had spread that it was going to be on the Island." Another businessman commented, "What bugged us was that the people who didn't want it hadn't lived in the municipality very long." The group contacted the local Liberal MP and extracted an assurance from him that if they could get the council to change its mind, Scugog would get the institution, not Uxbridge. Several meetings were held with the MP.

The group identified the three 'anti' members of council and decided to focus their attention on the weakest member, the councillor for Scugog Island. They mounted a phone campaign to get members of his ward to call the councillor and voice a positive opinion about the institution.

Over in Uxbridge the idea of a reception centre had been put before council on July 17 and a motion to invite CPS to come to a council meeting was passed. As a result several councillors received phone calls, for and against the proposal. One councillor wrote a letter to her constituents explaining her position, outlining questions that need answering, (e.g. would it effect property values, would it have a detrimental effect on the collective social personality of the area, would it discourage other industry), and asking people to watch for more information. As a result of the letter the councillor received three phone calls and three letters, equally divided for and against. Councillors in general began to encounter people on the street in town who would make their opinion known. At social gatherings and meetings it was also a regular topic of conversation.

Scugog council met on July 21. The meeting was addressed by a member of the 'pro' group, a former MPP in the area. The main thrust of his speech was a refutation of the STP letter. He touched on the following points:

1. The institution was maximum security, inmates would stay from four to 12 weeks, no passes or leave of absences, no outside privileges.
2. Employment opportunities for 100 to 150 locals
3. Staff turn-over between eight and 13 per cent
4. Grant in lieu of taxes, \$100,000
5. No evidence to show greater cost for policing roads, decrease in property values.

The issue was put to a vote once more and council decided 3-2 in favor of rescinding its former position and giving the matter further study. One of the councillors was absent and the mayor did not cast a vote.

On July 23 the Uxbridge Times-Journal reprinted the articles on Warkworth and Millbrook written by the editor of the Port Perry Star.

Port Perry council met on July 28. One of the members of the group which had circulated the petition put forward the idea of getting up a committee to study the reception centre proposal. The 'anti' group was to select four members for the committee, one from each of the township's wards, and the council was to select four 'pro' delegates in the same manner. The committee's purpose was to "seek and gather information on both sides of the issue and report their findings to township council as soon as possible."

On July 30 the Uxbridge Times-Journal carried a letter from the Regional Councillor stating, "It is a time for all of us, the council, the public and the press, to join together in a discussion on whether or not this proposal is good for our community." The same week the paper's news editor wrote in her column, "Uxbridge is my home town, I was born, bred and raised here. And I don't feel at all intimidated by a penitentiary ... If Uxbridge residents decide they don't want the pen here, that is fine, if it is decided with a cool head. But somehow, I feel they will decide for it."

A letter to the editor published on August 7 in the Times-Journal was against the reception centre, and pointed out that St. John's Training School had been troublesome of late (see footnote #3).

On August 7 the Port Perry Star carried a statement by the Deputy Regional Director to the effect that CPS would be willing to wait a "reasonable length of time," for Scugog Township to make up its mind. By August 19 all members of the 'Four For - Four Against' committee had been chosen.

On August 20 the Uxbridge Times-Journal published another editorial in favor of the reception centre. No specific arguments were put forward however. "The advantages far outweigh the disadvantages that anyone could dream of concerning the proposal and since we feel it is our duty to encourage proper growth and strength for this area, we utter the wish that council will see fit to go for the proposal and do everything in their power to see that Uxbridge Township is the chosen location."

Three citizens voiced their opinions in letters to the editors that week. All were in opposition to the idea, fearing escapes, and incidents of theft and violence would result (see footnote #4).

Several members of Uxbridge council took it upon themselves to visit some existing penitentiaries. Two councillors visited Warkworth and Millbrook. They didn't tour the institutions but took a look at the area and asked questions of people they met. The Regional Councillor made a weekend trip to Millbrook, Warkworth, Millhaven, Collins Bay, Kingston Pen and the Women's Pen. He visited the institutions, talked to city officials and residents. He asked what complaints people had about the institutions, whether there had been any disturbances, whether property values had changed, if insurance was costlier, and whether people kept guns or dogs for protection. The councillor put his findings together in a simple report and along with a slide show he presented it to council, August 21

An open council meeting was held August 25 in Uxbridge. About 200 people turned out to hear the Deputy Regional Director explain the proposed project. The Regional Councillor showed the slide presentation of his recent tour. The local MP was in attendance.

All councillors expressed their views on the matter and questions were fielded from the audience. Reflecting on the meeting afterwards, some people, councillors and citizens, said they felt the questioning had been pre-planned.

The council passed a resolution in front of the audience approving in principle the location of a federal reception centre in the township subject to agreement between CPS and council on an acceptable site. The recorded vote was 4-2. One councillor was absent.

After the meeting the local MP stated that Scugog council would be given until September 15 or 16 to reach a decision on the matter.

The Uxbridge Times-Journal for August 27 carried an editorial questioning the waiting period that CPS had allowed for Scugog to make up its mind. There were also two letters to the editor against the proposal. One writer stated that she did not want the institution in her backyard and would not "foist it on any of my neighbors." The other letter stated that the real issue had not yet been discussed and that was, "...spending upwards of eight million dollars on a new theory of prison reform."

(see footnote #5)

The 'Four For - Four Against' committee in Scugog held their first meeting on August 28.

For a period of about two weeks after the open meeting in Uxbridge, the Regional Councillor received a series of unsigned, 'hate letters', about half a dozen in all. One of the comments he could recall was, "When they escape from the goddam prison I hope they get you first." He also received some nice letters which were signed, from people who were concerned or frightened and he replied to them.

Scugog was now working towards its September 16 decision deadline. A meeting was held on September 2 with the Deputy Regional Director, the

local MP and the Scugog Chamber of Commerce. The Port Perry Star of September 4 carried a half-page ad placed by the Chamber of Commerce which listed 15 questions and supplied the answers.

On that same date the 'Four For - Four Against' committee met for a second and final time. Two reports and two rebuttals were presented as the culmination of the committee's search for information.

'The Case For' and 'The Case Against' were published in full in the September 10 issue of the Port Perry Star.

The major points in favor were listed as:

1. It is equivalent to an industry best suited to our community;
2. It is a 'clean' industry: creates no pollution or other ecological menace;
3. It is maximum security, more to be desired than if it were minimum or medium;
4. It will provide 180 job opportunities; probably 100 of these will be available to local people. The requirements for employment set a fairly high educational standard enhancing our cultural potential;
5. Staff can be expected to be 'stable'; Ontario turnover is eight per cent;
6. Salary scales are now good;
7. Annual payroll of two million will have a real impact on the local economy, and the additional one million annually for goods and services may attract other commercial establishments;
8. Construction...is bound to have some local beneficial impact during the two years, more or less, of development;
9. Associated services generated by the facility will add to the direct job opportunities;
10. Grant in lieu of taxes, at present estimate should be equal to about 5 mills;
11. It will provide all of us with a challenge to put our social conscience to work: to prove in some small way that we are our brothers keeper;

The major points in opposition were:

1. By its very nature a penitentiary is a place of fear, hostility and tension;
2. Inmates may be considered for weekend passes after four weeks and sources in Kingston indicate that many inmates on passes chose not to travel home, but to spend their time on local streets;
3. Undesirable publicity would be given to the township as noteworthy members of the underworld were processed;

- 4. Convicts would be at the centre during the period of greatest personal stress;
- 5. The grant in lieu of taxes would be offset by extra police costs and the cost of road construction required to service the penitentiary;
- 6. Many of the jobs at the institution would be taken by employees of Kingston Pen.

The Chamber of Commerce published its ad in the paper again this week as well.

In Uxbridge, the Scugog Committee opposed to the Pen published a condensed version of their findings in the Times-Journal.

The following excerpts are from the ad:

- The mayor of Kingston is quoted as saying --

"It doesn't matter how maximum security an institution may be, there is a great deal of traffic in and out of drugs, weapons and alcohol.

"Establishment of a penitentiary results in an influx to the community of those people who make an illicit living by supplying such contraband.

"It is most unlikely it will remain merely a reception centre. First they'll add a psychiatric ward, then maybe an extension to hold the 2-year men, and so on."

- The Commission of Inquiry into disturbances at Kingston Pen stated:

"Historically, prison disturbances and riots have occurred with alarming frequency. . . Particularly noteworthy is the fact that these disturbances are more frequently associated with maximum security institutions."

- The Toronto Star. . . quoted an ex-prison guard, "the men talked

of how the tension finally got to them. They didn't know when they were going to be attacked, they didn't feel they had security back-up from the administration, they began to dread going to work, and they began to take it out on their own families."

It was also pointed out that a prison was a place of fear and hostility, that the grant in lieu of taxes would not be of much value to the community due to increased police and servicing costs, and that the employment opportunities would go to present CPS employees first.

Scugog council met to take a vote on the issue, September 15. In a recorded vote the proposal to accept a reception centre was approved, 5-2. The councillor for Scugog Island had dramatically switched his vote to 'yes' as a result of the campaign waged on him by local businessmen. The mayor also voted 'yes' this time.

So, as it stood, both Scugog and Uxbridge had given their approval to the institution.

The first recorded contact between CPS and the Department of Public Works in relation to these two townships was made on September 17 in a phonecall from the Deputy Regional Director to the Project Manager in Toronto. The Project Manager recorded the call in his datebook also noting that the local MP had gotten into the act.

On October 6 a DPW purchasing agent went to in-camera council meetings in both Uxbridge and Scugog. He didn't tell either council that he was meeting with the other. He offered both townships a maximum security centre and was caught off-guard when he discovered both councils would consider nothing other than a reception centre.

The agent received no further co-operation in identifying possible sites from the council members in Scugog. The Regional Councillor in Uxbridge, however, spent three hours with the agent around the township pointing out land looked like a suitable location for the institution.

On November 5 the purchasing agent submitted his report on 18 sites in Uxbridge and Scugog. The report included a map locating the sites and a brief description of each site -- its acreage, access to roads and the asking price.

The following day in Kingston, the Deputy Regional Director met with the staff of the present Regional Reception Centre to give them an outline of what was happening. The goal for relocation had been set for 1979, he said, and transfers would be available for as many staff as the new centre could accommodate.

Several trips were made to Uxbridge and Scugog township to view the sites during the month of November, by various CPS and DPW officials. However, no decisions were made and the mayor of Scugog didn't expect a decision until the New Year, according to an article in the Oshawa Times, November 21. The mayor also remarked on the change in the property requirements for the institution. "When I originally received a letter from the service... they suggested they would need an area of 25 to 40 acres. But since the search began the size has grown. What I think they're looking for now is an area somewhere between 40 and 80 acres."

In the first week of December the purchasing agent went back to Scugog to investigate three more farms that were possibilities in the southeast part of the township. At least one of these farmers had written to his MP to request that his farm be considered for sale to DPW. The agent submitted a handwritten report on these sites.

A noteworthy change in CPS personnel was made on December 1, when a new man stepped into the position of Deputy Regional Director. The new officer made his debut in the Port Perry Star December 17 stating that site clearing with local authorities would begin in three weeks. He also said

the possibility of putting one institution in each township had not been ruled out.

On January 12, 1976 three CPS officials and the DPW Project Manager met with the council in Uxbridge and the location of possible sites was made known. Council members got to look over the map but no decisions were arrived at.

That same week a consulting sociologist specializing in public participative planning, made a three day visit to CPS Regional Headquarters to investigate the programmes and institutions in the area with a view to producing a pilot design for a public information program in the Uxbridge/Scugog area.

The consultant had contacted CPS late in 1975. Due to the CPS's failure to locate an institution in the Innisfil area because of public backlash, the Deputy Regional Director was seriously considering employing his talents.

On January 22 at 1:30 p.m., two CPS officials and one DPW representative met with the mayor and regional councillor in Uxbridge. Rezoning of a site was discussed and a public information program was suggested. At 3 p.m. the officials met with council. Approval was given during an in-camera session to a resolution selecting site #6, a 60-acre farm about one mile south-west of the town, and requesting CPS to work with council in the implementation of a public information program.

In a phone call to the Deputy Regional Director on January 26th, the Project Manager for DPW was informed that no action was to be taken on site acquisition until the public information program had started.

Concerned that Scugog has been left out of consideration, the MP met with two CPS officials in his office on February 16th. He suggested that a joint meeting be held between the councils of Scugog and Uxbridge

and CPS officials on neutral territory. The meeting was set for March 12 in the MP's office. One of the CPS officials present explained to the MP that there was still a possibility that a new institution would not be needed -- it might be incorporated into Collins Bay.

