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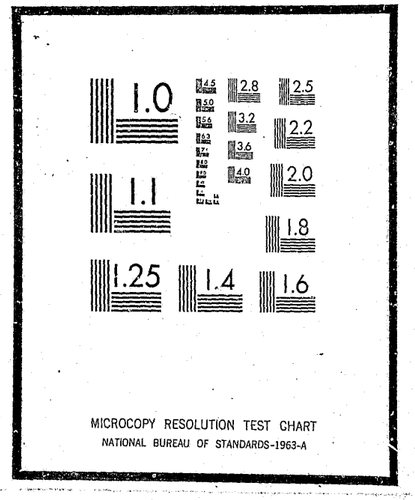

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Date filmed 6/9/76

PRISON INDUSTRIES

in the

CANADIAN PENITENTIARY SERVICE

a survey prepared for

The Honourable George J. McIlraith
Solicitor General of Canada
Ottawa

by

Dr. Robert Evans Jr.

under the auspices of the

CANADIAN CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION

The Canadian Welfare Council
55 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa 3, Canada

January 1970

The Canadian Welfare Council

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In reply please quote/Prière de rappeler

Ottawa 4, January 30, 1970.

The Honourable George J. McIlraith,
Solicitor General,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Dear Mr. McIlraith:

I submit herewith the report on Prison Industries in the Canadian Penitentiary Service prepared under the aegis of the Canadian Corrections Association. I would like to express the Association's appreciation to Dr. Stager and the other members of the Advisory Committee and to Dr. Evans for an excellent piece of work.

Dr. Stager, in his covering letter, reminds us that the original plans called for a program to gain the support of the public, and particularly of industry and organized labour, in the development of good penitentiary prison industries. The Canadian Corrections Association would be most pleased to co-operate with your Department in any way you think we could help in the promotional phase of the total project. As you know, the Canadian Congress of Corrections is being held in Ottawa in the Spring of 1971. This would provide an excellent opportunity to continue discussion with representatives of industry and organized labour.

I trust the attached report will be of assistance to you and the officials within your Department as further plans are developed.

Yours sincerely,

J.P. Miller,
Chairman,
Canadian Corrections Association.

University of Toronto

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
100 ST. GEORGE STREET
TORONTO 5
CANADA

Mr. Frank P. Miller,
Chairman,
Canadian Corrections Association,
c/o 340 Laurier Avenue West,
OTTAWA.

January 20, 1970

Dear Mr. Miller,

I submit herewith Dr. Robert Evans' report on Prison Industries in the Canadian Penitentiary Service. The report has received the general approval of the Advisory Committee whose names are listed on the inside front cover. This does not mean that each member of the Advisory Committee approves all of Dr. Evans' recommendations but it does mean that in our opinion this is a creative and stimulating report that will play an important part in the development of prison industries within Canada's federal prison system. Much of the report will also be useful to provincial prison systems although it does not deal with their particular problems.

When the Department of the Solicitor General first approached the Canadian Corrections Association in relation to this project, the main interest was in obtaining the Association's cooperation in a program to help interpret the purposes and aims of prison industries to the public and particularly to industry and organized labour. An examination of the industrial system within the penitentiaries was a necessary prelude to such an interpretive program and this was the reason for the study that resulted in the present report. Our Advisory Committee stands ready to help in any way we can in organizing and carrying out such an interpretive program.

I would like to express my appreciation to the members of the Advisory Committee for their active participation in this project. I would also like to compliment Dr. Evans for his competent work.

Sincerely,

David Stager, Chairman,
Advisory Committee on Prison Industries.

PREFACE

This report had its inception in a verbal inquiry from the then Solicitor General, The Honourable L. T. Pennell, to the Canadian Corrections Association concerning a study of prison industries. The request was formalized in January of 1968 and a small planning committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Professor Arthur Kruger of the Department of Political Economy of the University of Toronto. Subsequently Professor David Stager of the Department of Political Economy of the University of Toronto and Dean of students, New College, University of Toronto, became Chairman of an enlarged Committee. In April 1968 a draft submission of the study was prepared for the Minister and the Committee and subsequently was approved.

Stated in its most concise form, the task which the Solicitor General placed before the Committee was to recommend an "appropriate industrial policy". Such a charge required not only the determination of what ought to be the goals of the industrial division, but also close consideration of the way in which industrial goals and processes fit into over-all activities of the Penitentiary Service.

The report is based upon the following: (1) a review of the relevant literature; (2) interviews with

Penitentiary Service and other governmental and outside agency personnel; (3) inspections and interviews in all the federal maximum and medium security institutions in Canada and in some Canadian provincial and United States institutions; (4) a questionnaire which was sent to all Penitentiary Service instructors and works foremen[1]; (5) a six months' follow-up survey of the labour market experience of parolees conducted in conjunction with the National Parole Service, Provincial Probation Services, the John Howard Society, and other after-care agencies; and (6) a similar study of recidivists returned to federal prisons[2]. In addition two relevant conferences, one on education within prisons at the University of Wisconsin and the Sixth Biennial Canadian Congress of Corrections in Vancouver, were attended.

A report of this nature, of necessity, has a critical tone, for it deals with areas which demand change much more than it does with those which are adequate and appropriate.

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1 The questionnaire is contained in Appendix A

2 The follow-up questionnaire for parolees is contained in Appendix B. The one for federal recidivists is in Appendix C. Returns were obtained for 252 parolees and 285 recidivists, or 53% and 68% of the potential number

In an earlier era the report would have argued against the primitive conditions of inmate living, the rule of silence, the bull ring, and the slop jar. Now it passes by in silence the removal of these evils. Thus let me state that I was impressed with the concern, dedication, and ability of the hundreds of officers whom I met. I trust they will view this report in the spirit in which it is made, not as a criticism of themselves but as suggestions of needed and desirable improvements.

The success of any research undertaking like this one is dependent upon the active cooperation of many persons and it is unfortunate that all of their names cannot be listed. The contribution of a few has been so essential that they must, of necessity, appear here and I can only hope that in a proper manner the others have been made aware of my debts to them and that my appreciation for their help was adequately expressed. The assistance of William T. McGrath, Executive Secretary of the Canadian Corrections Association, and his associates has been fundamental to the completion of the study. The Commissioner of Penitentiaries, Allan MacLeod, Q.C., extended both his own and the cooperation of the Canadian Penitentiary Service in the completion of questionnaires and the answering of innumerable questions. The Director of Industries of the Penitentiary Service, James A. McLaughlin, provided extensive background material

and was ever ready to facilitate the obtaining of specific information on the industries division. Frank Miller, Director of the Parole Service, arranged for the assistance of his staff in the collection of data on parolees. My knowledge of the role and problems of the after-care agencies was generously assisted by A. M. Kirkpatrick, the Executive Director of the John Howard Society of Ontario. Two students from the Centre of Criminology of the University of Ottawa, Cyril Ryan and Aaron Caplan, laboured diligently and well during the summer of 1969. Lastly, I am indebted to my wife, Lois, and my several children for their cheerful acceptance of the burdens which this study placed upon them.

Robert Evans, Jr.
Acton, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
January 1970

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The development of an appropriate industrial policy for the Canadian Penitentiary Service initially requires that the over-all goals of the Penitentiary Service be clearly and correctly identified. Then, and only then, can the proper supporting but subsidiary goals of the industrial program be formulated. Currently the goals of the Penitentiary Service would seem to be both widely shared and largely consistent with those identified with a "progressive approach" to correctional problems. The goals are stated, however, in a non-operational manner or form. This means that there can be substantial differences over the appropriate specific policies designed to achieve these goals among persons who are seemingly in agreement over such ill-defined principles as "rehabilitated" and "prepared for a return to the community"[1].

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1 Non-operational goals are not unique to the Canadian Penitentiary Service, being rather typical of governmental and not-for-profit agencies. This situation reflects both their need to appeal to diverse groups for support and the genuine difficulties inherent in measuring the output of such agencies.

The failure, which it shares with innumerable other groups, of the Canadian Penitentiary Service to articulate, measure, and evaluate upon the basis of relatively clearly defined major and subsidiary operational goals means not only that it is next to impossible for program evaluation to set off the benefits of a set of activities against their costs, but that it is difficult to forge the separate units into a workable and inter-related system[2].

The following illustrates the evaluation problem. In the summer of 1969 the new medium institution at Springhill, Nova Scotia, was operating at little more than half its cell capacity. Regional officials did not wish to transfer many more inmates to the unit. They felt (1) that there were very few additional inmates of the type designated for a medium institution in Dorchester Penitentiary, and (2) that, since the warden was just beginning a therapeutic community type of program, any increase in population would have to be slow in order not to upset the new activities.

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2 The Penitentiary Service's organizational structure has been the subject of a study by the consulting firm of P. S. Ross and Partners and those reports are now being studied and, in part, implemented.

At Headquarters a greater concern with budgetary considerations caused senior officials to urge that Springhill's population be quickly brought up to near capacity. How should such a division of opinion be judged? In the absence of operational goals for the institution, and some definite idea of how assigning additional less than appropriate inmates would affect it, it is almost impossible to decide.