The Solicitor General received an inquiry, dated February 11, from a lawyer living in Uxbridge. The letter queried the government's new policy of "mini-penitentiaries" and requested answers to questions of program and building cost, possible alternatives, and the process of locating an institution. "This is a predominantly agricultural and residential area with some conservation and insignificant light industrial use. This does not seem a proper area for an institution such as your Department is proposing." The letter was answered some weeks later.

The joint meeting with CPS, Uxbridge and Scugog, was held as scheduled on March 12th in the MP's office. It was decided that the Reception Centre would be placed in Uxbridge, but the announcement was not to be made public for three weeks. DPW would proceed to get an option on site #6, previously agreed upon by council. Scugog council would review the feasibility of a medium security centre in their area.

On March 16, in a phone conversation with a CPS official, the Project Manager for DPW was informed that the consultant would soon be starting a public information program. In the meantime, DPW was to get an offer to seal and do a site appraisal, get the option papers ready and hold them. A downpayment was only to be made after clearance from the Township.

The March 17th issue of the Uxbridge Times-Journal carried an item stating that before the end of the month it would be announced which township would receive the reception centre.

On March 23 the Purchasing Agent for DPW was told to concentrate on Site #6.

A letter to the Uxbridge paper on March 31, voiced one citizen's plea that a plebiscite be held on the issue. "...it appears to me that the bulk of the support for the idea of having the reception centre in Uxbridge comes from town residents. I have not talked to one resident of the township outside the town limits who is in favor."

A letter the following week called for the Times-Journal to print and collect a ballot on the issue. It also expressed concern that the Centre was to be located one mile from town. (Site #6, one mile southwest of town, was in the process of being fully appraised at this time). An editorial that same week explained that it was not within the realm of the paper's responsibility to conduct a ballot.

Another citizen opposed to the idea of a Reception Centre contacted the author of the last letter. Sensing that others shared their opinion, they began to phone neighbors and friends. As a result, a group of citizens banded together in an attempt to slow down the final decision.

Meetings were held in member's houses. A high ranking member of a local political association relates that the citizen who made the first contact, "didn't get involved until I told him they were looking at a farm right behind his place." (Site #6)

Interviews conducted with 15 members of the anti-group, identified the following reasons for opposition:

1. Felt most people didn't want it.
2. Fear of escape, hostage taking incidents, and proximity of criminals.
3. Why Uxbridge? Should be in a more build-up area.
4. Impact on the community, possible changes in life-style.
5. Loss of community's present identity, and its replacement by the stigma of a 'jail town'.

- 6. Annoyance with Council. (No confidence in municipal government, mis-information, is opinion of people going to be respected.)
- 7. Fear of prison sub-culture.
- 8. Insurance rates will rise.
- 9. Property values will decrease.
- 10. Heard that site was to be announced shortly.
- 11. Against whole program, should use existing facilities, eg., Burwash, Jail Farm.
- 12. Should be nearer city.
- 13. What kind of person is a prison guard?
- 14. Fear that the institution will not remain a Reception Centre (see footnote #6).

The purchasing agent submitted his completed appraisal of Site #6 on April 10. The land value was appraised at \$125,000. The asking price was \$180,000. The appraisal included photos of the farm, an aerial shot of the land, a copy of the deed, plans of the house. The owner of the farm, as the agent remembered, said that he "wasn't anxious to sell his farm for a penitentiary. After all that's what it's for eh." The agent replied, "You can form your own opinion, but I didn't tell you."

A letter from CPS to the property manager at DPW advised the Department to obtain a cost for Site #9, an 84 acre farm just north of town. Site #6 was demanding "an exorbitant price". The letter also stated that CPS felt the public information program should take place before an option was signed.

On April 20, the purchasing agent extracted an Offer to Sell from the owner of Site #6. The next day CPS called the agent to flatly turn down the offer. The agent was asked why he hadn't approached the owner of Site #9. The Project Manager had neglected to relay the order, given over a week before.

A letter appeared in the Uxbridge paper, April 21, from a wealthy Uxbridge landowner. "From an economic point of view a penitentiary would have the immediate effect of raising insurance rates, lowering property values and creating an image of Uxbridge as a penitentiary town." (see footnote #7). The letter had also been sent to council.

The first meeting of the anti-group, that a record could be located for, was held on April 23. At that meeting it was decided to call the group the Durham Penitentiary Review Committee (DPRC). Three questions were outlined at the meeting. First, what was the exact function of the institution and how large would it be? Secondly, where would it be located? (Rumor was that there had been four different sites under investigation.) And thirdly, was it good policy to build an institution so far from Toronto?

The members discussed the idea that, if a vote was held on the question, people should be told to vote on the premise that the pen could be located next door to them. Concern was expressed about the 65 per cent recidivism rate in federal prisons, the prison sub-culture, lower property values and possible increases in police expenditure resulting from the institution.

On April 27, the purchasing agent for DPW was told to try for one last meeting with the owner of Site #6.

The DPRC published a ballot in the April 28 issue of the Uxbridge Times-Journal. Residents were asked to check off one of three choices: 1. They supported the location of a Reception Centre in Uxbridge; 2. They wanted more information; 3. They were against the idea.

Accompanying the ballot was a statement by the committee. "Federal policy is that their institutions do not pay taxes to the municipalities where they are located. Instead, the government 'gives' a grant. They sign no contract. They give no guarantee that next year's grant will equal

the one 'given' this year. And there is absolutely no reason to believe that once the prison is built and occupied the politicians and bureaucrats in the years to come won't cut grants when such economizing is a political necessity.

"In plain language, the government will hold all the cards once they've built their prison, and we'll hold the bag. We won't be able to tell them to pay their share or move their pen.

"A second advantage, it is suggested, is that this prison will offer employment to local people and business for local merchants. Will it? Or will trained staff be brought in, and supplies obtained through the same bulk tender sources being used at present for the whole federal penal system?

"The danger of having a federal penitentiary (call it what you like, it won't be filled with Sunday School children) in our backyard has been brushed aside with the easy comment that other prison towns don't seem to feel overly worried. What are the facts? How often do prisoners break out of this sort of prison? How often do they then take what they need from near at hand -- cars, money, weapons, clothing, hostages?

"What are the present and future official attitudes to 'rehabilitation'? Aren't weekend passes being given out to holdup artists and rapists and murderers? Isn't the traffic in smuggled drugs channeled through the prison town? Don't riots still take place, and when they do isn't the town involved? Ask the residents of the peaceful little town of Attica what they think about living next door to a Federal Penitentiary."

The ballots were to be clipped from the paper and mailed to a Post Office box number. Later that week the ballots were distributed in stores in town and there were some reports that people were going door to door soliciting negative responses.

An editorial in the paper that week urged citizens to fill in the ballot. A letter to the editor voiced a negative opinion, citing property devaluation, increased cost of services and the social consequences of the institution as reasons. (See footnote #8).

At 2 a.m. on April 30, the purchasing agent got the owner of Site #9 to give him an Offer to Sell. The offer, for \$190,000, was valid until July 31.

That evening, the DPRC held a meeting. Matters discussed were: appealing to the Ontario Municipal Board if land is re-zoned for the Reception Centre, contacting the local MP, and using the list of names from the mailed-in ballots as a mailing list in future. A lawyer in the committee had sent off a letter to the local MPP on his own behalf that day. The letter asked whether the province could offer Burwash, an inoperative institution, to the Solicitor General for use by CPS.

Also on April 30, the Administrator of Uxbridge Cottage Hospital sent a letter to the local MP requesting information about the involvement of the hospital in the event that an institution were to be placed in the township. The Administrator expressed his hope that the institution would locate in the area. "The Uxbridge area needs something to start development and growth... or the community is going to die."

(A member of the Hospital Board who is also a high-ranking Liberal in the Township, stated in an interview that the Cottage Hospital was on the Provincial Government's list to be closed last winter, but because of the local Conservative MPP's tenuous hold on his riding -- he won by 11 votes in the last election - the Hospital remained open.)

A recorded telephone message from DPW's Project Manager to the Deputy Regional Director on May 3, stated that although the owner of Site #6 had been offered \$140,000 he was still holding out for \$180,000.

A local Cable television station broadcast an interview with two members of the DPRC, on May 3. The interview was taped at St. John's Training School in Uxbridge and it was estimated that 30 people watched it.

The Times-Journal of May 5 carried letters in favor of the Reception Centre from a councillor and a prominent businessman. Both letters called on a sense of moral and social responsibility in relation to the issue. The paper also published another reprint of the article on Warkworth and Millbrook written by the editor of the Port Perry Star. The article was published three times in all, once in Port Perry, twice in Uxbridge.

The big news in the Uxbridge Times-Journal that week however, was that the unofficial results of the DPRC ballot showed opposition to the centre. The committee printed a list of spokesmen on the front page. Some of the names were used without permission, it was learned, and were used just because the person had expressed a negative opinion in talking to group members. Most of the people listed had attended meetings of the DPRC.

The aims of the group were also outlined in the paper. They were:

1. To poll the residents' feelings on a large and accurate scale;
2. To get as much information about the penitentiary and future implications as possible and make this information available to the residents;
3. To have council delay their decision to go ahead with the project until the first two steps had been accomplished.

At the council meeting on May 6, the DPRC made a statement and revealed the results of the ballot. As of noon that day 1175 people had responded. The breakdown was: 117 in favor of the Reception Centre, (10%)

125 for more information, (10.5%), and 933 opposed, (79.5%). The group requested that council reconsider its position and that the federal authorities delay any further moves to acquire land.

A check into the ballots showed that only one member of the DPRC sent in a response requesting more information. All the others were opposed. A number of ballots were sent in with notes or comments attached, most were fearfully or adamantly against the Centre. (See footnote #9).

A resolution was passed requesting the presence of the Deputy Regional Director at the next council meeting to initiate the public information program.

The Uxbridge Ministerial make its position on the issue clear in a statement published in the Uxbridge Times-Journal, May 12. The statement read, in part, "It is the consensus of opinion within the Ministerial that there is no moral justification for opposing such an institution, Living as we do within the Canadian society certain social responsibilities devolve upon us as citizens. One of these is the incarceration and rehabilitation of criminals."

The issue had been the subject of several sermons in the churches in Uxbridge. It had also been the subject of debate in at least one Grade 7 class. The students argued on the basis of what they could read about the Reception Centre in the local paper and the opposition point of view won quite handily.

The May 12 newspaper carried two 'pro' letters and two 'anti' letters. The DPRC had a letter campaign going by this time. The letters were being written by one person and were picked up and delivered to the paper by whoever was signing them.

The reception centre proposal was discussed at the May 19 meeting of the Uxbridge Development Association, a group of local business people. It was decided that the association would not take an official stand on the matter as the half dozen members at the meeting did not want to speak for the other 45. The president of the association said in an interview that no public statement had been made by the group as a whole or by individual members because they were in agreement with council's position. However, should council reverse their decision the association might take action.

The Uxbridge Times-Journal of May 19 carried five letters from members of the DPRC. No new arrangements were raised. (see footnote #10).

About 50 people in opposition to the centre turned up at the May 20 meeting of council. representatives from CPS men when they tried to speak and answer questions. In response, the mayor asked the hecklers rather impolitely to leave if they couldn't behave like ladies and gentlemen.

Council turned down a motion to hold a plebiscite on the issue. They decided to form a steering committee to organize a public information program, the members of which would be chosen by the mayor.

After the council meeting the DPRC held a meeting of its own. It was agreed that the form of the committee should change. So far they had been asking for more information. Now they would take a stand against the institution until they received information to change their thinking. The final count of the ballot was recorded in the minutes - 233 for, 197 more information and 1,346 against. The group also drafted a letter of inquiry to the local MP. (see footnote #11).

In response to the interest shown by the administrator of the Cottage Hospital, a representative of the medical and health care services branch of CPS paid a visit to Uxbridge on May 25. The representative met with the administrator and the president of the medical staff and toured the facilities making a personal assessment of how CPS could utilize the hospital.

Also on May 25 the Solicitor General sent a reply to the lawyer who wrote requesting information in February. The letter outlined the service's mini-penitentiary policy.