The lack of operational goals and sub-goals also means that it is very difficult to ascertain the achievements of wardens and subordinate officers. The not surprising result is that these officers tend to be judged on the basis of those few items for which data exist, for wardens, probably the escape record and their costs of operation. In the specific field with which this report deals, industries, this tendency can be clearly seen. Production and training are the twin self-professed goals of prison industries[3]. In the case of production, it is easy enough to identify the contract which is late or the product quality which is below standard. Whether

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3 The Correctional Industries Association has recently proposed a position statement on the role of industries in which the training and rehabilitation role was stressed. It was originally drafted by the Director of Industries in Canada, Mr. J. A. McLaughlin, in his capacity as an officer of the organization.

the man in the shop received the appropriate amount of training in a timely manner is much more difficult to ascertain. Indeed, currently it is not even done[4]. Thus it is not surprising that the industrial supervisor comes to conclude that, despite the kind words for training, production is the key and he reacts accordingly[5]. Nor is it surprising that other Service staff members are critical of industries because they are "too" concerned over production.

Consequently, a principal recommendation is that the goal[6] of the Penitentiary Service be phrased in an operational manner and that the data necessary for the evaluation of that goal be developed and collected. Similarly, the subsidiary goals of the various departments and divisions should be accorded the same treatment.

If a single goal is to be chosen, what should

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4 Some efforts have been made in the direction of developing such information.

5 This is not to say that instructors don't stress training, but it is quite clear that the state of quality control for products is much more fully developed than is the control of the quality and extent of inmate training.

6 Agencies which deal with people often tend to state multiple goals, but only one master can be served.

it be? It is natural to think at first that the goal should be a derivative of the rehabilitation of inmates. Yet it needs to be recoginzed that, in addition to rehabilitation, the public wishes to punish some inmates and for others, it wants them kept out of society for long periods. Illustrative of this during the summer of 1969 the only questions of which I was aware concerning federal policies relative to inmates which were raised in the House of Commons concerned the commutation of a death sentence and the escape of three inmates from the Special Correctional Unit.

Despite the fact that rehabilitation of inmates is clearly not the sole public aim for the Penitentiary Service, it is possible for the Service to act as if it were. This is because programs designed for rehabilitation are essentially consistent with punishment and deterrence based upon deprivation of liberty since all three largely require man to remain in custody. Consequently, this report will consider that the primary and sole goal of the Canadian Penitentiary Service is rehabilitation. Operationally, how should this be defined? The most common measure is the rate of recidivism, the proportion of those who, after serving time in a prison, are again in trouble with the law. Unfortunately, the concept of recidivism is a pandora's box

of alternative definitions and measures. A common misconception is the use of the number of men in a prison who are themselves recidivists; a rate which will almost always be higher than the true rate[7]. Thus in Canada eighty-two per cent of the federal inmates have served prior terms (sixty-two per cent of them in the federal system[8] yet there are a number of studies which indicate that the recidivism rate for the typical three-five year follow-up of those who pass through a penal system is about thirty-three to forty per cent[9]. It is doubtful if a longer follow-up would greatly alter this view, since those who become recidivists seem to do so rather quickly upon

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7 It essentially results from facts 1) that the recidivism rate is not uniform for all inmates and over time those with high recidivism rates tend to cluster in prison; 2) that recidivists are more apt to be in major institutions where such calculations are often made; and 3) that recidivists may draw longer sentences and be less apt to receive early parole and consequently spend more years per conviction in custody. See the discussion in Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964) pp. 13-35.

8 Judicial Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967 (unpublished).

9 Glaser, pp. 24-26

release[10].

Even the correct recidivism rate requires further elaboration before it can be used as a guide to policy. The major question is what act, or acts, constitute recidivism. Should arrest without conviction be counted, or only commitment to a penal institution for more than thirty days? Various answers can be given and indeed a weighting scheme could be devised so that an over-all index could be utilized. The Gluecks in the 1930's used three categories - success, partial failure (one wonders why not partial success), and total failure - each with an elaborate definition. Recently Nathan Mandel has suggested an eight-fold grouping which ranges from convicted for commission of a felony to charged or fingerprinted for one or more misdemeanors[11].

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10 This is supported by the results of one fifteen-year follow-up of men released in the early 1920's from the Concord Reformatory in Massachusetts. Of the 38.5 per cent of the men whom the author felt had reformed, only five per cent had major relapses. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Criminal Careers in Retrospect (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943), pp. 121, 353.

11 Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, 500 Criminal Careers (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930) pp. 188-189 and Toward a Typology of Delinquents, a report to the National Institute of Mental Health, grant 07286, June 1, 1963 - May 31, 1968, p. 54.

Leaving aside the ideal research definition for recidivism, it appears that in part a definition will depend upon one's view of the decriminalization process, the relative costs to society of various criminal acts, and the ease with which follow-up statistics may be obtained. Perhaps the most important aspect is the view of criminal behaviour. When prison is viewed as a process which should reform a man (much in the way that a potter reforms clay on his wheel) then any subsequent fall from grace is enough to label a man a recidivist. Alternatively, if the concept is that prison is one part of a re-educational process, similar to teaching a child to read, then the expectation will be that many inmates will need additional attention from agents of society prior to achieving freedom from a life of crime. Alternatively, in Glaser's words

> If prison or parole experience changes a man from a heinous malefactor to a hallowed saint, that is excellent, but if it merely changes him from a felon to a non-felon, its primary objective has still been achieved.[12]

One measure of the success of a prison program which reflects the concepts just discussed and which allows alternative treatment programs and their costs to be compared

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12 Glaser, p. 28

is the number of months ex-inmates remain out of prison after their release. It is consistent with the idea that it may take some years and several types of social intervention before adequate reformation has taken place. It is relatively easily measured and because longer sentences and lessened opportunities for parole are associated with more serious crimes and criminal behaviour, it reflects, in some degree, the concept of a differentiation in measurement on the basis of seriousness of the new offence. This goal does not place an emphasis upon changed attitudes which many persons would wish to stress. The usefulness of attitude change could be debated, but the near impossibility of measuring such changes except by observed behavior means that even if improved attitudes were the goal, the evaluation of success would still have to be based upon a measure like the one proposed here.

It is proposed that the specific operational goal of the Canadian Penitentiary Service be the maximization of the number of months of freedom for those released from its care and that subsidiary goals and programs be established and evaluated in terms of their contribution to that goal[13].

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13 The Planning Committee for the new programs at the Warkworth Institution has explicitly adopted this goal as its objective.

Such a goal, especially when it is combined with cost effectiveness, should be a highly useful tool though similarly with any other unitary measure, it must be used intelligently. It must be recognized that prison may have prepared a man to function adequately, but society may not have given the man a chance and may have literally forced him back to crime. Or an ex-offender may have functioned very adequately only to find that a single crisis has completely shattered his prior adjustment.

Acceptance of this objective implies two central questions concerning the general Penitentiary program. These are: 1) in what ways can prison programs assist in the reduction of recidivism after a man has left an institution (extend his months of freedom)? and 2) to what extent are activities within prisons associated with post prison behaviour because of changes which they have wrought within the man while he was there? The answers to these questions should be sought for all aspects of the penitentiary program. This report is concerned with only part of that total, specifically those aspects related to the education, training and employment offered, especially in industries. The answers in these areas form the basis of Chapter 2. The types of programs which the

answers to these two questions suggest are evaluated in terms of their consistency with labour market trends in Chapter 3 and with effective motivation in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents changes in marketing policy for industry while organizational changes are discussed in Chapter 6.

The emphasis in all of this may seem to be upon the short-term inmate (sentences of less than four years) which constitute fifty-nine per cent of the population, and upon those inmates who are capable of being motivated to actively participate in programs. It is recognized, however, that not all inmates can be reached, or that it may take a number of years before an inmate will cooperate with more than sullen acceptance. Yet the existence of unresponsive inmates should not be allowed to dictate the character and content of the Penitentiary Service's education and training activities. Nor is their inclusion in the type of programs discussed here so difficult to arrange.

Chapter 2

POST RELEASE BEHAVIOUR AND PRISON ACTIVITY

Within the responsibility of this study two questions must be answered in relation to post-prison behaviour. One, in what ways can education, training and employment within a prison assist in the reduction of recidivism? Two, to what extent are employment and training activities within prisons associated with post-prison behaviour? Potentially, there are several ways that an inmate's use of his prison time may benefit him upon release. Contemporary authorities in correction emphasize that the principal value of work activity may be found in the opportunity it may provide for the inculcation or strengthening of attitudes, skills and habit patterns which are useful in the rehabilitation process.[1] One contribution is by allowing men to earn and save enough money while they are in a penitentiary so that they would have sufficient savings to ease the transition period upon release. The funds could be used to tide a man over the period until he received his first pay cheque. The money could also provide

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1 American Correctional Association, Manual of Correctional Standards 3rd ed., 1966, p. 387.

for some recreation upon release and the means to acquire a few of the consumer durables which others of his age and station in life would have purchased while he was in prison. A second potential benefit would occur if, in the course of his prison employment or training, he achieved a change in his outlook or values as a result of associations with staff, inmates, or steady work. A third possibility is that an inmate may learn skills and work habits which will be useful in obtaining and continuing employment upon release.

There are a number of problems in associating post-prison activity or reformation with what happened during the prison period. These problems can be divided into two parts. One is related to the "game" which inmates play in an attempt to impress the authorities. The other group includes all of the new forces which intrude upon the man once he is released.

Hazardous as the problem of inferring post-prison behaviour from penitentiary experience is, decisions about appropriate penitentiary programs are being, and will be, made. It seems best to be guided in part by the evidence which is available.