The DPRC published a statement in the Times-Journal on May 26. The group defined itself as, "a group of concerned residents in the Uxbridge area, including farmers, home-owners, wives and mothers, businessmen and professional people who like our rural way of life and don't want to see it drastically changed." They went on to voice some doubts and questions about the Reception Centre. "What sort of guarantee would there be against future expansion... Common sense would indicate that a minimum population of 25,000 to 50,000 is needed for such an institution to blend into the economy rather than to dominate and overwhelm as we fear would be the case here."

Also in the paper that week, an editorial backed the stand taken by the Ministerial. Three letters from the DPRC were published, one of which criticized the mayor for irresponsible behaviour/ A prominent businessman also wrote to the paper pointing up the economic benefits of the institution. (see footnote #11).

During the first half of the month of June an exchange occurred between one citizen who accused the newspaper of being controlled in their opinion on the issue and the news editor who tried to explain the principle of objectivity in reply. (see footnote #12). An interesting comment was also included in an anonymous column written by the top-ranking Liberal in the township. In his weekly Letter From Orvill, he commented that, "Every time I go to town people are talking about the 'pen'. Next thing we'll be having buttons for and against. Its getting ta be like that likker vote we had bout ten years ago that left alotta bitter feeling around. So I hope every buddy starts thinking more and sayin less."

The first meeting of the steering committee appointed by the mayor was held on June 3. The committee was weighted in favor of the institution. It was made up of three CPS officials, one councillor in favor of the institution and one against, the regional councillor, a citizen in favor and two members of the DPRC. The committee's purpose was to provide the public with more information and they called themselves the Uxbridge CPS Information Committee (UCIC). At the first meeting they chose two people to act as co-chairman, the citizen in favor and the Deputy Regional Director of CPS. In order to carry out their aim and set up an information program the services of a consultant were considered. A CPS representative was authorized to seek out at least three consulting firms to make representations to the committee at their next meeting.

On June 8 the administrator of the Cottage Hospital received a written report from the CPS representatives who had visited the hospital. The medical staff of the hospital would not have adequate time to provide medical services to a penitentiary, the report stated. The administrator reported to the Hospital Planning Committee on June 10.

The UCIC met on June 11 to select a consulting firm. Four consultants make presentations including the man who had approached CPS in December 1975 with his ideas and his firm was unanimously chosen to run the information program. The DPRC members of the committee were notified of the meeting that morning. One left the meeting early, the other arrived late and had to leave shortly thereafter. Neither one was present for the vote. The councillor opposed to the institution was not present for the final vote either.

On June 17 the local MP wrote a reply to the letter he received from the DPRC several weeks before. He wrote about his position in the matter, "I did not initiate consideration of a penitentiary in Uxbridge; I did not and do not advocate that a penitentiary be located in Uxbridge. However, I am repelled by the thought that people would oppose such a penitentiary for the wrong reasons perhaps ignoring their responsibility to the community as a whole." The letter was printed in full in the Uxbridge Times-Journal on June 23.

The UCIC met again on June 21 to give the consultant his terms of reference and the aims of the program were outlined.

1. to succeed - public awareness program
2. public fully informed about CPS - Reception Centre
3. to involve the public as much as possible and use the citizens to spread the work - not to give the impression that it is solidly a CPS program but a citizen's program.
4. to convey the total impact of the institution - jobs, grant in lieu of taxes
5. opportunity for citizens to express their concerns
6. inform re" type of security employed
7. opportunity to have their legitimate fears relieved
8. when all done, no one can say, "I didn't know anything about it or have the opportunity to say so."
9. solicit constructive suggestions to relieve concerns
10. solicit an informed response from as many interested citizens as possible concerning their preferences about the facility.
11. minimize decisions within the community - by the time wer are finished the citizens will allow council to make the decision

The agreement with the consultant covered a two-stage contract. The program was to be tentatively completed by Oct. 29 with the provision that it could be extended until Jan. 31, 1977 if necessary. The budget for the short program was set at \$49,500.

The first step in the program was the hiring of a Community Liason Worker, preferably someone who lived in the Township. This person would co-ordinate the program. The consultant's assistant interviewed several applicants who had responded to an employment ad in the paper, but they were not found to be suitable. She then went to Manpower

and talked to local officials (Clerk, Agriculture Rep., the high school principal and staff at St. John's Training School) in an effort to find someone locally for the job. She interviewed several people in Oshawa and then received an application from a resident of one of the hamlets in Uxbridge Township. The woman was hired on July 19.

At the same time a brochure was being prepared for distribution to all 4,000 households in the township. All the information in the brochure, entitled, "A Regional Reception Centre for Uxbridge Township? The Prose and Cons," was obtained from CPS. The consultant's assistant, who did the bulk of the writing, had not yet paid a visit to an institution.

The brochure has to contain a mail-in postcard asking people to outline what bothered them about a Reception Centre, what subjects they wanted more information about and what factors should be considered in selecting a site. The next stages in the information program would be two sets of Open Houses, one in August and one in October, and another brochure.

On June 22 the planning and development committee of Durham Region (Uxbridge and Scugog are member townships) submitted a draft Official Plan which contained a designation for certain lands to be used for a penitentiary. It also carried a paragraph stating, "In recognition of the proposal to locate a Federal Reception Centre in the Township of Uxbridge, it is the policy of this plan that notwithstanding any other provisions in this Plan to the contrary, such a reception centre may be located in the Township of Uxbridge subject to it being recognized in the restricted area by-law." Rezoning would not be required. The Regional Councillor for Uxbridge is vice-president of the committee.

The DPRC held a meeting with the local MP on July 18 or 19. The MP requested that they supply him with a list of their reasons for opposing the institution. He also promised the committee that no decision would be made until after the municipal election, December 6.

(Earlier in the spring the MP had confided to the top-ranking Liberal in the township that if the Reception Centre was not located in Uxbridge it wouldn't go to Scugog.)

On July 22 a Lawyer who was a member of the DPRC wrote a letter outlining the group's plans for the Dec. 6 township election. plans to one of the committee's UCIC representatives. The recipient of the letter should run for mayor, he wrote. The letter stated that DPRC candidates should take the position that they had been led to consider taking part in the election because of council's: 1) lack of concern for proper development, and 2) inflexible and arrogant attitude towards the electorate.

The main thrust of their platform would be threefold: a strong stand against gravel pits, proper development of Uxbridge Township to preserve the pleasant rural and urban property use mixture, and the attraction of "compatible" growth. "We don't want to be inundated with subdivisions to penitentiaries, rendering plants or gravel pits."

The letter listed three members of council, all for the Reception Centre, which the DPRC would run against and one councillor, against the Reception Centre, which the committee would work with.

A UCIC meeting was held on July 26, One of the DPRC members submitted his resignation on the grounds that he did not have the time to attend the meetings. (This same person was considering running for mayor in four months.)

The content of the brochure was reviewed and information for presentation at the August set of Open Houses was discussed. The Regional Councillor stated at the meeting that the Township Council had decided

they were going to have a reception centre no matter what the results of the information program were. The DPRC representative reacted to the statement wondering why the program was being carried out if the council was not going to be receptive. CPS reiterated their stand that they wouldn't build where they weren't welcome.

Also on July 26 the Project Manager of DPW told the purchasing agent to let the Offer to Sell for Site #9 expire.

Late in July the Liason Worker and the consultant's assistant visited Warkworth institution and Kingston Pen.

On August 4, the Uxbridge Times-Journal published a press release from CPS which stated that an inquiry into the hostage-taking incident at the British Columbia penitentiary, February 19, revealed that outdated facilities and over crowding were responsible for the occurrence. (see footnote # 13)

The paper also carried a letter to the editor which quoted an anonymous government official talking about prisons, criminals and guards. His judgement was that the effect of a prison on a small town could be "devastating." (see footnote # 13)

On August 5 a visit to Ste. Anne des Plaines, the Regional Reception Centre for Quebec opened in 1973, was arranged for members of the UCIC and the press. The Regional Councillor was the only committee member to take advantage of the trip. Reporters were sent from the Uxbridge Times-Journal and the Stouffville Tribune.

The brochure was now ready to be mailed out. A preview for elected officials was held on August 9. Federal, provincial, and municipal politicians were invited. Three councillors and the township clerk turned up.

The brochures were mailed the next day and a press conference was held. The Times-Journal was the only media to send a reporter. An awkward question

and answer session took place with the consultant, his two employees, three members of the UCIC and the reporter. It was mentioned at the meeting that the consultant had been approached by the DPRC and asked if he wanted a booth at the Uxbridge Fair, Sept. 11 - 13. They told him they had planned to set up a booth. The consultant told them he would consider sharing a booth but wouldn't go in on his own. (Members of the Fair Board and the DPRC later denied the request had been made.) A UCIC member phoned the reporter after the meeting to ask that the information not be used. It wasn't.

Articles describing Ste. Annes des Plaines, its physical lay-out, security and inmate programs appeared in the Uxbridge Times-Journal on August 11 and in the Stouffville Tribune on August 12. The Uxbridge reporter came out in favor of the type of institution, headlining the article, "Ste. Anne des Plaines, Canada's Modern Reception Centre - It works."

The Liason Worker met with the DPRC representative on the UCIC that week to find out what his concerns were. As he explained it to her his main concern was that Uxbridge could get a better deal. As far as moral responsibility went, Uxbridge had been chosen, what the real situation about drugs was, what happened to people who worked as security guards, and how legitimate the claims were about the grant and the number of jobs that would be available.

Open Houses were held in three places, Uxbridge, Goodwood and Zephyr, on August 23, 24, and 25. The sessions ran from 2 p.m. to 9 p.m. and were staffed by the liason Worker, the consultant's assistant, CPS officials, member of the Citizen's Advisory Committee in Warkworth and an inmate from Warkworth.

There were 18 panels set on easels, containing information explaining:

1. the information program
2. CPS
3. the purpose of a Reception Centre
4. the lay-out of a Reception Centre
5. the number of inmates and types of offenses
6. security precautions at the institution
7. possible economic and social impact

Possible economic impact: job creation, annual grant of \$80,000 to \$100,000, increase in local purchasing power due to increased population and income, many local tradesmen would be employed in the construction program and many materials would be purchased locally, the institution would purchase some goods and services locally.

Possible social impact: interaction between residents and institution - the institution is self-sufficient with respect to security and will not need to rely on the local police system, will use local hospital in case of emergencies, some involvement of service groups and volunteers, community may use facilities during off-hours, increased population, risk of poor community image developing, risk that inmates may have drug dependencies which may increase the availability and use of drugs in the community.

Impact on community and social services: water, sewer and hydro, additional traffic on roads, additional demand for other public and private facilities eg. schools, businesses, banks.

Impact on housing and other accommodation: demand for temporary accommodation during construction, demand for housing for employees, change in property values - risk of reduced values - risk of increased values, may use land suitable for other purposes eg. agriculture or housing, families and friends of inmates are not likely to move into the area due to the short period of the inmate's stay.

Future impact: any future enlargements of RRC will require a building permit from the Township council and involvement of the public in CPS's planning of the new facility, the Regional Reception Centre will

not be converted to another use eg. minimum security.

A slide presentation of Ste. Anne des Plaines was run at the Open Houses as well as a video taped interview with the inmate in attendance from Warkworth. UCIC members took note of comments and questions voiced by citizens. About 40 people signed up for a bus tour to Warkworth.

In all, the attendance was 225. Some excused the poor turnout on bad timing; farmers were taking in the hay that week and many people were on vacation. Others were of the opinion that everyone was tired of the whole issue, or felt it was out of their hands.

A Letter published in the Uxbridge Times-Journal on August 25 asked for a referendum on the issue. The letter also pointed up the fact that the expenses of the reporter for the Times-Journal and the Regional Councillor on the trip to Ste. Anne des Plaines had been paid for by CPS. Another letter talked about the stigma of a prison town. (see footnote # 4)

The deadline for submission of the brochure postcards was August 31.

The Regional Councillor wrote a letter which was published in the September 1 edition of the Times-Journal. It was basically a rebuttal of the letter the week before, a public defense of his reputation. "When (the consultant) was hired by the committee... to conduct the Information Program his tendered price included money for such purposes as publicity, trips for any committee member, councillor or any ratepayer in the Twp. to travel to the various institutions... If I'm guilty of anything surely it must be that I left my family at the cottage in the middle of my holidays and travelled 140 miles to Toronto to catch the flight to Montreal travelling 1200 miles in one day. To be accused of not charging the taxpayers of the Township of Uxbridge instead of the Federal Government is nothing more than dumb."

On September 2 the UCIC met and the consultant presented a preliminary tabulation of the postcard response, based on the 256 postcards received by August 26.

In response to the question 'What bothers you?' the most frequent response was related to security. Local politics and comments on council ranked second along with the idea that the Reception Centre would lend a certain stigma to the town. 'Everything', was another frequent answer. Also mentioned were: reduction in property values, possible strain on local roads and services, fear of expansion or change of use, the institution would drive other industry away, distrust of the federal government, grant in lieu of taxes was insignificant, penal system too soft, already have St. John's Training School.

POSTSCRIPT

The public participation program continued with the second phase of their information blitz.

On September 9, 43 citizens took a bus trip to Warkworth where they toured the maximum security institution and met with nearby residents. Two weeks later another 23 citizens were bused to Warkworth on a similar tour.

A 16-page question and answer booklet was distributed throughout the community on September 27. It was left in stores, libraries, Post Offices and banks, for the persual of interested citizens. In the meantime the second information brochure was being prepared and on October 5 it was mailed out to 3,500 households.

The second series of Open House in Zephyr, Goodwood and Uxbridge, was held October 18-20.

A final report on the participation program said that about 700 copies of the question and answer booklet were picked up. The final brochure drew 952 post cards, a 28 per cent rate of increase. Of these, 80 per cent were opposed to the reception centre. Total attendance at the Open House was 362: Zephyr, 54; Goodwood, 58; Uxbridge, 250.

The final report was presented to the UCIC on October 29, it outlines the program, tables the results and offers a list of conclusions and recommendations.

The overriding reason for opposition to the centre was security, it was reported. Thirty-nine per cent of the respondents mentioned it. The other major reasons for opposition were: community stigma, 17%; want other industry, 11%; discontent with CPS philosophy, 10%; ship them north, 10%; undesirable visitors and new residents, 10%.

Reasons for supporting the idea were listed as : social responsibility, 31%; provides employment, 23%.

Those who supported the idea listed their reasons as; social responsibility, provides employment, asset to the community, facts support it, helps the economy.

The report made five recommendations, at least two of which were followed through. First of all, it "strongly" recommended that the issue be placed on the December 6 ballot in the municipal election. Secondly, it also "strongly" recommended that CPS identify several specific sites for the public's benefit.

"These sites should meet, as far as possible, the selection criteria supported by the public i.e. conserve agricultural land and the natural environment, avoid named communities, be screened from public view and involve the rehabilitation of a worked-out gravel site."

Thirdly, the report suggested that after the elections to be held in December CPS officials and the new council should meet before any announcement was made about the location of the reception centre.

The report recommended that site studies be carried out on a regional basis in the future instead of on a township basis and that during the final stage of site location studies, citizens should be given the opportunity to register their opinions in a confidential fashion, i.e. a mailed ballot or referendum.

CPS carried through on the first two recommendations. The issue was dealt with in a referendum on December 6. Before that came about however, CPS identified three "model" sites for the reception centre and interested citizens were given bus tours. These sites were not actually under active consideration with CPS but were chosen to illustrate the type of thing they were looking for which might satisfy the criteria chosen by the citizens.

The final test of public opinion came during the municipal election in December. The regional councillor and the mayor of the township, the original proponents of the reception centre were both running for the mayor's office.

A prominent citizen's member of the UCIC, a woman in favor of the reception centre, was running for a seat on council and two members of the DPRC were in the race - one for mayor and one for a seat on council.

It was a hotly contested election.

The penitentiary issue was placed on a referendum ballot which read, "Are you in favor of the Canadian Penitentiary Service establishing a regional reception centre in the Township of Uxbridge? Yes. No."

The results were clear-cut. The referendum results registered 2,809 "No," and 970 "Yes."

Turnout in the election was high. Sixty per cent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. If only resident voters are counted the percentage shoots up to over 70.

In 1974 only 39 per cent voted.

The regional councillor and the mayor were both defeated by the candidate representing the DPRC.

The next thing that was heard about the reception centre was in a motion passed by council on January 3, 1977. The motion was a formal acknowledgement of the results of the referendum which thanked CPS for their interest in the area but said "no thanks" to their proposal for a reception centre. The motion also invited CPS to approach Uxbridge Township for any other programs as long as they did not involve penitentiary.

Footnote #1FOOTNOTES

Excerpts from letters to the Port Perry Star, July 9, 1975

1. "I personally feel that the people of Port Perry would benefit from an institution as proposed by the federal government. My reasons are as follows:

It will create jobs not only in the fields of security and psychiatry but also secretarial, financial (bookkeeping) as well as administrative.

I can't see property values decreasing at any greater a rate than it has lately and I can't think why insurance rates would increase more than they presently are."

2. "Whether or not it can be proven that we have to fear from the establishment of a penitentiary, the outcome I am sure will be a total change in the outlook and emotional climate that is a great part of the community's strength. We will lock our doors day and night, worry about our children coming from school, think twice about helping a stranger, and live always aware of the possibility of a riot or escape."
3. Quoting at random from an article in Readers Digest, March 75. "Some prison guards have called rehabilitation a monumental farce costing taxpayers millions of dollars.

Killers on Pass. One of Ottawa's most notable reforms - temporary absence passes - has also caused the greatest public outcry...In 1972, a convicted sex offender was granted a pass from B.C.'s Agassic Mountain prison and killed the seven-year-old daughter of a prison guard. Last November, a convicted murderer, Arthur Gagnier, killed two people after he was granted a pass from Quebec's medium security, Cowansville prison.

Tom Ellis, former director of the Saskatchewan Penitentiary in Prince Albert, voices a deeper concern" "Although we have more temporary absences and a more

atmosphere, we've had more violence.'...

Guards' salaries are low (starting about \$175 weekly). Guards' fears for their own safety are often well-founded. 'I always figured prisoners were getting a tough deal,' admits a New Brunswick guard, a former journalist. 'But you know that at any time, any place, you can get a knife in your throat.'"

4. About the STP letter.

"The letter sent out by the STP committee indicates we already have among us something much more dangerous to the health of our community than a penitentiary processing centre; namely, hysteria."

5. About the STP letter.

"As one who works in a jail, I can say that the public has a very limited and sometimes disturbed view about your judicial systems. Any happenings that take place in these institutions are played up by the news media with the result that the public tend to have an exaggerated and hysterical view of these things."

FOOTNOTES #2

Letters to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, July 16, 1975

1. "I have spoken to several neighbours and friends in the area that...  
would be willing to do battle for our beliefs.

Your idea that inmates would not stay in the area is probably right - but whose car would they thieve to get where they're going - and whose home would they plunder for pocket money (for food and gas) and whose spouse and/or children would be abducted as hostage?

You mention St. John's School and the rarity of problems from the source - you do not deny that from time to time there has been a problem or two and this is not a maximum security institution. This does not indicate that Uxbridge should house as many undesirable lawbreakers as possible.

It has been mentioned that a sizeable federal grant would be forthcoming. Would such a grant cover the cost of additional law enforcement officers? Would it cover the cost of servicing the land and the upkeep of the roads leading to the area? Would local people honestly want to work in such an institution which we know it can at times be very hazardous to their very lives? Would the grant decrease by any amount the peace of mind loss that everyone would suffer?"

2. "It would be better to have an institution built a half-mile this side of the township boundary than a half-mile the other side of it."

FOOTNOTE #3

Excerpt from a letter to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, Aug. 7, 1975, excerpt.

"...(Regional Councillor) stated and I quote him, 'Uxbridge has had St. John's Training School for 15 years and had little trouble.' That must be the statement of the year! Inference to the incident last month, when an elderly

lady was held at gunpoint on the Reach Road."

FOOTNOTE #4

Excerpts from letters to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, Aug. 20, 1975.

1. "Anyone thinking in terms of commercial benefits should consider that contracts for construction and for the supply of goods and services would be let by tender, and no doubt large and experienced Toronto companies would outbid and outperform local businessmen who might hope to profit from such an enterprise. As far as staff is concerned, most of them would come from existing penal service and, because of the experience and qualifications needed, there would be only limited opportunities for locals.

Also, we do not think there would be great, if any, tax advantages...

Last, but not least, there would be the constant danger of prisoners escaping with all this night entail. As in the recent North Bay incident, hostages might be taken and cars or trucks stolen for a getaway. Surely no one in Uxbridge Township wants to be afraid to answer a knock on his door, have to keep his house locked up at all times or to live in constant fear of being attacked by an escaped convict?"

2. "The careless manner in which weekend and other passes are handed out to hardened criminals these days - witness the past week's events around North Bay, should make anyone stop and think, It would not be only the St. John's boys you would be expected to do but professional murderers, rapists, psychos, burglars etc...

Imagine coming home some day to find a member of your family a hostage among many other possible things that could happen. This is what would happen because an escapee has to reclothe and equip himself immediately before going

any distance away."

3. "What's good for Scugog is good for Uxbridge. No pen for Scugog, no pen for Uxbridge."

Footnote # 5

Excerpts from letters to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, Aug. 27, 1975.

1. "...I am still definitely and unalterably opposed. I do not want this in my backyard and ... would not foist it on my neighbors. (The Deputy Regional Director) could give no assurance whatever that this institution would remain a maximum security centre in the future."

2. "...the real issue was not discussed, which the (Deputy Regional Director) said ... was, "should we be spending upwards of eight million dollars at this time on a new theory of prison reform?" (He) said he was just following orders and trying to place a new type of 'small' institution for the analysis of prisoners. Once again the bureaucrats in Ottawa are proposing to spend millions on a questionable and academic theory at a time when inflation, mainly caused by excess government spending, is eating away at our economy. (The Deputy Regional Director) admitted that existing facilities at Burwash or Kingston were suitable if modernized. Let us have industry and growth in Uxbridge, but let it not be questionable, non-productive and non-taxable. (The Deputy Regional Director) refused after the meeting to comment on location or need, saying that these were policy matters that were decided on by our federal member."

FOOTNOTE #6

Complete list of DPRC reasons for opposition.

Spokesman #1

- seemed general public didn't want it
- heard site was to be announced
- impact on community
- lose present identity, become 'jail-town'.
- fear of possible escapes
- prison sub-culture
- would like purpose to be more visible

Spokesman #2

- heard that site was to be announced in two weeks
- felt that most people didn't want it
- size - why looking for 100 acres if its to house 180 people
- what guarantee was there that it will stay a reception centre
- other industry available
- opposed to council for not listening to 1,700 people
- institution can be overwhelming to a community of 3m500
- sub-culture
- people who work there will wind up being brutalized after a number of years

Spokeman #3

- shouldn't be in a built-up area
- insurance rates will rise
- calling it a reception centre is misleading, maximum security
- how many people in Uxbridge will be capable of getting jobs in the pen

Spokeman #4

- property values would drop
- wouldn't help taxes

Spokesman #5

- property values would drop

Spokeman #6

- no confidence in federal and municipal governments
- against the whole program, new system
- rural, residential, small business area is not the place for a pen
- should use existing facilities

Spokesman #7

- Uxbridge too small
- institution might change functions
- should be nearer city
- Jail Farm could be used
- Is the opinion of the people going to be respected?