Recidivism and Employment

While it might seem self-evident that successful employment would assist in the reduction of recidivism, those with strong beliefs in the psychological or sociological basis for crime often tend to downgrade its importance. There is reasonable evidence to suggest that there is a significant relationship between post-prison employment and the rate of recidivism. Daniel Glaser[2] reported that, whereas only thirteen per cent of the men who succeeded (not returned to prison, convicted of a felony or wanted for trial for a felony within two years of release) were completely unemployed during the first three months after release, thirty-one per cent of the subsequent failures had been completely unemployed during those first three months. My previous study of employment and parole success found that there were significant increases in the parole completion rate, for the sample as a whole and also for selected sub-groups, between those men whose employment

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2 Daniel Glaser. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964) pp. 328.

experience had been steady and whose rates of pay had been average, or above average, and those whose employment experience had been less successful. That article also referred to other studies whose findings supported the proposition that there are significant and positive associations between job success and a lower rate of recidivism[3]. This study does not contain a direct test of the role of labour market activities. Yet it is interesting to note that while 68.3 per cent of the men who had been successfully upon parole for 6 months were employed at full-time jobs, only 30 per cent of the recidivists were employed at full-time jobs at the time of their arrest.

Most studies have found that there is a time trend to recidivism, with the rate declining with the number of months since release. This may be seen in two recent Canadian reports. In March 1968, the Judicial Section of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics compiled a pilot study of recidivism based upon the 2,867 men released from a penitentiary between April 1, 1966, and December 31, 1966.

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3 Robert Evans, Jr. "The Labor Market and Parole Success", The Journal of Human Resources 3 (Spring 1968) pp. 201-212.

An individual was considered to be a recidivist if, on the basis of data compiled using F.P.S. (fingerprint) records, he was listed as having been reconvicted during the study period after release[4]. The over-all rate of recidivism was twenty-six per cent. Yet the interesting statistic is the time pattern of that recidivism. It shows (Table 1) that within six months of release, seventy per cent of the recidivism had already taken place[5]. A somewhat longer follow-up was provided by a University of Montreal study of men released from the St. Vincent de Paul complex (Table 1)[6].

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4 Judicial Section, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. "Recidivism--A Pilot Study", March 1968. Despite the fact that the follow-up period was supposed to be for only six months, some men were followed for up to a maximum of sixteen months. This raises certain problems of interpretation for the over-all rate of recidivism, but its impact upon cross-sectional comparisons within the sample is less clear. Since about thirty per cent of the recidivism came after six months, if these people represented a non-uniform sub-set of any variable, as for example educational level, then interpretations of those variables and recidivism would be subject to error.

5 Since a major part of the sample was only followed for six months, this over-states the extent of early recidivism.

6 Rapport Annuel. Recherche Pénitentiaire, Département de Criminologie, Université de Montréal, Avril 1967, p. 73.

There too the evidence is that those who revert to crime tend to do so relatively quickly after release; a conclusion which finds support in Glaser's study for the United States[7]. In the Quebec sample forty per cent of those who became recidivists in five years had already fallen from grace by the end of nine months. After twenty-four months, 71.6 per cent of the recidivism had taken place. This suggests that the most important elements which prison employment and training can contribute to a reduction in recidivism must be things which are of immediate usefulness.

The Value of In-Prison Activities

At present the contributions of prison savings are not apt to be very useful in the reduction of recidivism. This is because the rates of remuneration - $ .35 to $ .65 a day in the Canadian Penitentiary Service - are too low to allow an inmate to save a meaningful amount. In view of the very high costs associated with recidivism, such a policy is shortsighted if larger savings would materially aid the

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7 Glaser, p. 22.

transition period. It is also inconsistent with other Canadian policies which now pay considerably high rates to adults in retraining and on-the-job training programs. There are other weaknesses with the pay system which are discussed in the section on motivation.

The personal influence of prison staff members upon successful rehabilitation was discussed by Glaser[8]. In a sample of 250 post-release successes, 131 of the men reported that they had given up a life of crime during their most recent prison term. Sixty-five men, or about one-half, reported that a staff member had been influential in their reformation. Among those credited staff members, thirty-five of the men, fifty-four per cent, credited a work supervisor. Only one mentioned a teacher, in that case a vocational instructor. The contributions of the work supervisors were not uniquely associated with the nature of the work or the transmission of skills. Only ten per cent of the men mentioned the contribution as being in any way vocational. Rather, it was the personal relationship which was stressed

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8 Glaser, pp. 141-142.

as the contribution to reformation. The personal relationships largely had resulted from close personal contact in the work situation.

Inmate observations are not available for Canada, but similar results would be quite consistent with the behaviour of Canadian Penitentiary Service Instructors. Two hundred and eighty-two men (seventy-eight per cent) of the 363 who replied to the instructor questionnaire, indicated that they regularly tried to talk with, and understand, the positions and problems of the inmates in the work situation and 65.6 per cent of the instructors indicated that this personal involvement was the most effective motivational device.

The usefulness upon release of those things learned in the employment or training situation will be discussed as they relate to three aspects: formal education, specific vocational education, and general skills and work habits.

Recidivism and Education

The Judicial Section's recidivism study contained cross-classifications by educational level. With the average rate of recidivism at twenty-six per cent, the lowest rate was

found for those with a thirteenth grade education, a modest 4.2 per cent. The highest rate, thirty-one per cent, was for those with a fifth grade education. Considering only the span between the fourth grade and the twelfth grade which contained almost eighty-eight per cent of the released men, the two lowest rates (20.0 per cent and 21.2 per cent) were for the fourth and twelfth grades and the highest rates (28.2 per cent and 28.0 per cent) were for the seventh and eighth grades. This is highly suggestive that the level of education by itself has no appreciable impact upon post-release success.

The value of education for the prison inmate as a positive influence on recidivism was also thrown in doubt in Glaser's recent study of United States federal experience[9], though some more favourable studies have been reported[10]. The gross result in Glaser's work was that those enrolled in academic education in prison had less post-release success

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9 Glaser, pp. 273-79.

10 See the articles cited in Calvin B. Michael, "Changing Inmates Through Education" in Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, Education and Training in Correctional Institutions (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1968) p. 102.

than those who were not enrolled at all. This relationship of poor post-release behaviour for the education enrollee seems to become more pronounced for those who, at the time of release, had completed between the sixth and the ninth grade. The relationship is not changed when it is controlled for prior felony commitments or age at release. The most favourable impact on recidivism of education occurs when a comparison is made between those who obtained education and those who did not for men who were confined for three or more years. For men with more than three years in prison, there is a positive association between obtaining education in prison and avoiding recidivism. Such a finding is suggestive of the conclusion that only significant additions to an inmate's educational level are apt to be productive.

The contribution of education to a life without crime could be manifested in a number of ways. Probably chief among them would be its contribution to better employment. Thus it would be useful to know the extent to which post-release employment utilized the skills obtained in education. Here, too, Glaser's data were not too comforting. In his post-release sample there were ninety-five men who had had a prison educational experience. They had 156 post-release jobs which

lasted at least one week[11]. Only twenty-six of the ninety-five indicated that their educational activities had played any useful role in their work and this was with respect to thirty-two of the 156 jobs. In only five jobs (fifteen per cent) were mechanical trade courses credited with being of use.

These results must be interpreted with care. They are not grounds for concluding that education is not important, especially where that education is directed toward a program of sophisticated adult up-grading. It does suggest that a regular school grade approach for the short term inmate is not apt to be productive.

In addition to association with staff members, there may be other more specifically vocational or work-oriented experiences which are obtained in prison employment. To a modest degree, the initial job upon release and the longest job held by the "successes" as compared to the "failures" were jobs which required some training, something which seventy-four per cent of the jobs required. About seventy per cent of the jobs which required training (fifty-two per cent of all jobs) utilized skills acquired or used in prison. There was no one area of prison activity

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11 Glaser, pp. 271-73

which was more highly utilized by "successes" than "failures" with the exception of prison industry experience which was cited by about ten per cent of the successes, but only about one per cent of the returned violators.

Apart from usefulness in obtaining post-release employment, it is possible that there is some other relationship between area of activity during the last three months of prison and post-release successes. Here, semi-skilled work was associated with a significantly better post-release success rate, while food service and clerical areas were associated with relatively high failure rates[12].

Our Canadian data will not permit exactly the same comparisons. They are generally consistent with the finding that released offenders hold jobs requiring some degree of skill[13], since only 12.7 per cent of the parolees and 15.3 per cent of the recidivists were holding jobs which are clearly identifiable as unskilled. The men's evaluation of the experience and training required was somewhat harsher,

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12 Glaser, pp. 255-58.

13 Glaser, pp. 232-33.

for roughly one-fifth of the parolees and 32 per cent of the recidivists who replied said their job required no training nor experience. Among the parolees there are no meaningful differences in the type of jobs held between those men who failed on parole between the first and sixth month and those who were successful. A comparison of all parolees with the recidivists indicates two interesting differences. Approximately twenty per cent of the successful parolees held broadly defined white collar jobs, but only 13.0 per cent of the recidivists held this type of job. The principal difference is in the number engaged in sales work. Conversely, 12.0 per cent of the recidivists were in primary production occupations compared to 8.0 per cent of the successful parolees.