Spokesman #8

- calling it a reception centre is misleading, really maximum security prison
- told us there would be 180 jobs available, didn't mention there would be transfers from Kingston Pen
- grant - government never gives you as much as they tell you they will
- change of lifestyle would result
- I don't want it beside me, so I won't shove it on someone else
- 70 per cent of the crime in Kingston is pen related

Spokesman #9

- tried to talk to the mayor and regional councillor about opinions, they took a very hard line
  - institution would attract a sub-culture
  - increase in welfare
  - 'undesirables' would come into the community, not gainfully employed
  - guards - in a maximum security institution the pressures are so great that when they are off duty they hit the bottle as a safety valve, become brutalized, home and family life not the most ideal as a result of their work
  - wife and kids would be vulnerable if left alone
  - no economic benefit - institutions buy in bulk from DSS
  - most of grant in lieu would go to the Region
  - should be located in Toronto as a wing of the Queen St. Mental Health Unit or in a well-designed modern highrise
  - would like Uxbridge to stay rural
  - council has refused other industry
- council was misleading the people about employment possibilities
- Why was Uxbridge chosen
  - couldn't find anyone in favor except mayor and regional councillor

Spokeman #10

- most people seem to be against
- stigma of a prison town
- would create a feeling that people don't want in a rural community
- other industry would be as good or better from a tax point of view
- danger of escapes
- don't want it next door to me and wouldn't wish it on a neighbour
- have had some unpleasant experiences with boys from St. John's Training School
- if go to hospital and there is an inmate in the hospital as well, with a guard at the door, it would create tension

- It is something like a lightning storm - there is always a fear of being hit.  
If we had a pen down the road there would always be that fear that someone might go over the wall and hold my wife hostage or steal a car.
- land values would drop

Spokesman #11

- when I was young I had an experience with a convict hiding in our neighbourhood - it was not pleasant and I do not need to expose my children to that
- would sooner have a mental institution than a penitentiary
- stigma of a prison town
- fear of escapes
- opposed to system - criminals locked up but some are eating better than people on the street
- annoyance with one particular council member who went on his own and asked for the institution
- council has turned down other industry

Spokesman #12

- proximity of criminally oriented men and their entourage of friends
- stigma
- posterity will not thank us for changing this pleasant countryside
- the facility will degenerate, become overcrowded
- should be in a less populated area - on an island, inhospitable terrain

Spokesman #13

- institution will be there forever
- possibility of change of use
- stigma

Spokesman #14

- council is going ahead although the majority of people don't want it. They are concerned with the dollar point of view, not the good of the community
- Why Uxbridge?
- it should be in a large community where it can be absorbed rather than in a small community where it would stand out
- just doesn't want it
- council has not been very aggressive in trying to attract new industry

Spokesman #15

- would have to lock doors, be afraid of sending children to school with children of prisoners
- drugs in community
- immoral living in the community

FOOTNOTE #7

Excerpt from a letter to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, April 21, 1976.

"...My wife's immediate reaction was that she would not like to be alone at the farmhouse or live there if she had to be alone for any length of time...You may not know that a Federal Penitentiary handles only hardened criminals, murderers, and danerous sex offenders, generally with a prison term of over two years...Dangerous criminals escaping from Federal Penitentiaries, using hostages and other methods is becoming a common occurence.

From an economic point of view a penitentiary in the area would have the immediate effect of raising insurance rates, lowering property values and creating an image for Uxbridge as a "penitentiary town". That image is tarnished to some extent already by the presence of St. John's Training School which has created many problems in the area.

The advantages to be gained by the establishment of a penitentiary would be the employment of a number of prison guards and other prison officials in the area who live daily with criminals and must, because of their inmate contact, eventually become brutalized themselves."

FOOTNOTE #8

Excerpt from a letter to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, April 28, 1976.

"What....is likely to follow the establishment of this proposed penitentiary? A marked devaluation of the properties in the immediate area...once the site is made known. An increased demand on police services... The possibility of increases in our road, fire and other municipal service budgets in order to meet the requirements of our new "industry". The very real possibility that the establishment of this penitentiary may become a deterrent in future attempts to attract other industry to our area..."

"Last to be stated, but perhaps first in importance, some of the very real social consequences of such an establishment, It won't be fun when an inmate escapes, the road blocks go up and we all live through the possibility of personal involvement with kidnapping and violent death."

FOOTNOTE #9

Letters and comments attached to ballots.

1. voted against, "because of the lack of guaranteed truthful information we have received."
2. "This is another example of lack of concern for the citizens of Uxbridge and Durham in our planning. There are many people who would like to settle in our lovely township but our planning for homes and proper support industries seems to be keeping them out, but let penitentiaries, gravel pits and the like in."
3. "...read in the Toronto Star the actual cost of recovering an escaped convict is \$125,000. Apparently the cost was shared by several municipalities therefore I cannot see us accepting \$100,000 taxes from the penitentiary as it would be depleted so fast by red tape and all the other unforeseen items...Uxbridge needs industry to carry its own weight and to give employment to people that have to go to Markham, Toronto or elsewhere."
4. "What are they going to do with a man 50 years of age who has served 25 years? Are they going to release him? If he wasn't crazy when he went in, he will be when he comes out.  
  
"Sooner or later, Uxbridge like all other areas, will have to accept its responsibilities. Other areas have the same rights we have. Port Perry may get the \$100,000 and Uxbridge could get the escapees."
5. "Soon when the government grant is up then us, the taxpayer, has to support the Pen. My answer is No."

6. "The whole thought is a nightmare and I for one would not stay in the district even though I have been around for 30 years."

7. "St. John's School is enough."

8. "In my opinion I hopefully await the announcement from Ottawa that will choose Uxbridge to be lucky enough to receive the Penitentiary.

"Since we have been done out of the airport by a lot of foolishness and selfishness on the part of many misinformed meddlers, we should seize on this small opportunity to have something here. There are precious few jobs in this area and we desperately need more."

"As for the grant in lieu of taxes, if you can afford to lose \$22 a year tax credit, I can not."

9. "What difference does it make when a prisoner is moved from this pen after 8 weeks and replaced by another (perhaps worse) prisoner. Don't you have a prisoner all the time? We will have 180 rapists, and murderers and hold-up men all the time. Why is not the pen located at Burwash, nice broad acres, etc., and already owned by the government. I understand it was closed because of lack of business or did the prisoners complain because it was too hard to escape from? Will anyone be prohibited from picking up pedestrians for a five or 10 mile stretch by the penitentiary as it was at Burwash?

"Will the taxes be reduced because of the pen?

"Local services will have to be extended most likely at a cost to the present taxpayer. The benefits if any to the local businessmen will be small because the big items are let out by tender they would have to compete with larger firms."

FOOTNOTE #10

Excerpts from letters to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, May 19.

1. "It is the height of immorality to encourage a penitentiary in our area without a thorough evaluation of social and financial costs on residents, employees and future generations."
2. "Those opposed feel that a second correctional institution could permently damage the character of Uxbridge."
3. "Yes, we need industry. We don't need a holding centre for criminals. Let's encourage industry to come to Uxbridge and get those jobs for our people."
4. "All I can say is if they do build a prison in Uxbridge Township I hope they put it next door to (the regional councillor's) house, or next door to the minister who wants it."
5. The writer described a robbery attributed to boys from St. John's Training School.

"All this damage was done by mere boys. God help us when it is no longer boys but fully grown men, possibly mentally ill, what kind of property damage and personal harm will occur."

FOOTNOTE #11

Excerpts from letters to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, May 26, 1976.

1. Letter from DPRC to the local MP.

"It appears that the Uxbridge Township council has invited the Federal Solicitor General to build a federal prison in out agricultural and residential township. We believe they are acting in good faith, but their zeal for the good of the community has led them to act precipitously and to distort facts, for example trying to make us believe it is not a prison for serious criminals by calling it a 'reception centre'.

We believe they are acting in ill-advised haste because our survey (which we were advised is a statistically accurate sample) shows that 75 per cent of the

votes are opposed to the prison, 12 per cent think more information is required and only 13 per cent are in favor.

We urge you to get the Solicitor General to immediately halt all action relating to locating the project until the citizens have been canvassed through a plebiscite.

Although (a CPS official) has denied they are trying to purchase land, we can give you specific examples to the contrary.

2. "Given the form statement of the Penitentiary Service that it is not in the interests of the Service to impose an unwanted institution on a community, we can be reasonably confident that there will never be an 'Uxbridge Reception Centre'."

3. Referring to the May 20 meeting of council,

"The conduct of the meeting shows an attitude of mind on behalf of the council's presiding officer that is totally inconsistent with the responsibilities of a first officer of a growing and expanding community."

4. "Apart from taxes of \$100,000 I figure conservatively a payroll of in excess of \$50,000 per week and will certainly see at least half of the stay in town. This town can use it NOW. As for other industry - well, if and when it happens along then let's consider it and accommodate it but don't tell me to wait another 20 years or more for the same economic advantages that can be had with the current topic of conversation."

'The Case For' and 'The Case Against' were published in full in the September 10 issue of the Port Perry Star.

The major points in favor were listed as:

1. It is equalivalent to an industry best suited to our community;
2. It is a 'clean' industry: creates no pollution or other ecological menace;
3. It is maximum security more to be desired than if it were minimum or medium;
4. It will provide 180 jobs opportunities; probably 100 of these will be available to local people. The requirements for employment set a fairly high educational standard enhancing our cultural potential;
5. Staff can be expected to be 'stable'; Ontario turnover is eight per cent;
6. Salary scales are now good;
7. Annual payroll of two million will have a real impact on the local economy, and the additional one million annually for goods and services may attract other commercial establishments;
8. Construction ... is bound to have some local beneficial impact during the two years, more or less, of development;
9. Associated services generated by the facility will add to the direct job opportunities;
10. Grant in lieu of taxes, at present estimate should be equal to about 5 mills;
11. It will provide all of us with a challenge to put our social conscience to work: to prove in some small way that we our are brothers keeper;

The major points in opposition were:

1. By its very nature a penitentiary is a place of fear, hostility and tension;
2. Inmates may be considered for weekend passes after four weeks and sources in Kingston indicate that many inmates on passes chose not to travel home, but to spend their time on the local streets;
3. Undesirable publicity would be given to the township as noteworthy members of the underworld were processed;
4. Convicts would be at the centre during the period of greates personal stress;

FOOTNOTE #12

Excerpts from the Uxbridge Times-Journal.

June 2, 1976.

"When a vested interest like the Uxbridge Times-Journal suddenly invokes moral law in trying to promote the federal prison reception centre it is, in my opinion, the ultimate in jiggery-pokery and means that the previous economic arguments advanced by it are not doing the job they were thought to be doing.

(Reporting on the May 20 council meeting), the Times-Journal took the position that the meeting had been "unruly" and the speaker so uncouthly heckled "from the word go" that the mayor was forced to abandon procedures for public discussion. The Toronto Star however, which also reported on this important meeting indicated the mayor had closed off discussion arbitrarily and was heckled after he had done so. My wife who attended the meeting says the mayor was heckled by one person before his ruling and that The Star, on balance, had the more accurate coverage."

June 9, 1976

"I have taken no stand on this issue - nor will I take a stand. I present the facts that are available. I present the fact of the centre that could affect this area. I present the facts on economic values released by the Canadian Penitentiary Services...

"However it does not surprise me that certain members of the opposition have attacked my writing as being biased. I was expecting it. In an argument where emotions are the mainstay and the facts are no longer relevant, they will fight and every printed word that does not ring of "get rid of the pen."...I am willing to accept the kind of hassle. But when a man writes a letter to the editor and makes accusations with no grounds for proof, he had also better be ready to accept the same hassle. And as one who said my writing was biased, and one who admitted not even attending the meeting in question, he should check out his own "biased" sources - his wife, a member of the opposition."

June 16, 1976

"(The news editor's column last week was) rambling and imprecise and should have been edited by someone so that we could sort out just who she is accusing of what."

FOOTNOTE #13

Excerpts from the Uxbridge Times-Journal, August 4, 1976.

1. CPS release

"The outdated facilities and over-crowding seriously compromise the efficiency of the staff. The prevailing conditions make it difficult to react adequately under crisis conditions and the resulting frustrations lead to procedural difficulties...

Canadian Penitentiary Service Commissioner Andre Therien said that a more positive response from the public towards the building of new institutions would help bring an end to such incidents. The proposed new institutions were deliberately designed to allow efficient inmate population control and deployment of staff."

2. Letter to the editor quoting a senior government official. "The Prison Authorities in Ottawa are in conflict with each other...The conflict of viewpoint passes down through to the Wardons of the local Penitentiaries who, for lack of proper instruction and because of the confusing viewpoints, have been permitting criminals out on weekend passes without proper assessment as to his possible behaviour. As a result many crimes are committed on weekends by professional criminals out on temporary leave.

The prison staff... consists of guards who have been employed for many years and have a low education level...the type of prison employee who would move to the Uxbridge district would not possibly be welcome in the community.

The weekend pass system...has been widely quoted by Prison Officials as very successful since 98 to 99 per cent of those turned loose on the weekend return to the prison... What are those 98 per cent doing when they are out on leave? In the community where my correspondent lives the records show that every major crime in that community in the last five years, including murders, have been

caused by people on leave or on parole. Prisoners leaving the Prison for a weekend are under tremendous pressure by their criminal associates. They are instructed to meet 'so and so' at 'such and such' a place who would have a parcel to bring back to Prison. This opens up all sorts of illicit practises, including drug running in the Prison itself. Since the police are not informed ahead of time which prisoners are being released they do not know where to look for the perpetrators of many crimes and do not suspect that the criminals are using the Prisons as a hideout during the week as a base to perform their criminal activities during the weekend. The effect of all this on a small community could be devastating indeed."