In the view of the ex-inmates, the contribution of prison activities was only modest, among recidivists only 13.7 per cent of those who reported said that the skills necessary to their job at the time of their arrest were gained in prison. The contribution of industries to the 13.7 per cent was 1.3 percentage points. Among parolees the rates were higher with 22.4 per cent of the 208 successful men who reported a source of training listing correctional institutions. Prison industries were given as the source of skills and

experience by 3.4 per cent. The distribution of responses at one month between successful and unsuccessful parolees was essentially the same, suggesting no immediately obvious direct relationship between prison activity and success on parole. A comparison of jobs held during 6 months of parole and those accomplished in prison indicates that 57 men or 22.4 per cent held at least one similar job. The figure for recidivists is lower, being only 13.7 per cent.

A major factor associated with success upon release from prison was a steady and satisfactory level of employment prior to entering prison. Among Glaser's 1956 United States federal prison releases, the average failure rate (parole violation or new felony conviction) for those who, in the two years prior to prison had been employed more than seventy-five per cent of the time, was twenty-two per cent, whereas for those employed less than twenty-five per cent of those two pre-prison years, the failure rate was forty-four per cent. The nature of the pre-prison employment had a very small impact upon success, the best being for skilled tradesmen with a single job lasting more than two years. There the failure rate was twenty per cent. The low failure rate largely represents the importance of job continuity,

since it is only two per cent percentage points below those with a high degree of employment continuity but no particular skills. Yet fifty-six per cent of the men had never held a job for more than one year prior to prison. Consequently, Glaser concluded that: 1) steadiness of employment was important and 2) even in only a year of confinement, a year of the same prison work would be the most continuous and steady employment which the majority of the men had known[14]. A similar conclusion appears applicable for Canada. The recent study by the University of Montreal reported that the characteristic which best differentiated those who succeeded, after release was stability and duration of employment in the community prior to commitment[15]. This finding is also repeated in studies of the job success of persons who have received re-training in manpower programs in the United States, in Ontario, and in wage levels obtained by recidivists.

The essence of a better labour market experience

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14 Glaser, pp. 232-33

15 Recherche Pénitentiaire, p. 73.

as it may relate to a reduction of recidivism lies in higher wages, more continuous employment, or obtaining jobs which open up into promotible opportunities. On an absolute basis the experience of those on parole for at least six months is not very encouraging with the median weekly income for those who report in excess of $49 a week being between $80 and $89 a week. Excluding the parolees who reported no weeks of employment, the median number of weeks of employment was eight or approximately one-third of the time. Higher wages can be measured and related to certain variables in the man's prison experience. Median earnings as an independent variable was regressed upon a variety of personal and institutionally-related variables, but with most meager results. With rare exceptions less than half of the variance in wages could be explained by a number of labour market and institutional variables. The only important and significant variable was weeks worked. The number of months of employment in prison industries was significantly related to higher wages for one month parolees, but not for parolees after 6 months, while the proportion of time worked prior to an earlier term was related to earnings for recidivists just prior to their return. This importance of a previous work history is

consistent with the recidivism studies and with the results of studies of on-the-job training in Ontario and in the United States. The lack of importance of other personal and institutional variables underscores the earlier discussion of the non-importance of education in and of itself, but it also means that currently nothing that is being done within the institutions is statistically related to the labour market experience of recidivists.

The Carry-Over of Prison Training and Work Experience

One measure of the potential value of various kinds of within-prison training or work experience is the extent of carry-over which is involved. For specific vocational training either in a vocational course or as part of an industry program this can be measured by the degree to which post-prison employment is related to training in prison. In one study, John Nichols and Stanley Brodsky reported upon the experience of 812 men who had received certificates of accomplishment in vocational education at the United States Disciplinary

Barracks between July 1, 1960, and December 31, 1963[16]. The most striking fact, though one which is not surprising to those with experience in mail questionnaires, is the low rate of return; only 214 out of 812 potential answers were received. Among those who answered, 29.2 per cent said that their current job (one held between two months and twelve months after release) directly used the training that they had received in prison. A slightly larger group - ninety-five of 214 men, or forty-four per cent - indicated that they had at one time used the prison skills in a job. The strongest degree of correspondence, as one would anticipate, was in the skilled blue-collar occupations. Of the fifty-three who listed themselves as employed in skilled blue-collar occupations, thirty-nine men, or seventy-four per cent, indicated that they had training in prison[17] for the job they held. A State of Washington

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16 John D. Nichols and Stanley L. Brodsky. "After They Leave", American Journal of Corrections (May-June 1962), pp. 27-30.

17 Glaser also reported that, where trade training had been in secure career trades like printing, electrical, and machinist trades, "those few whose vocational prospects in the noncriminal world had been completely metamorphosed by their acquisition of a rewarding trade were extremely appreciative". Pp. 255-6.

study found that thirty-two out of 102 men who received vocational training found employment upon release in those areas.[18]

Similar results were obtained in a recent brief survey conducted by the National Parole Board[19]. Based upon incomplete return for all of Canada, it appeared that 233 paroled individuals had learned, or followed, trade training in federal institutions. Eighty-five men or 27.4 per cent had actually worked in the trade after release. For the Montreal office where the data were somewhat more complete, eighty-six parolees out of 328 had received some training, and thirty-one of the men, or thirty-six per cent, had worked in at least one job in these trades. If the survey is limited to those who graduated in a vocational area, the use of prison training rate rises from thirty-six per cent to forty-five per cent. Among the individual trades (with more

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18 J. Walter Gerhart, et al. "The Vocational Training Program in the Washington State Adult Correctional Institutions". (Department of Institutions 1967), p. 36.

19 G. Genest. "Survey on Trade Training, Federal Institutions", Canada, National Parole Board, 1968.

than one graduate) the use of prison training varies between a low of twenty per cent in bricklaying to a high of eighty per cent in electricity.

An alternative source of data on continuity and use of specialized training for adults is to be found in the follow-up studies of Canadian and American manpower training courses.

In Canada, the Ontario Department of Labour in 1965 studied six on-the-job training programs which had been financed by the Province. There were 604 men who started the six programs and, of these, 364 or sixty per cent, completed their courses and thirty-six per cent continued in the employment of the sponsoring firms. About twice that number, sixty-seven per cent, of the original 604 men were placed in firms where the training they had received was useful[20]. A more recent study of sixteen of 101 on-the-job training programs in Ontario which covered 1,245 of the 8,821 entrants found that only sixty-two per cent of all the entrants were both graduates and still employed by the firm

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20 Ozay Mehmet. "Ontario's Short-Term Training Program", Task 2 (August 1967) p. 13.

shortly after the completion of the training. The figure was even lower among males 20 to 24 years of age where the employed graduates comprised only 50.8 per cent of the training program entrants. Among those males who left the training firm, only seven per cent were employed in areas where their training was of use[21].

A study of vocational high school graduates of Nassau County in New York four to six years after graduation indicated that thirty-six per cent of the graduates held jobs which were directly related to their school training[22]. A study of manpower re-training courses in Tennessee found that for those who completed the program, forty-two per cent of all jobs and at least one job for sixty-five per cent of the graduates were related to their training[23]. In West Virginia the proportion of graduates using their training

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21 Ontario Department of Labour (unpublished data). Research Branch 7.

22 Michael K. Taussig. "An Economic Analysis of Vocational Education in the New York City High Schools", Journal of Human Resources 3 (Supplement 1968) p. 77.

23 Gerald G. Somers (ed.). Retraining the Unemployed (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968) p. 189.

varied from a high of eighty-five per cent in the riveter course to a low of twenty-four per cent in electrical maintenance. The median use rate for the eight occupations was sixty-four per cent[24]. In these last two studies the survey data refer to one and two-year periods after completion of the training. In general, men who normally could be classed as "difficult to place" were less apt to find employment in the field of their training.

The retention and use percentage for specialized training programs may be placed into some perspective by an examination of job and occupational mobility in a general population. In 1966, in the United States, the median job tenure for men of all ages was only 3.2 years and for men aged 20-24 it was only one year. Among men aged 25-44 employed in the manufacturing and service sectors, the proportions of men who had started their current job within the last twelve months were 18.3 per cent in manufacturing and 24.3 per cent in the service sector. On an occupational basis, 27.8 per cent of all operatives, 32.3 per cent of all service workers and 39.4 per cent of all labourers, had held their current job for

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24 Ibid, p. 72

less than twelve months[25]. Some of this job mobility does not represent occupational or industrial mobility, but much of it does. In the same year (January 1965-January 1966) twenty per cent of the operatives, twenty per cent of the service workers, and thirteen per cent of the craftsmen had changed their occupations[26]. If occupational data by age groups were available, they would show even higher rates of occupational mobility for the younger age groups than the over-all rates do. Among men aged 20-24 (not in school) the number who had the same occupation in 1966 that they had in 1965 was 58.9 per cent. This rose to 82.5 per cent for men 25-34 years old and to a high of 93.7 per cent for men 55-64 years old.

Over a long time period the shifts in occupations are even larger. A major study of a sample of workers in 1966 found that, among men whose first full-time jobs were as labourers, only fifteen per cent were still employed as labourers in 1962. Among operatives, the lone run continuity

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25 Harvey R. Hamel. "Job Tenure of Workers". United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report, 77, 1967, p. 33, A-10, A-11.

26 Samuel Saben. "Occupational Mobility of Employed Workers". United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force 84, 1967, p. A-8.

was 27.6 per cent and for craftsmen it reached forty-four per cent[27].

The material cited above has all dealt with the values of re-training as it applies to the application of learned skills in post-training employment. Yet there may be other values of training as seen by the employers, values which might transcend the narrow limits of jobs which used the specific job skills which were covered in the training programs. In the West Virginia follow-up study, employers of the trained individuals were also interviewed. Among those who had hired trainees on the basis of informed choice (they knew before the decision to hire was made that the men had completed a training course), two-thirds said that the specific skills which the men had acquired were valuable. Thirty-seven per cent said that the men represented a better screening by the State Employment Service than was normally the case. Fifty-eight per cent said that the motivation which the men had shown in going through the course

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27 Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan. The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 31, 498.

was valuable to them as employers[28]. This last aspect, the motivation for improvement, is also evident in a number of other studies of re-trained groups.

Summary

Several points which are relevant to the selection of appropriate time utilization within prisons can be drawn from the material presented above.

1) Education, vocational training, and specific job skills in themselves appear to have only limited carry-over into post-release employment and seem to be unrelated to differential success in avoiding the commission of new crimes. The sole exceptions appear to relate to long term prisoners who may achieve significant improvements in educational levels or near journeyman status in a career vocational trade.

2) Lengthy and regular inter-personal relationships with specific staff members, usually work supervisors, are often significant factors in

28 Somers, p. 99

the rehabilitation of prisoners.

3) Among graduates of prison training courses, regular adult re-training courses, and workers in general, there is a high rate of occupationsl mobility, especially among younger workers.

4) Employer evaluation of the merits of adult re-training stresses the importance of the motivational and other positive personal characteristics which they believe men who have taken such training possess.

Chapter 3

LABOUR MARKET INFLUENCES

There are two influences of the Labour market which are of particular importance to the Penitentiary Service in its selection of work training. These relate to a determination of occupational areas in which there is expected to be a brisk demand for workers in the future and areas whose job requirements are consistent with the abilities and acquired training of the inmate population.

Table two presents some of the recent shifts in the general characteristics of the labour economy of Canada which are relevant for these decisions on training and education in the Canadian Penitentiary System. Changes in two industries stand out. These are agriculture and services. In agriculture there has been a precipitous three-fold decline in relative employment since 1946. Even coupled with the absolute growth of the Canadian economy, this has meant a decrease of somewhat over 540,000 workers in agriculture since 1946. The gains in the service sector have also been spectacular, the relative gain being just short of a doubling from 16.8 per cent of employment in 1946 to 29.5 per cent in 1965.

The relative growth in employment in construction and in finance have also been quite rapid, but because their proportions of employment have been smaller, their expansion has not represented as many jobs. The growth of employment in the trade sector has also been brisk, but transportation and other utilities have maintained about a constant proportion of industrial employment. Manufacturing and other primary industries have both lost relatively; yet with the absolute expansion in the Canadian economy, the number of individuals employed in these two areas has actually expanded.

The occupational data, also shown in Table two present a similar picture. There has been the same dramatic decline in the proportion of farmers and farm workers - an almost three-fold decline between 1948 and 1967. Between 1951 and 1961, there was an absolute decline in the number of male farmers and farm labourers of 27.8 per cent, a decline which was even more rapid for farm labourers than for farmers. The biggest relative gains came in the areas of managers, professional and technical workers, and service and recreation workers. The relative employment of labourers about held its own, expanding in the early 1950's and contracting again in the 1960's. The craftsmen and operative group gained slowly,

probably reflecting the expansion in construction and the modest downturn in manufacturing.

The discussion to this point has focused upon past changes and current conditions of Canadian labour markets. But what of the future, for it would be unfortunate if the Penitentiary Service were to catch up to the 1960's only to find that it was once more behind in the 1970's. Unfortunately, little assistance can be given on this point. Occupational forecasting is not a well developed practice. This is partly because only recently has much attention been given to it, and partly because at best any crystal ball gazing is difficult. The occupational distribution of some future date, say 1980, is partly a function of current occupational training and experience. It is also affected by substitution between industries and occupations and by technological change. A few examples may serve to indicate what is involved. In recent years there has been a significant expansion in the level of health care in Canada and this has involved rapid increases in the employment of health professionals, an increase of sixty-one per cent between 1951 and 1961. The number of male doctors increased by only forty-five per cent, while the number of female nurses grew 72.7 per cent, but the number of female

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nursing assistants increased by 167.1 per cent. In this process can be seen the re-allocation of duties previously performed by doctors and nurses to nurses and nurses' aides.

Consequently, projections of occupational growth on the basis of even a correct estimate of the growth in health services, but with the expectation of an unchanging distribution of duties within the health industry, would have resulted in a greatly over-predicted number of doctors and an under prediction of the number of para-medical personnel. Technological change may also create new occupations such as computer programmers, while union obstruction and employer blindness may, as with the railway firemen, delay an occupational decline decades after it should have taken place. In summary, we can do no better than to quote Mrs. Ostry on Canada's occupational history[1]:

> Changes in production methods, changes in the scale and organization of business operations, the emergence of new industries and the decline and disappearance of others, radically transform the nature of specific occupations, destroying some, creating some and profoundly modifying

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1 Sylvia Ostry, The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force. (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), p. 78.

> others. In a dynamic economy it is, therefore impossible to trace, over any long period of time, any considerable number of specific occupations. Very broad occupational categories, reasonably comparable in content, can be utilized for long-run analysis....

The wisdom of these words and the difficulties of occupational forecasting are well illustrated in a recent forecast of occupational requirements for 1970[2]. The estimates were based upon linear trends for alternatively the periods 1946-1953 and 1952-1963. Yet by 1967, the proportion of the population in managerial positions exceeded these estimates for 1970, while those in services and professional positions equalled the 1970 estimates in that year. Despite these minor problems, the publication's estimates for 1970 are consistent with the general trends shown in Table two[3]. Similarly the more detailed occupational estimates for 1975, including regional sub-totals, which have recently been prepared are also consistent with these patterns[4].

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2 Noah M. Meltz and Peter Penz, Canada's Manpower Requirements in 1970. (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1968).

3 Ibid, p. 21.

4 B. Ahamad, A Projection of Manpower Requirements by Occupation in 1975. (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, unpublished) p. 139.

The patterns shown in Table two and the difficulties inherent in trying to make detailed estimates of future occupational patterns lead to the following conclusions: 1) the past, broadly defined, is the best guide for the future, and 2) except for very broad economic trends, there is little reason for the Penitentiary Service to be concerned with trying to closely predict future economic trends in the design of its long term basic work training programs which will, for a variety of reasons, continue to form the basic portions of the Penitentiary Service's work training programs.

It is desirable, however, for part of the Penitentiary program to be more closely keyed to short run changes in the job markets of particular regions of Canada. A shortage of workers in jobs for which six months or less training programs would adequately prepare offenders to obtain desirable employment upon release could surely be the initiating factor in having the Penitentiary Service set up such a training program until the shortage no longer existed[5]. There are a variety of ways in which such information could be obtained: from the new job vacancy statistics which the Dominion Bureau of Statistics will soon be publishing, from the type of

5 In the discussion of the program to be utilized in the new Warkworth Institution, such ideas have been favourably received.

courses being set up at the local community college nearest the prison unit, or, most likely, from the estimates of occupational shortage which the Manpower officials prepare quarterly for their own use, but for which sharing arrangements have been implemented. In each of these, the responsbility for the estimate of areas in which there is a training need lies outside the Penitentiary Service. Their responsibility lies only in obtaining the information and making use of it.

Before these general trends can be interpreted as guidelines for Penitentiary Service decisions, several additional questions must be answered. One is the extent to which it is essential that prison training and work experience be geared to assisting a man to find employment in expending areas of the economy. The second is which of these areas offer the best prospects of actual employment to ex-inmates. The first is not easy to answer. Does the fact that manufacturing is not expanding relatively, though it employs approximately one and three-quarter million Canadians, mean that the Penitentiary Service with some 7,000 males in custody in 1969 should not gear its programs to the expectation that many of its released offenders will find jobs in the manufacturing sector? Clearly the answer is no. On the other hand, given the

importance to employers of prior successful work experience as a criterion for new employment, it is probable that the less well qualified individual's opportunities are greatest in job areas that are rapidly expanding. A vivid example of this was provided in the Denison Miner Training Programme[6]. One of the requirements for entry into the training program was a grade 10 education, but men were in short supply and the standard was lowered. It turned out that the median and model trainee had a grade 8 education and even this probably overstated the situation by one or two years due to a tendency on the part of the men to "exaggerate" the level of their prior schooling. Thus, while no specific rule can be promulgated care should be taken to see that prison work experience and training are directed at vigorous and, if possible, expanding areas of the economy.

Without detailed data on the characteristics of inmates' employment experience and the requirements of employers, it is difficult to speak with authority concerning

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6 "A Benefit-Cost Analysis of Prison Miner Training Programme", Research Branch, Ontario Department of Labour, December 1966 (unpublished), pp. 5-6.

those parts of the economy which offer reasonable employment opportunities to the released offender. The prior employment experience of men in United States prisons at the time of the last Census was disproportionately located in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories[7]. Among those jobs obtained by Glaser's post-release sample[8], thirty per cent were menial and unskilled, while another forty-one per cent were operative jobs. Together they amount to seventy-one per cent which must be a little over twice as large as the proportion of all Canadian workmen who are so employed.

A common characteristic which is thought to measure worker quality is the level of education[9]. Here it is relatively easy to compare the prison population to the general

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7 Robert Evans, Jr., "The Released Offender in a Changing Labor Market", Industrial Relations 5 (May 1966), p. 120.