The letter writer went on to say, on his own behalf:

"Regarding the "educators" which Ottawa has sent to the Uxbridge area for the purpose of promoting the penitentiary, there will be attempts to use statistics to tell us what nice fellows are being incarcerated in our Federal Penitentiaries or so-called "reception centres"."

FOOTNOTE #14

Excerpts from letters to the Uxbridge Times-Journal, August 25, 1976.

1. "In our opinion no public servant should accept any free services from interested parties - including the federal government - who have proposals before the Town Council... The Town Council should not take action on this watershed issue which could change the whole complexion of Uxbridge, without consent of the electorate as given in an election (the present Town Council was elected before this matter arose) or as given in a referendum."
2. "Based on discussions with people who live near the two 'prison towns' of Milhaven, Onatrio and Anamosa, Iowa, it is clear that the penitentiary has had a large influence on the community image. In both caes the most apparent effect is the fear associated with its presence... The more sutle and devastating effect

is stemmed from the stigma that Uxbridge is a prison town and this image becomes a factor which will be weighed by future residents and industries which may wish to locate in Uxbridge."

WARKWORTH STUDY

This part of the report contains a study of some aspects of the effects of the Warkworth medium security institution on the surrounding area.

This research project has examined the medium security federal prison located at Warkworth, Ontario and the nearby communities of Warkworth, Campbellford, Brighton, Trenton, and Belleville in an attempt to assess the institution's impact - economic, social and otherwise - on these communities.

The information contained in this report which testifies to the effects of the institution-community relationship was gathered from interviews conducted by the principal investigator with prison personnel, inmates and community members. In most instances this information has been substantiated either by interviews or via an analysis of public documents and official records which existed at the institution or within the community at the time of the investigation.

The report begins with a description of Warkworth institution and the principal communities affected by its presence. The effects of the institution, the staff and the inmates are then discussed with reference to the interaction which occurs between each of these components and surrounding communities.

The reader is reminded that information contained in this report is applicable to and reflects only the situation at the federal, medium security institution at Warkworth, Ontario and any attempt to generalize to other institutions of the same or different security classifications or of the same or different geographical situation would be erroneous.

Warkworth Institution is a medium security federal correctional institutional situated east of Ontario's Highway 30 and immediately south of the Percy-Brighton township boundary. The nearest communities of considerable size are Warkworth village, approximately 5 miles to the west, the town of Campbellford, 8 miles north, and the community of Brighton, 12 miles to the south.

While the prison buildings, concentrated on 48 of the institution's 200 acres of land, are not visible from Highway 30, a bright orange water tower beckoning from the midst of this predominantly rural area testifies to its existence. Interviews with local citizens and penitentiary staff suggest that the institution, as well as being physically unobtrusive,

raised few objections. The Canadian Penitentiary Service and Department of Public Works met with little resistance when local communities learned of their decision to locate a penitentiary in the area. In the words of a local publisher who denied the research staff access to back issues of his paper the prison was viewed as "a mixed blessing" and met with no "serious or organized opposition" that he could recall. Although people voiced concern over the possibility of escapes and decreased area land values such objections were overshadowed by the economic asset provided by local hiring and purchasing.

This overall acceptance of the institution by local citizens may have been spurred, in part, by the region's relative lack of industry and the local Member of Parliament's campaign promise to offset this deficit by enticing government industry to an area which had just seen the closure of a nearby government defense base.

Following Pauline Jewett's successful campaign the Department of Public Works began the process of choosing a prison site within her political constituency. The DPW employee responsible for site selection reports that the preferred location, approximately 10 miles from Peterborough, was vetoed by "the Minister's office" on what he presumes to be Jewett's request:

It was a good site from a building point of view. It wasn't hilly and expensive to develop. It was very close, in fact it butted onto as far as I remember, the river. And from the penitentiary point of view being fairly close to Peterborough it was ideal for staff from the point of view of somewhere to live. It was ideal from the point of view of somewhere to shop, of somewhere for children to go to school. Big enough entertainment. It had a university. We had a pool of professional staff right on our doorstep. ...But, we were told to get the hell out of there.

The selection process began again:

As I say, all I know, from my lowly position is that we had to get out of this site which we had found. Luckily we hadn't bought it. And go searching again. And we had a lot of trouble finding a site which gave us a reasonable building area and also access to this canal system. Because, as I remember it, further SE

down there the canal system close to the river was pretty swampy. And we ended up about 3/4 mile back from the river and spent an enormous amount of money on a filtration and pipeline to get the water back to the site.

This second site, located where Jewett's constituents would benefit most, apparently met with her acceptance. A former director of Warkworth made an interesting comment on Jewett's supposed role in site selection:

...at one time, early, that was very early in the game, the place was referred to as 'Pauline's place' and that was because she was supposed to have been instrumental in - so the story goes and again I'm just passing on hearsay - that she was the woman who was responsible for re-locating from Peterborough to the Warkworth area.

Today the institution is in its 9th year of operation. By Canadian standards it and its three medium security counterparts built during the same period - Springhill, N.S., Cowansville, Quebec, and Drumheller, Alta. - are new institutions. Indeed, if one were to remove the two wire fences that surround most of the institution's 20 buildings, it would not differ considerably in appearance from a modern college campus.

It is one of the few Canadian institutions operating on the living-unit concept first initiated at Springhill. Each of the four living units house 102 inmates and are staffed by 1 supervisor, 3-4 classification officers, and 12-13 Living Unit officers. The living unit officer, usually an ex-guard, dresses in civilian clothes. His role as described by the head of Warkworth Living Unit Programme in a Time magazine article (Dec. 4, 1974) "is to be counsellor on everyday matters and to get to know the individual inmate on a personal basis - daily welfare rather than in-depth therapy."

While Warkworth was originally designated as an A & Y institution for young and first time adult federal offenders, many suggest that these criteria have been altered in recent years to house the rising inmate population. Still, the institutional sentence administrator feels that the following inmate statistics, though gathered in 1974 and based on a population of 435 inmates, reflect the situation at Warkworth today.



Place of Sentence

<u>Area</u>	<u>% Population</u>
Toronto	39
Sudbury	7
Hamilton	6
Ottawa	5
London	4
Kitchener	3.5
Windsor	3.5
Brampton	2.5
Guelph	2.5
Others (Less than 10 persons)	27

During Warkworth institution's 9 years of operation it has proven itself a good citizen. Local communities accept its presence and if questioned about the impact the penitentiary has had on their daily lives their responses are pro-institution. Occasionally an ill-at-ease individual will make reference to escapes or a local businessman will chafe at the lack of local purchases by the institution, but most respond affirmatively citing local hiring, population increases and consequent increased local purchasing by staff as economic assets associated with the institution's placement.

An analysis of these, and other, effects of Warkworth institution follows.

Institution Effects

Even a penitentiary void of inmates will have considerable impact on surrounding communities.

These institution effects, discussed in the following pages, include:

- economic impact
- impact on local land values
- an environmental impact
- possible community access by prison facilities

Economic Impact

Like any other industry, a correctional institution may have a substantial economic impact upon the region that it is located in. This impact may be manifest in any of the following ways:

- local pruchasing of supplies and services
- provision of wages to employees
- a payment, in the form of a grant in lieu of taxes, to the township that the institution locates in

The Institution as Purchaser

Certainly an institution which consists of more than twenty buildings of various shapes, sizes and functions and which houses approximately 400 inmates and 300 staff has the potential for a substantial economic impact on the surrounding businesses, service industries and professionals. However, the extent of this "local impact" will be affected by government purchasing policies which prison personnel and local business people of Campbellford assert minimize the impact of the institution as purchaser. The government guidelines regarding purchasing favour regional as opposed to local buying, placing most purchasing authority in the hands of the Department of Supply and

Services, Ottawa and their regional office located in Collins Bay, Onatrio. The Purchase authority of the institution is outlined in Divisional Instruction #668 as follows:

Purchase of material will be made by the Department of Supply and Services Headquarters or regional purchasing offices, upon receipt of an authorized requisition unless:

1. the cost is less than \$100.00
2. the Department of Supply and Services Purchasing Officer has been apprised of all particulars and, having considered the total resource, operating and contingency cost, has authorized the customer to proceed with the purchase action; or
3. a situation has occurred which must be corrected immediately and the circumstances are such that the Department of Supply and Services involvement is not practical because the use of their services will clearly lead to excessive resource or time cost in relation to potential cost.

A policy of limited local purchasing is one which is not popular with the community as a former director of the institution explains:

"We don't spend very many dollars in Campbellford in terms of local purchase because everything is done on a tendering basis. That was a very sore point. I was a member of the Rotary Club and most of the people in the Rotary Club were the business people in the town. Jack Conner of Conner Lumber for example. He was always saying: "Christ, you guys are always building something down there. How come you never buy your lumber from me?" Every once in a while he would be sent a tendering form but how can Jack Conner in Campbellford compete with Peterborough Lumber for example. He just can't. And, on the Government tendering system, 99 time out of 100, its going to be the low tender that gets the bid.

"There was a creamery in Campbellford at one time, but we couldn't buy our butter from them. It's the biggest cheese producing area probably in Canada but we bought our cheese through Montreal. You know, how do you justify that to the business people of the community?"

Although government policy and the impression of both local business people and prison personnel suggest that the impact of the institution as purchaser is minimal, it is essential to substantiate these impressions with more objective data.

Local buying by the institution of goods and services may take the form of local purchase orders (LPO's), petty cash, or invoices. Each of these is reviewed below.

Local Purchase Orders

Three months (months 1,8 and 4) were randomly selected using a table of random numbers. A sample of the local Purchase Orders on file at the institution for these months over a five year period yielded the information contained in the following tables.

TABLE A

Local Purchase Orders For The Sample Period By Location Expenditure

<u>Location</u>	<u>Amount Spent</u>	<u>X Amount/Mo</u>
Belleville	2622.82	(14.5)
Campbellford	2106.49	180.88
Trenton	1816.14	125.25
Frankford	505.00	34.76
Brighton	333.43	23.00
Warkworth	213.81	14.75
Cobourg	40.00	2.76
Location Unknown	661.11	45.60
Total Expenditure Over 14.5 Months: \$7682.29		
$\bar{X}$ Amount over period:		529.81

TABLE B

Local Purchase Orders for the 1972-75 Period

1972	1165.38
1973	2502.90
1974	1251.99
1975	1404.34
<u>Total Months</u> = 12	<u>Total Expenditures</u> = 6324.61
$\bar{X}$ Monthly Expenditure = \$527.05	

TABLE ONE

Petty Cash Expenditures For Sample Period By Town Of Expenditure

<u>TOWN</u>	<u>AMOUNT SPENT</u>	<u>X AMOUNT/MONTH ( 12.5)</u>
Campbellford	3629.25	290.34
Brighton	2694.60	215.57
Belleville	684.12	54.73
Trenton	176.11	14.09
Warkworth	30.31	4.43
Kingston	18.45	1.48
Hastings	8.15	.65
Unclassifibale	<u>390.22</u>	<u>31.22</u>
	7631.21	610.50

Invoices

A random sample was taken from those invoices on file at the institution.\* Table 4 summarizes the 7 1/2 month sample by profession or service billing, location and amount billed.

Table 4.

Invoices for the sample period by Profession, Location and Amount Billed

Cleaners	Brighton (2)	1044.85	
Dentist	Warkworth	11,867.76	11,889.36
	Campbellford	21.60	
Doctor	Campbellford (2)	168.51	1592.59
	Warkworth	1348.48	
	Havelock	32.40	
	Brighton	43.20	
Garbage Removal	Trenton	4046.94	
Hospital	Campbellford	1359.92	
Instructors	Omeme	82.40	794.90
	Belleville	615.00	
	Campbellford	97.50	
Optometrist	Campbellford	660.00	
Propane Company	Belleville	60.00	
Public Library	Belleville	15.00	
Rental Company	Belleville	106.25	196.25
	Frankford	90.00	
Snow Removal	Warkworth	1164.00	1815.00
	Campbellford	651.00	
X-ray Technician	Campbellford	620.00	
		<u>24,094.81</u>	

\* Only those invoices covering the fiscal years 1974-75 and 1975-76 were present at the institution.

The Institution as Employer

Interviews with both prison employees and with community residents suggest that the employment opportunities provided by Warkworth institution are and were seen as an asset to the region.

The establishment of a new institution requires an experienced staff, thereby necessitating high rates of within service transfers and consequent low rates of local hiring for the institution's early years. The initial senior management at Warkworth Institution were transferred from within service, notably from the institutions located at Dorchester, New Brunswick and Collins Bay, Ontario. As none of the local individuals had any expertise in the area of prison management they did not occupy these managerial stations but rather were hired to fill openings for shop instructors, security officers and clerical staff.

A former personnel officer at Warkworth and a former director of the institution have estimated that initially the institution hired approximately 30 - 40% of its staff from within the region. The personnel officials at the institution estimate that this figure has increased over the institution's nine years of operation to approximately 60% while hiring trends have not changed significantly during that period. Those individuals hired locally still fill predominately clerical and security positions, while managerial and professional staff are being brought to the institution from outside of the region, often as in service transfers.

More accurate figures on the changes in percentage of and nature of local as opposed to extra-local hiring over time could only be gleaned from the personnel files of Warkworth employees on file at the regional Headquarters in Kingston, Ontario. The nature of the research contract was such that the principal investigator had no access to these files.

At the time of research there were 291 employees at Warkworth Institution (277 males and 14 females), with the bulk of the males filling positions as guards and living unit officers, and females, with the exception of a female psychologist who has since left and a former secretary to the director now acting in the position of Director of

Organization and Administration, filling clerical and secretarial positions. All of the female staff members interviewed report unequalled job opportunities and salaries provided by the institution.

The approximately 300 employees drew a combined payroll for the fiscal year 1975-1976 of \$4,081,636.00. Of this figure \$182,491.00 went to staff classified as administrative, \$963,536.00 went to staff in the rehabilitation classification and \$2,953,607.00 to care.

Grant in Lieu of Taxes

The township which the institution is located in receives an annual payment of grant in lieu of taxes from the federal government. Warkworth Institution is located south of the border road between Brighton Township to the south and Percy Township, which houses the community of Campbellford, to the north. The village of Warkworth is located within the confines of yet another township - that of Seymour to the west. Because the institution lies within the borders of Brighton, that township is in receipt of the annual grant while the townships housing Campbellford, the community which has the greatest amount of interaction with the institution, and Warkworth, the village in closest proximity to the institution, receive no such form of financial assistance from the federal government.

The value of this grant in lieu of taxes is based on an assessment of prison lands and buildings. The sum received by the township of Brighton last fiscal year amounted to \$131,000. As the institution provides its own water and sewage treatment the only duties assumed by the township are road maintenance.

It would appear that the grant in lieu of taxes received by Brighton has the effect of lowering the general mill rate. An official in the township offices reported that the mill rate in Brighton township was approximately 10 mill units lower than the mill rate in the adjoining township of Percy. She attributed this difference directly to the grant received by the former township.

Impact on Land Values

One of the concerns voiced by local citizens when they became aware of the Canadian Penitentiary Service's decision to locate a prison in the vicinity of Warkworth was a possible decline in local property value.

Real estate salesmen and brokers operating in the region say the community's fear has not been supported. All of the real estate company representatives interviewed suggested that land values in the area had appreciated in the Campbellford region just as they had in the rest of the province. While four of the salesmen believed that the institution had no effect on land values, either in the direction of appreciation or depreciation, one salesman suggested that the rise in local land values was in part due to the increased demand for real estate created by the influx of prison staff.

Several other salesmen, supported by prison personnel, suggested that while land values were not affected by the institution's placement in the area, a constant supply-increased demand situation at the time of major staff influx resulted in an abrupt escalation in monthly rental rates. Two of the salesmen interviewed suggested that the prison employees' average income during this early period was too low to allow a home purchase, resulting in increased demand for rental units and a consequent rental increase. However, there was no appreciable increase in demand for saleable property and consequently no extraordinary increases in property values.

Land values, even in the immediate vicinity of the institution, have appreciated. One real estate salesman in Campbellford reported a \$6,000 increase in the value of a farm he had purchased down the road from the prison. The acreage, purchased in 1970 for \$24,000, was valued at \$30,000 the following year. Within the past year this same piece of property sold again - this time for a reported \$58,000.

It would appear then that while rental values escalated abruptly with the advent of the institution, land values in the area were not subject to the same abrupt increase, but have risen steadily at a rate comparable to those in similar communities across the province.

Environmental Impact

One advantage associated with the prison industry and shared with few others is environmental purity. Warkworth Institution is a clean industry, releasing minimal-amounts of pollutants into the environment and placing minimal strain on township and municipality as it produces its own water supply and treats its own waste.

Community Access to Prison Facilities

Warkworth Institution houses a number of facilities, some of which are not readily available to residents in either Campbellford or Warkworth including well equipped shops for instruction in automotive mechanics, graphics, carpentry, upholstery, welding and audio visual aids.

While the services of each of these shops and the inmates who staff them may be made readily available to local service clubs and charitable institutions by the appropriate prison authority they are not as readily available to the individual. A local church may use the painting facilities and available inmate labour to renew an ailing sign while the local hospital administrator may request new cabinets for his hospital using the facilities of the carpentry shop and inmate talent. A representative for one of the local service clubs may ask prison personnel if inmates can assist in the clean-up after the club's beer-fest. That help will be gladly given.

However, the local farmer wishing the use of the facilities of the automotive shop to repair a tractor or the citizen who wishes to use the carpentry shop's sophisticated equipment to finish a piece of furniture will be refused. As one prison official put it: "We are not here to provide a service to the public."

Yet another service that could be made available to the local public but isn't are the college courses, offered by Loyalist College, Belleville, to the inmates at Warkworth Institution. The courses, ranging in subject matter from photography to psychology, are sometimes taught by qualified inmates. By becoming, in effect, a campus of Loyalist College, Warkworth Institution would provide a service to the local community, making post secondary education more available to citizens of surrounding villages than it otherwise would be.

The idea of allowing local citizens to participate in the educational programme with Warkworth inmates is one that appeals to the staff member responsible for co-ordinating Loyalist offerings. Should the space and budget restrictions which plague the institution be lifted he reports that he would gladly institute such a programme.

#### Impact on Other Institutions

Warkworth institution has had some impact on two other community institutions - St. Jerome's Parish in Warkworth and Campbellford's Memorial Hospital.

#### St. Jerome's Parish

In the words of the Roman Catholic Chaplain at Warkworth Institution: "There would not be a resident priest in Warkworth if it wasn't for the penitentiary." He reports that in 1962 a lack of parishoners forced the closure of the Catholic parish at Warkworth. The priest then residing in the parish was moved to another region and the village of Warkworth became a mission of Hastings and the responsibility of a non-resident priest.

In 1968 a ruling stating that a Roman Catholic priest may not both act as a chaplain and maintain a parish was nullified. With this policy change Warkworth Institution's Roman Catholic chaplain moved from his home in Wooler to the village of Warkworth where he now resides. His time is divided between the parishoners of Warkworth village and the inmates at the nearby institution.

Campbellford Memorial Hospital

The hospital administrator has reported that the institution's presence in the region was an asset to the community during recent hospital closings instituted by the Ontario government.

While Campbellford Memorial was subject to budget cutbacks there was no reduction in the number of active hospital beds. The hospital administrator reports that the maintenance of the bed level was accomplished by including Warkworth Institution's possible 408 inmates in service area population figures presented to the Ministry of Health.

Inmate Effects

While it is true that the extent of an inmate's contact with non-inmates is minimized by his incarceration, he is not completely removed from his associates. In fact, though incarcerated, an inmate may have sufficient contact with the world outside of the institutional confines to make new acquaintances during his period of imprisonment.

Opportunities for the maintenance of old contacts and the formation of new friendships exist both within the institution and without. Instances of the former include the receipt of visits, exchange of correspondence and participation in social and recreational groups with community volunteers, while inmate contact with others outside of the institution may occur either on a temporary absence approved by the appropriate institutional authorities or on a day parole granted by the National Parole Service whose regional offices are in Peterborough. Each of these modes of inmate-community interaction will be discussed in the following section as will their origin (within the institution or without) and their impact on the immediate as opposed to removed community. Too, the consequences to a community which arise from the inmates' confinement will be discussed. These include escapes, the re-location of inmates' families, ex-inmates settling in the area upon release, an increased traffic on local roads, and local purchases by inmates. If the institution never housed inmates

these phenomena, discussed under the section entitled "Inmate Effects", would not exist.

Visits and Correspondence

The visits and correspondence department, acting as a reception centre for the inmates' visitors as well as their incoming and outgoing mail, provides the greatest opportunities for inmate contact with the community.

Incoming inmate mail is received in the V and C sector of the institution where staff open and briefly examine the envelope and letter to ensure the absence of contraband before placing the contents back in its resealed envelope. Only where the security of the institution or the rehabilitation of the inmate is threatened will authorization for full reading of inmates' correspondence be given. Incoming magazines and parcels are re-routed - the former to the library where the entire inmate population will have access to them and the latter to the Reception and Discharge area where the parcel and contents will be examined before distribution. Outgoing mail - received in the visits and correspondence office unsealed - is subject to a similar procedure. The remaining restriction placed on outgoing mail is that there shall be no correspondence between inmates in federal institutions unless between family members.

The inmate visiting area consists of a large open room furnished with chairs, coffee tables and several vending machines. A smaller confined area outdoors for use in summer months contains patio tables, umbrellas and chairs.

Warkworth Institution places no restrictions on the length or number of visits an inmate may receive. One inmate, whose wife lives in the vicinity of the institution reports receiving daily visits from her while another inmate whose wife visits three times a week, reports receiving eighteen visitors, friends and family from the Ottawa region, in one day. The institutional policy of unrestricted visits is unpopular with some staff members who propose that limits be levied where the number and length of visits received interferes with the inmate's work.

Although some institutions place restrictions on the length of the individual's visiting list, Warkworth has no such policy. Any individual who, at the request of the inmate has been placed on such a list, is authorized to enter the institution for a visit. It appears that the only restrictions to this policy are individuals who have been apprehended bringing contraband into the institution and ex-inmates from Warkworth Institution. The former are barred from future visits while the latter must receive director's approval before being placed on an inmate visiting list.

A visitor arriving at the institution will first encounter a security officer, stationed outside of the institutional confines, who will record the individual's name, purpose of visit, license number, car description, date and time of arrival at the institution, before directing the visitor to the main access gates. Here, the visitor will record his own and inmate's names, purpose and time of entry, in a log book while one of the two security officers on duty at this station phone this information ahead to staff on duty in the Visits and Correspondence department. If the individual is on the inmate's visiting list he or she places any personal possessions in a locker, passes through a scanning device and proceeds to the visiting area. If the individual's name is not on the inmate's visiting list he or she is turned away from the institution.

Once at the visiting area the individual waits in an annex off the larger facility while the inmate is located, informed of his visitor and proceeds to the visiting area where, on arrival and again on departure, he signs a log book and is searched for contraband.

The figures which follow testifying to the number of visits received by Warkworth inmates are based on the visits and correspondence departmental definition of a visit, which stipulate that each time an inmate is called to the V and C area from another part of the institution, one visit is recorded.

While department officials suggest that one-third of the inmate population receive regular visits, one-third receive limited visits and one-third receive no visits, an examination of records suggest that the 66% figure

(inmates receiving visits) is underestimated to some extent. In the 205 visiting day interval between January 1, 1976 and July 21, 1976, 300 of the approximately 400 inmates then incarcerated at Warkworth had received at least 1 visit. The number of visits per inmate during this period ranged from 1 through to 129.

The following table, based on figures provided by the V and C department, shows the volume of mail, visits and visitors handled by the department during a 4 year period.

Summary of Operations, 1972-1975  
Visits and Correspondence Department  
Warkworth Institution

	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
$\bar{X}$ Population	309	390	428	401
Total Mail	75,729	85,821	87,354	71,890
Total Visits	6,387	9,746	11,065	10,201
Total Visitors	19,234	30,434	31,460	28,883

Both Visits and Correspondence staff and Warkworth inmates suggest that the majority of visitors and correspondence come from metropolitan Toronto and other Ontario communities which comprise the "Golden Horseshoe." The institution's distance from these major centres (one Warkworth inmate interviewed went so far as to suggest that if the institution wasn't "so far out in the sticks" a greater percentage of the inmate population would receive visitors), coupled with its relative isolation from surrounding communities makes travel by motor vehicle a virtual necessity. This factor has no doubt resulted in an increased volume of traffic on local roads.

An analysis of available vehicle control records for a four month period in 1975 and 1976 revealed an average traffic flow for that period

of 40 vehicles per day. As the vehicle recording practice applies primarily to movement by delivery trucks, visitors to inmates, and visitors to staff and excludes a count of traffic by most institution vehicles and staff autos, this figure is a most conservative estimate of total traffic flow.