8 Glaser, p. 330.

9 There is little question but that education does measure quality above the level of a high school education. Whether it does so below the twelfth grade is open to some debate because there are conflicting data. It is clear, however, that employers use education at less than the high school level as a filtering device and, consequently, the comparisons made here are germane.

Canadian population. This is done in Table three. There it can be seen in columns one and two that the penitentiary population is most closely comparable with Canadian males who are over the age of 65. The next two columns indicate both the extent to which the prisoner is of lesser quality than other men of similar ages and the extent to which the problem becomes more difficult with the passage of the years. About four times as many Canadians, males aged 20-24, as prisoners have completed high school and only one-fourth as many have not completed elementary school. Alternatively, the data may be viewed more optimistically. In 1965, 70.3 per cent of Canadian males aged 25-34 had completed between elementary and high school and 53.4 per cent of those in the penitentiaries were in the same category. Additionally almost half of those in prison and the same number of postwar immigrants aged 25-44 had either completed elementary school or some high school.

Canadian educational levels by occupations are also available from the 1961 Census. These are shown in Table four. With sixty-one per cent of those in prison having at least completed the eighth grade, it would appear that any of the occupations, except managers, professionals, clerical, and sales, would be potentially open to released

offenders and even these would be open to some ex-inmates, especially if an emphasis were placed on academic up-grading. The unavailability of most professional and managerial jobs is further underlined by the data recorded in column three of Table four which give the desired educational levels for those occupations. The differences between desired and actual is largely a measure of the growth in job requirements (a phenomenon which is observable within the Penitentiary Service) and the fact that on-the-job experience is, in part, a substitute for formal education.

These observations are also in accord with the type of jobs obtained by recently released inmates, Table four. There it will be noted that male released offenders are under-represented in the managerial, professional and clerical categories, while they are over-represented in the blue collar areas of production workers and labourers, a situation which would appear even more pronounced if the high proportions of occupations not stated were to be distributed among all occupations on the basis of the relative numbers already there. It is instructive to note that, according to recent estimates for 1970, some 20.2 per cent of all managers in Canada will have but eight or less years of education, and, more

importantly (see Table five) forty to seventy per cent of all employees in blue collar occupations in 1970 will have eight or fewer years of education. Viewing the problem from the perspective of the educational needs of those who were new entrants to the Canadian labour force between 1961 and 1970, 92.5 per cent of them will have required at least an eighth grade education. Some high school will have been required by sixty-two per cent of them[10]. Since almost all new entrants will require an eighth grade education, if the ex-inmate is considered to be a new entrant to the labour force, it would appear that up-grading to at least the eighth grade for those below that point should have a high priority. The projected requirements for new entrants somewhat overstates the case, for it assumes no occupational up-grading for those currently employed (occupational mobility is assumed to be zero though, as shown earlier, it is actually quite high). Given the importance of length of service to both on-the-job training and promotion, it would seem that those with whom the inmate is competing for employment could include some less

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10 Meltz and Penz, p. 56.

trained individuals. On the other hand, as the Manpower Report makes clear, the major factor in the upward movements in levels of educational structures of occupations are due to upward shifts within occupations[11]. While this upward movement may be due to new entrants to the labour force obtaining higher levels of schooling even in the face of static technical requirements, it may also be due to a rise in technical requirements.

A relatively recent Canadian study suggests that both factors are operative, that the employer sets appropriate educational requirements because of conditions of technology, not labour supply, and that he accords an aura of higher productivity to the better educated worker[12]. Either way the competitive position of the inmate is equally affected if he does not meet these higher standards. This is because employers will either insist upon the higher standard because they need it, or give the opportunity to the better educated worker because they believe him to be the more productive.

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11 Meltz and Penz, p. 27

12 Bruce W. Wilkinson, Studies in the Economics of Education, Department of Labour occasional paper 4, July 1965, pp. 114-119.

Earlier the importance of released offenders not being unemployed in the immediate weeks after release was noted in conjunction with the extent to which the recidivism decision is achieved within the first year. Thus, to the extent that unemployment is undesirable for the released offender because of its impact upon his potential earnings and the extra free time which it gives him, one desirable aspect of a correctional program would be to prepare men for work which would have low probabilities of unemployment. Some indications of the probability of unemployment are also shown in Table five. On an industrial basis, the areas to be avoided are Other Primary and Construction, while among occupations, they are Other Primary Occupations and Labourers.

The appropriate criteria with which to judge the current programs of the Penitentiary Service are the extent to which training and employment are being provided in 1) expanding areas of the economy, 2) areas with average or lower unemployment rates, and 3) areas consistent with the educational distributions of the inmates. Using these criteria yields the following judgments. A large number of men are employed in various areas of agriculture through operation of prison farms. Such employment is consistent

with good practice in that educational levels of those employed in Canadian agriculture and the estimate of required educational levels are consistent with median levels of education at entry for inmates. Since the unemployment levels in that industry and occupation tend to be low, it would provide desirable levels of employment continuity upon release. Despite these favourable aspects, the negative qualities of prison farm employment appear to greatly outweigh the positive ones. The bulk of men sent to Canadian prisons come from urban or small town backgrounds and are not apt, upon release, to be able to take up farming themselves, or to be willing to seek agricultural employment. This is shown in Table four. The principal negative attribute is the rapid rate of relative employment decline in agriculture, a rate which is sufficiently high that it yields an absolute job loss of major proportions. Since this has been the recent history of agriculture in Canada as well as the experience of other advanced industrial countries, it is suggestive that the trend will continue.

In Table six areas in which occupational training is now being provided by the Penitentiary Service are grouped. The table also contains the proportion of the

Canadian male labour force in 1961 which was employed in those areas and the occupational growth rate between 1951 and 1961. Two things are evident. Out of the twelve areas listed, only four, occupations 1, 4, 10 and 12, do not belong to the broad category of Craftsmen and Production Process Workers. Yet even within this broad category, training is being provided in the penitentiaries in areas which only account for about twelve per cent of all Canadian employment. This means that training is concentrated in a very narrow sub-section of all Canadian occupations. It is also a narrow portion of the jobs held by released offenders, these areas accounting for about twenty-four per cent of the jobs held by parolees after 6 months and nineteen per cent of those held by recidivists.

With an expansion of 18.7 per cent between 1951 and 1961, the occupations in the Craftsmen and Production Process Worker covered by training, on the whole, grew faster than did the average. The weak programs were Carpenters, with a negative 1951-1961 growth rate, and Painters, Plasterers, and Electronic Fitters which all had low positive rates of growth. Thus, while concentrated, occupational training does not seem to be centred in low

growth and backward areas.

A similar grouping in a somewhat different format has been prepared for the industrial program of the Penitentiary Service, and is given in Table seven. In fiscal 1967-68 there were fourteen industrial areas, but 89.2 per cent of the workers were in only six of them - metal, blacksmith and machine shops, canvas, tailor shops, shoes, and carpenter and paint. Adding the minor but closely allied areas of garage and gymnasium equipment, brings the figure up to 91.2 per cent of all employees in eight out of fourteen industries. This suggests that a strong case could be made for a reduction in the number of different kinds of industrial areas. On the basis of the recent growth experience of outside industry, the general metal products and tailor shop operations would seem to rank well. The wood products area presents a mixed picture since the expansion of wood products was low, but household furniture was faster than the average. Shoes presents a very poor picture and there were no outside data for canvas operations. The reasonable growth of the men's clothing industry, however, is not an adequate guide, since both that industry and light canvas operations tend to be disproportionate employers of women except in the most skilled occupations.

Thus the probability of carry-over of work skills for the inmate employed in tailor and canvas operations is apt to be very low. Among parolees for example only 2 per cent were employed in occupations where these skills might have been used while among recidivists the figure was one per cent.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the data in Table five on actual and required male educational levels, and the levels of inmate education in Table three, it would appear that useful occupational training and employment experience could be provided in agriculture, primary occupations, transportation and communications, craftsmen and process workers, and labourers. Judged by unemployment rates, agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, trade, service, and government would be acceptable areas. Combining these observations with those above, leads to the following recommendations:

1. Present occupational training programs appear to be largely in correct areas, but too narrowly concentrated. In addition, some slow-growing construction areas should perhaps be curtailed. In the future, new areas of training ought to move in the direction of transportation, sales, and service occupations.

2. A major re-structuring of employment areas, prison industries, and agriculture, would seem to be required. Agriculture, tailor

operations, shoes, and canvas should be dropped in their entirety. Care should be exercised in the expansion of wood products, while modest expansion of metal product operations would seem to be justified. The direction of expansion should be into other service and trade occupations and, for prison industries, into expanding and newer manufacturing areas and perhaps into the provision of services where, and if, possible.

The exact areas of occupational training and industries into which expansion should be directed will require careful consideration with due attention being given to the special circumstances of particular geographical areas. The same several sources of information suggested data on short term training which might be used. In addition, areas in which the various provinces have offered or supported training within industry could be a guide. This kind of information for Ontario is included in Table eight as an illustration. The on-going research of different government agencies and universities will also, from time to time, provide data which will be of use to the Service

in a review of its programs. In all of these, the Penitentiary Service will have to take the lead in seeking out information and assistance.

Chapter 4

THE MOTIVATION OF INMATES

Few problems loom so large in the penal process as that of motivation, both for inmates and for staff. No difficulty was mentioned so often during my visits to Canadian institutions and none appeared to be as perplexing in terms of a possible solution. Question six on the Instructor Questionnaire which asked whether motivation was a more serious problem within prisons than it was outside, was the only one upon which there was nearly unanimous agreement. Almost everyone strongly agreed that motivation in prison was a more serious problem. Nor is it only in prison where the uniqueness of motivation stands out. The Canadian Mental Health Association Vocational Rehabilitation Workshop Personnel Policies[1] contains the following quote:

> If there is one thing that separates those who are successful in the workshop and those who are not, it is the desire to improve.

At the outset it is probably useful to recognize that one of the reasons men are inmates is because

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1 "Personnel Policies CMHA Workshop Trainees" Ottawa, Multilith, December 1968, p. 1.

the general society's normal, and to most of us accepted, forms of motivation were not adequate to channel these men into accepted patterns. Since inmates are not naturally stupid or without ability, their low levels of education and generally poor work histories are further indication of the inability of conventional situations to provide sufficient motivation to produce normal tolerable behaviour.

Before the problem can be usefully discussed, some recognition must be taken of the fact that, when the correctional officials speak of motivation, they are usually speaking of motivation to participate in what the officials see as worthwhile programs which will benefit the inmate. In some cases there is a motivation to accomplish the tasks which have been assigned to the instructor. Too often, it seems, little concern is given to a consideration of the goals of the inmate, goals toward which the inmate may be highly motivated.

The inmates are quite aware of these distinctions. The Confreres, a group of former inmates in Toronto, in their recommendations to the Canadian Committee on Corrections, stressed that inmate choice should be the primary determining factor in work assignment and noted that "assignments are often

made on the assumption that a worker is needed in a certain position..."[2]. A clear example of this problem is the lament of instructors in shops like clothing, canvas, and shoes, over the unwillingness of the inmates to apply themselves and take advantage of the training which is available.

> There is a good deal of worth while training here, but the inmates are not motivated to learn

is a statement which I heard literally dozens of times[3].

Yet why should the inmate be interested in learning to make shoes or sew mailbags? The shoes produced in the shoe shop are serviceable (probably reasonably well made) but neither stylish nor attractive. Were they to be set out in the work shoe section of Simpsons Sears or Eaton's, it is doubtful that anyone would choose them. Also, outside of the Quebec area the opportunities for a man to obtain work in the shoe industry are quite limited

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2 Confreres, "Prison Industries and Trades Training" Recommendation to the Canadian Committee on Corrections, Toronto 1968, p. 5.

3 These illustrations and others should not be taken as reflecting upon the individual officers. The attitude is clearly positive and desirable. The question is whether the shops should be there at all.

and then largely to shoe repair. The machinery, while quite similar to that used in shoe company operations, is operated on a hand-job shop pattern which must surely seem quite atypical as preparation for work outside the institution. It is industries like these and others which John McKee[4] was referring to when he said:

> Their chief purpose is to keep otherwise idle hands busy, tie up energies that correctional authorities are afraid would cause trouble, and to appease the court's and public's demands for "hard labour".

In situations like these, is it any wonder that the inmates are not well motivated? Clearly the answer is no!

A second aspect which must be considered is the attitude of the instructor with whom the inmate must deal. What are the instructor's own motivations, is he interested in the nature of the work, does he know and keep up with new processes in his field, and is his interest and enthusiasm communicated to the inmates? Instructors and other correctional personnel who merely put in their eight hours, whose intrinsic

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4 John McKee, "Remarks." The University of Wisconsin Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, Education and Training in Correctional Institutions, 1968, p. 43.

interest in their work has long been lost, and who view inmates as "the scum of the earth" will hardly find that their inmates are highly motivated[5]. Conversely, the instructor with a clear liking for his work will tend to find his inmates to be well motivated. A striking example is an ornamental grounds instructor whose deep love and interest in flowers was quickly conveyed to the inmates, with clearly visible results around the institution.

The importance of the nature of the work itself in the development of motivation among "disadvantaged individuals" was dramatically demonstrated in the New Careers Program in New York City[6]. When it was first suggested that nurses' aides should be trained to become nurses, the hospital administrators replied that the aides were not really interested in nursing nor motivated to become nurses. Yet, when the opportunity to

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5 As indicated in the Preface, my over-all impression of the character and ability of Penitentiary Service personnel was quite favourable. They appear to have genuine interest and concern for the lives of those whom they supervise. Granting this, and with the personal knowledge that seeing a man leave, sure that this time he won't be back, only to welcome him again is disheartening, it must be noted that all too often officers described themselves as working with "scum", the "bottom of the barrel", etc.

6 Personal communication with Sumner M. Rosen, Director of Research, New Careers Development Center, New York University.

combine work and schooling came, with virtually no time off for fourteen months, at the end of which they would receive a state licence as a practical nurse and have a job as a practical nurse in the hospital, there were 2,400 applications for 450 openings. The key here was the promise that the training would lead directly to a desired job.

Another example is the New York one-year program to train inhalation therapists, a program in which one-half of the students were high school drop-outs, and one in which the "eagerness and ability to learn" of the students was a surprise to the instructors[7]. A similar conclusion, that a job itself was the most effective way of improving the motivation of men with severe employment problems, was drawn from the program "Jobs Now" in Chicago[8].

Analogous reactions are evident in the Canadian Penitentiaries. One of the conclusions of the Psychotherapy

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7 New York Times, August 16, 1968.

8 "Jobs Now" concentrated on severely disadvantaged, supposedly unemployable young men, mostly blacks, United States Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President 1969, p. 204

Group at the Collin's Bay Penitentiary was that many times the men lack confidence in the results of their training, in the value of the certificates of achievement, and feel that the probability that they will leave sufficiently trained to compete is very small. As a consequence morale suffers and interest lags[9]. The program to train computer programmers in conjunction with IBM at the Federal Training Center just outside of Montreal has lacked motivational problems, largely, it would seem, because it is training which leads directly to desirable employment. In the words of an inmate in a similar program, "This is the first time I ever had a profession"[10].

The primary importance of the nature of the work in the development of motivation should hardly be unexpected, though it sometimes seems that it is. It draws strong theoretical support from extensive studies of those factors

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9 Psychotherapy Group, "Education, Training, and the Inmate" Collin's Bay, Ditto, July 1968, p. 6

10 Marion S. as reported in the New York Times May 18, 1968.

which determine job satisfaction[11]. The five factors which stand out as strong motivators are achievement, recognition, the nature of the work itself, responsibility and advancement. The operation of all of these can be seen in the opportunity for the predominately black nurse's aides to become practical nurses and for the inmates to become computer programmers. These five factors turn out to be important because they are related to individual growth, to knowing more, being creative, and obtaining individuality and real psychological growth. That growth or maturity is essential to reformation of inmates has long been recognized. Thus the proper selection of work and training could achieve not only the motivation of inmates in the proper utilization of the opportunities which are available, but in the process could, because of the personal growth achieved, contribute to lessened criminal behaviour.

It must be recognized that prisons in common

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11 These factors were originally drawn from research on middle class employees and reported in Frederick Herzberg, et al, The Motivation to Work (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959). The study has essentially been duplicated with other work groups and in a number of foreign countries. These are discussed in Frederick Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co. 1966). Reference might also be made to a recent British study of manual workers, the Affluent Worker reviewed in the Financial Post, September 6, 1969.

with many outside companies have great difficulty in viewing the whole man and his needs for personal growth. Instead they tend to view man in parts. There is the physical man who likes creative comforts, the mechanistic man who likes to be used efficiently, economic man with his love of money, social man who desires acceptance by groups and the emotional man who likes psychotherapeutic environments. Each of these men has drawn a response from management, prison and corporate. These have included Paternalism, Tailorism, Human Relations, etc. The result is that a great deal of management's efforts are aimed at what Professor Herzberg refers to as dissatisfiers or maintenance factors. When these items are not obtained, employees are unhappy, but since they are all open-ended, just when the personnel department believes it has achieved success another demand is heard. The principal dissatisfiers are: company policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations and working conditions.

We have spoken in the general terms of business management and employees, but anyone familiar with Canadian Penitentiaries will recognize them in the description given above. Inmates are given pleasant living conditions, indeed the cells in the medium institutions are nicer than the

dormitory rooms in the new Staff College in Quebec. The new shop buildings are monuments in grandeur and in cost as well. And in perhaps the clearest case of misplaced emphasis, the "most desirable" institutions in the eyes of the senior administrators are the minimum security farm and forest camps because of the loosened physical[12] sense of restraint and, in some cases small increases in privileges such as visiting rights[13]. Yet these same institutions lack most of the more enjoyable recreational facilities and generally lack adequate library and educational opportunities. Thus, in terms of

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12 The "free" visitor to an institution is certainly aware of the difference between the gray fortress-like walls of St. Vincent de Paul or the clang of centuries old iron in Kingston Penitentiary, and the modest and normal fence of a farm camp. There also seems near uniform agreement among knowledgeable prison visitors that, if one had to William Head Institution in British Columbia is the place to serve one's sentence. The differences in the physical nature of the institutions may well be less important to the inmates, for there is a geographical point beyond which they cannot go. This point is perceptively made by a British lifer, see Zeno, Life (New York: Stein and Day, 1968).

13 The more open a prison usually the greater are visiting rights since they do not pose the same problem of security both in terms of what a visitor might bring into the institution but also the degree of supervision required for the inmate to move from his work station to the visiting area.

program, they offer much less to the inmate than does the regular institution. In addition, the work which is available, other than a few clerical jobs or those in the kitchen, are generally inferior to those inside a main institution, being almost entirely concentrated in farming, forestry, ornamental grounds, and outside work gangs for maximum security units. Despite these drawbacks, there are generally enough inmates who wish to be transferred to maintain them at the necessary work levels.