INMATE-COMMUNITY INTERACTION

Community Volunteers

Inmate-community contact within the institution may also take the form of encounters with agency members or community volunteers. These include representatives from Manpower, the National Parole Service, nearby OPP attachments, members of local sports leagues or local chapters of such associations as Alcoholics Anonymous and Native Brotherhood.

The records summarized below list those citizens and agencies authorized to enter Warkworth Institution during April and August of 1976.

APRIL 1976

<u>Agency</u>	<u>#Visits</u>	<u>Total Visitors</u>
Bridge	1	12
Alcoholics Anonymous	9	26
Visiting Professor and Students	2	32
Native Brotherhood	2	51
Soccer Team	1	----
Entertainment Group	1	6

AUGUST 1976

Government	2	6
Alcoholics Anonymous	4	12
Native Brotherhood	2	5
Sports Team Cobourg	2	18
Sports Team Belleville	2	18
Sports Team Trenton	2	18

While many of these organizations, notably the recreational teams and bridge club, draw their volunteers from the local area, at least one organization not mentioned above brings its volunteers to Warkworth from outside of the region. While Youth Corps, a church sponsored group of volunteers, has some representation locally, most of its members come

from metro Toronto.

Temporary Absences

The temporary absence program is one which allows an individual inmate, or group of inmates, to leave the institution for some specified period of time. Temporary absences do not generally exceed 72 hours, or in the cases of medical absences, 15 days, without the approval of the commissioner of penitentiaries. The individual applying for temporary absence from the institution must meet the following general criterion:

- (1) The inmate must have completed half of his sentence or be half way to his parole review date, whichever is the lesser
- (2) he must have a good record of conduct

A number of other factors will come into play in the decision making process including, among other things, the individuals offence and his acceptability to the police in his city of destination.

Temporary absences are issued subject to the following conditions:

- (1) The Inmate will proceed directly to the destination shown for the purpose described on the permit.
- (2) The inmate will return at the prescribed time
- (3) The Inmate will consume no alcoholic beverage during the period of absence
- (4) The inmate will use no illegal drug or narcotic during his absence
- (5) The inmate will drive no truck or car during his absence
- (6) This permit may be revoked and the inmate declared unlawfully at large if any of these conditions is violated during the period of absence shown or any extension of time that may be granted.

Additional requirements may be specified as well as those mentioned above. An examination of temporary absences issued by Warkworth Institution during a 6 month period in 1975-76 revealed the following other conditions.

- (1) Total abstinence from drugs and alcohol
- (2) Daily reporting to police
- (3) Daily reporting to sponsor
- (4) Confinement to a certain geographical area
- (5) Contact with certain individuals forbidden

(6) Permit specifies where the individual must reside during his absence from the institution

Interviews with prison personnel associated with the selection and screening process suggest that the temporary absence programme at Warkworth Institution is cautiously applied.

An examination of temporary absence records for a random 5 month period during 1975-76 revealed the following information:

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>X POPULATION</u>	<u>X APP/WK</u>	<u>% pop.</u>	<u>Indiv.</u>	<u>Grp.</u>
Jan./75	416	40	9.6	15	7
Apr./75	413	46	11.0	18	12
Aug./75	402	36	8.9	18	3
Jan./76	386	31	8.0	12	5
Apr./76	383	40	10.4	17	9

Of the 493 temporary absences granted during this period, 373 (76%) were accompanied by an escort while only 120 inmates (24%) were unescorted.

An analysis of individual temporary absences granted during the months of January 1976 and April 1975, revealed the following destination patterns:

Jan./76	Campbellford	4		
	Peterborough	8		
	Belleville	1		
	Kingston Region	11		
	East of Kingston	4		
	50 mi radius	2		
	Toronto and region	10		
	West of Toronto	6		
Apr./75	Warkworth	2	w/i 35 mi radius	1
	Campbellford	4	w/i 50 mi radius	4
	Brighton	4	Belleville	7
	Trenton	6	Kingston	7
	Peterborough	12	E. of Kingston	4
	W. of Toronto	6	Toronto	24

Temporary absences granted for the purpose of recreation provide one of the greatest opportunities for interaction of the local community.

A group of inmates, supervised by their living unit officer, may leave the institution to play golf or bowl.

Membership on institutional sports teams ensures an occasional visit to the competitions baseball diamond or soccer field. Recreational officers at Warkworth estimate that the inmate baseball team will leave the institution approximately twice a month to play games in local towns while the institutional soccer team, also a member of a local league, granted fewer absences from the institution because of the higher proportion of deportable inmates on the team will play one game a month in surrounding communities.

For remaining games, the institution plays host to visiting teams.

Contact between inmate players and spectators occurs only at "in community" games as only team members and officials are allowed to enter the institution for games. Even such limited contact provides ample opportunity for interaction between inmates and local residents as testified to by one Warkworth resident who first met his "common law wife" when he, a member of the institutional team, was playing baseball in the town of campbellford. She had been a resident of the town for 12 years and was a spectator at the baseball game. Approximately one month after this, their first encounter, he was granted a day parole enabling him to work for a local firm and so maintain contact with her.

Parole

Parole is an early release mechanism which may affect the immediate community.

Day parole is granted to an inmate before his full parole eligibility date for the purposes of work or full-time attendance at an educational institution. Day parolees are obliged to report back to the institution at certain specified times. These times will be dependent on the individual's circumstances. An inmate in attendance at the University of Toronto may return to the institution for weekends while an inmate working in Campbellford may return to the institution each evening.

The offices of the National Parole Service provided the following information on day parole:

Similar figures for a three and one half year period (Jan. 1, 1973 - July 30, 1976) reveal twenty-three Warkworth inmates who were paroled (regular or mandatory supervision) to the communities in the vicinity of the institution.

<u>Location</u>	<u># Inmates</u>
Campbellford	9
Brighton	5
Colborne	3
Other	6

When an inmate's parole has terminated he may choose to leave the region. It seems this is the case in Campbellford. Interviews with institution staff, local police and inmates suggest that at present there are approximately 6 ex-inmates living in the town, all apparently gainfully employed.

The OPP sargeant who heads the Campbellford detachment suggests that the ex-inmate sector of the population is as law abiding as the never-inmate group.

When questioned about the possible connection between an ex-inmate sector of the population and increased drug trade, he replied, "There are increases here just like the rest of the province. But as far as I can see

that's not related to the institution." He reports that during the two years he has been with the detachment he has laid no drug charges against ex-inmates although he has charged friends and associates of same.

Escapes

The individual inmate may choose to effect his own departure from institutional custody, either via an escape or failure to return to the institution following completion of an authorized day parole or temporary absence.

The following table summarizes government information on the frequency of such illegal departures from Warkworth Institution.

	Escapes	Walk Away	<del>Temporary Absence</del>			Total	Cumulative Total
			With Escort	Without Escort	Day Parole		
1970	7	-	-	8	-	15	15
1971	4	1	-	6	-	11	26
1972	8	-	-	4	-	12	38
1973	9	-	-	1	1	11	49
1974	3	-	3	2	8	16	65
1975	-	-	2	5	3	10	75

	Recaptures	In Custody	Still at large at Year end	Cumulative total at large or in other
1970	12	1	2	3
1971	11	0	0	3
1972	11	0	1	4
1973	11	0	0	4
1974	12	0	4	8
1975	8	0	2	10

A similar analysis by this researcher of the telex correspondence

contained in the institution's escape files (1972-1976) revealed frequencies similar to those above. Further information could be gleaned from these records for a sub-group of forty-two inmates.

Escapees in this group were more likely to be captured in the vicinity of the institution than inmates unlawfully at large from a temporary absence or day parole.

<u>Place of capture</u>	<u>Escapees</u>	<u># Inmates</u>
Region		11
Toronto and vicinity		2
Huntsville		1
Ottawa		1

Likewise, inmates unlawfully at large were more likely to be captured outside of the province than escapees.

<u>Place of Capture</u>	<u>Inmates Unlawfully at Large</u>	<u># Inmates</u>
Region		6
Out of province		8
Toronto and vicinity		5
London - Windsor		5
Sudbury		1
Kingston		2

The telex messages on file also gave some indication of crimes committed in the region by unlawfully at large and escaped inmates. There are seven property offences reported: 2 break, enter and theft, 1 theft over \$200, and 4 reports of stolen autos - and no reports of offences causing bodily harm to local citizens.

Relocation

Relocation does not appear to be a widespread phenomenon at Warkworth. Interviews with visits and correspondence staff, inmates and living unit

staff indicate that during the research period approximately six families who had relocated were living in the region. Detailed information was gathered from inmates on four of these families.

Three of the four women were renting apartments - two in Warkworth and 1 in Norham - while the 4th wife had sold a home in the Niagara Peninsula and bought in the Frankford area.

Of the four women, only 1 was employed, while the remaining women collected a monthly mother's allowance.

Two of the inmates plan to remain in the region post-release, 1 establishing himself as an auto mechanic, while a second has plans to move his custom paint shop from the Niagara Peninsula to Frankford.

Interviews with business people of Warkworth indicated that both women living in that village were well accepted by the community. Nobody evidenced a dislike for them because of their husband's situation.

Local Purchases by Inmates

Inmates may have an impact on local businesses, either through spending of personal funds or collective purchases.

Money sent to an inmate by family or friends, day parole earnings or any portion of the inmate's canteen money may be placed in a trust fund for the individual who may then use this money to make purchases from local merchants. An examination of such spending records indicates that the individual inmate has minimal impact on local businesses. Rather, most of his purchases are made within the institution using the canteen portion of his daily pay.

<u>Inmate Pay Level</u>	<u>Amount per/Day</u>	<u>Canteen</u>	<u>Compulsory Savings</u>
1	.70	.50	.20
2	.85	.60	.25
3	.90	.65	.25
4	\$1.00	.70	.30

An analysis of collective expenditures from the Inmate Welfare Fund indicates considerably greater impact. During the 8 1/2 month sample

period total expenditures amounted to \$1,179.96 with the greatest majority of these funds applying to the purchase of trophies (\$800.00 in Trenton) and cheese (\$221.55 in Warkworth). Small amounts of business went to local papers in Belleville, Trenton, Warkworth, and Campbellford. A summary of these expenditures by region is contained in the following table.

Belleville	102.71
Trenton	828.20
Campbellford	25.00
Warkworth	224.05
Total Expenditure	1,179.96
$\bar{X}$ Expenditure/Month	138.82

Inmate Culture Effect

The inmates at Warkworth affect local cultural and media offerings via their participation in league sports, an annual Christmas concert, and the publication of the inmate magazine, "The Outlook." However, as neither of the latter productions receive much local attention, their impact is negligible.

Staff Effects

At least part of the prison's impact upon surrounding communities is attributable to institution staff. The principal effects associated with this group are:

- local purchasing by staff
- staff contributions to the community
- staff influence on community attitudes to the penitentiary

Economic Impact

At the time of research the 291 individuals in the employ of Warkworth Institution, located primarily in Campbellford (93 persons), Trenton (52 persons), Brighton (41 persons), Belleville (23 persons) and Warkworth (22 persons), drew a collective annual salary in excess of 4 million dollars.

If, as suggested, approximately 40% of these employees were hired extra-locally and moved to the region, this represents an approximate increase in revenue of two million dollars - certainly a sum which, if spent locally, would have considerable impact on local merchants.

While most Campbellford merchants indicated that penitentiary staff did have a considerable impact on local business, at least one individual suggested that penitentiary staff are by-passing local businesses in favor or purchasing at nearby larger centres.

The question of the extent of local, as opposed to extra-local, purchasing by Warkworth-staff is one best dealt with via a staff survey.

Community Involvement

Likewise their involvement in community affairs can be more accurately assessed via a survey of staff effects than by interview procedures. While the consensus of both staff and community members is that the former are well represented in local service clubs, their activity relative to other groups in the community is difficult to estimate. Some have suggested that shift work will function to decrease the individual's community involvement.

Community Attitudes

Staff attitudes towards both the institution and the inmate population may significantly affect community attitudes.

Both the institution's Roman Catholic chaplain and recreation officers cited instances where the reaction of penitentiary staff to the inmate population conveyed a negative impression. The former received a request from staff members of his parish to omit references to inmates from his sermon while the recreation officers report that the inmate ball team was forced to leave the Campbellford league because staff team members didn't want to play the inmate team.

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