The failure of the work programs in the minimum security institutions to provide the growth aspects which are outlined earlier is quite clear. In addition, especially in forest areas, the work which is done is often work which "no one could afford to do except with inmate (low wage) labour". Without debating the intrinsic merits of the forest work actually done, or the failure to see that the true cost of the forest work to the government is not the wages paid to the inmate but the lost alternatives which the men could produce, it is vital to recognize that, from a motivational viewpoint, asking inmates to do work which society would not pay to have done is only another indication to the inmate that they are society's black sheep and they react

accordingly.

The importance of the intrinsic nature of the work as a motivational device is at the practical level well recognized by many of the instructors. A number of times it was pointed out to me that inmates "liked" to work on toys and equipment for children and that allowing the inmate to do the whole job (for example making a whole chair, rather than only part of it) was important for getting a good day's work out of the inmates[14]. Indeed one reason that productivity in the industries is low compared to outside operations is that, lacking so many of the specific motivational tools available to an outside foreman, inmate cooperation is obtained by allowing them to do the work in a manner which the inmates like even if it is not too efficient.

What is lacking within the penitentiaries

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14 As in everything men's tastes differ. One item produced in industries is the small stakes used by the Department of Agriculture to indicate data for rows of crops. In one institution the cutting of such sticks is the job of the new man in the shop for a day or two or, lacking new men, some inmates will do it on the promise of not having to do it for more than three hours. Yet in Mountain Prison, retirement on pension at age 65 not having yet reached the Penitentiary, an elderly man cheerfully cuts stakes day after day.

is a recognition of the importance of an over-all emphasis upon growth factors instead of dissatisfiers. Yet any such changes would tend to require certain major shifts of emphasis within the system and even with the best of intentions would take some years. In the meantime, there are specific behavioural tools which are in constant use within the institutions. While moving toward an over-all change in emphasis, it is appropriate that these day to day tools be as effectively used as possible, and it is to a consideration of them that we now turn.

Among the usual motivational tools available in a prison are the following:

1. Statutory remission which may be revoked in part or in its entirety.
2. Good conduct remission, the granting of which may be withheld.
3. Various kinds of limitations on standard prison rights.
4. A daily wage rate and promotion through the higher pay grades.
5. Good reports which may lead to more desirable work or living assignments and recommendations for parole.

The majority of these tools are essentially negative, and even the last two, while somewhat positive, still

contain serious limitations. Indeed to the outside observer, it seems that there is undue emphasis upon negative sanctions in the operation of prisons as compared with the non-prison world. Some officers suggested that there should be an increase in the use of negative elements. They proposed that wage differences be eliminated, but that the non-productive inmate be fined. A similar type of a proposal has also been put forward by a group of inmates, their suggestion being that all men start at a top rate of pay until their actions warranted a reduction[15].

The principal practical reason for the intensive use of negative sanctions is the extreme equality which exists in a penal institution. Essentially all living accommodations are exactly the same[16]. This principal of equality is carried to such an extreme that small wooden projects made by inmates in the pre-employment shop in Leclerc were destroyed upon completion because it would not have been appropriate to allow such differentiation in cell furnishings. A similar type of philosophy stands behind the rules on the ability of an

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15 Explanation of recommendation six, Confreres, p. 4.

16 In some older institutions, there may be slight differences dpeneding on when the living units were built.

inmate's friends, relatives, or bank account to supply him with additional aspects of the good life[17]. The number of visits from family and friends, movies, television, type and variety of food, almost everything which, in the world to which the inmate will return, marks the social and individual differences between men, are behind the gray stone walls obliterated. The inmate largely loses control over most aspects of his life, surely an extensive undermining of his motivation to improve his position outside. Is it any wonder that the man who is not even responsible for getting up, going to meals, etc., finds it difficult to take the responsibility for improving himself[18]?

Consider something as simple as going to the movies. The average man can work hard and use the money he thereby earns to attend a movie at a first run house, alternatively he can work less hard, earn less and attend the movie at a lower price at a neighbourhood house some

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17 It must surely be one of life's more ironic aspects that the social critics' fondest desire for equality of income should be applied to an outcast group.

18 In some institutions there has been a slight shift toward making the inmate responsible for being on time, but the movement is still quite small.

months later, or he can forego the movie and spend his earnings in another fashion. Yet in prison he can see the movie whether he works slowly, in an average way or very industriously and he cannot substitute some other desired goal for attendance at the movie.

A movement toward more positive sanctions, especially within the shops was another frequent suggestion which was received from the officers. The phrase used was "making it more like it is on the outside", but one sometimes wonders whether the true import of these words was recognized. If payment and reward for work are to be in accord with outside standards, can standards of outside consumption choice be disallowed? The author is prepared to consider the opening of a pub in a prison, but how many members of the Canadian Penitentiary Service feel the same way about pubs in prison, or perhaps more importantly, what would be the public reaction?

In addition to being too negatively oriented, there is a tendency for many motivational tools in prison to allow too great a separation between the time when the encouraged or suppressed activity takes place and when the

positive reward, or the negative sanction, is applied. This is less true with sanctions if the undesired action is "serious". It is quite common in industry for management to closely tie its rewards to the desired activity and increasingly students of behaviour modification in prison are stressing the need for such close ties.

> Incentives can be built into the learning process itself, since the ultimate incentive - a job outside - can seem very distant and unreal to the inmate. Incentives offered trainees (in the United States MDTA programs in correction institutions) have included program insignia, proficiency certificates, class trophies, access to trade journals and periodicals, and graduation exercises - in addition to monetary incentives[19].

The distant separation of reward from desired action in the Penitentiary Service seems to stem from two factors. One is that many of the rewards are rather inflexible, parole is given or it isn't, earned remission of three days is usually received as a whole or not at all though it can be granted in any amount. Secondly, the granting of these rewards is done at distant intervals and by boards which are separated from

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19 Curtis C. Aller, "Lessons learned from Vocational Training Programs Given in a Prison Setting" Education and Training in Correctional Institutions (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1968) p. 13.

the inmate and his supervisor. All of these will be seen in the following discussion.

Statutory remission was originally supposed to be a reward for good behaviour. Its value has been lessened, partly by the judiciary who seem to have given longer sentences in order to negate the quicker release of the convicted individual. It has also been weakened by the feeling amongst inmates that they have a <u>right</u> to remission except in the face of the most grievous faults[20]. The belief in a right to remission also suggests that it is probably more difficult to take away past rewards (punish) than it would be to not grant a reward. It is also consistent with the fact that a good deal of lost statutory remission is later restored to the inmate. This change in the meaning of remission and the judge's attitude toward it is also suggestive that most reward systems tend to lose flexibility and meaning over time as they become routine and accepted. The same is equally true in industry and business where pensions, insurance programs and other

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20 See the discussion in Joseph G. Mouledous, "Organizational Goals and Structural Change: A Study of the Organization of a Prison Social System", <u>Social Forces</u>, 41 (March 1963) pp. 283-290.

plans to tie workers to their jobs have, in many cases, lost their motivational power even though their benefits are now reaching higher and higher levels. It is, of course, all quite consistent with the distinction between factors which make one not unsatisfied as opposed to those which really motivate. Pensions, statutory remission, etc., all belong to the former category and consequently each new level is accepted by the next generation of inmate as the only tolerable condition. An inmate's observation catches this very well:

> You know, I just thought I ought to tell you, that this new program (the introduction of a treatment-oriented program into a highly rigid, punitive, custodially-oriented institution) you are putting in is for the birds. These young punks that are coming in today, they don't realize how good they got it. I have been around here a long time; I appreciate it, but these young punks, they don't appreciate it. They don't know how well off they are[21].

In addition to statutory remission there is earned remission which is granted monthly, up to three days. It is given by the grading board for the totality of the inmate's conduct. It is based upon the recommendations of the

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21 An unnamed inmate to Sanger Powers, then Warden of the Wisconsin Reformatory, as related in "Banquet Address", Education and Training... p. 47.

individual's work or study supervisor, the officer in charge of his living unit, and those charged with supervising his recreational and other activities. It is doubtful if either the inmate or the Penitentiary Service knows what the relative tradeoffs are between work records and behaviour in the living units, in the awarding of earned remission. As a consequence, the remission largely loses its motivation value since neither the man nor the officers really know which conduct resulted in his receiving his three days or not receiving them. Another difficulty is that three days a month appear to be given as a block, all or nothing at all, in most institutions, though in some, one or two days are sometimes given, but in no instances does it appear to have been broken down into hours. One alternative would be to have each of several units within a prison award its own earned remission. The idea of having some good time uniquely associated with work in prison industry was informally suggested to many of the instructors. The reactions ranged from indifference to enthusiastic approval and in an instance or two the statement that the instructor's recommendation was the sole basis for the granting of the remission. The majority questioned believed that the idea had merit and that they would welcome

the experiment

On the instructor questionnaire thirty-one per cent felt that the granting of earned remission solely upon the recommendation of the work or educational supervisor would be very helpful, while thirty-one per cent felt that it would be of some help. Only 11.3 per cent felt that it would be harmful.

Having stressed that some reforms in the remission system are desirable, the argument largely is disqualified. The Canadian penal system is moving in the direction of increased use of parole. In 1963 there were 1,504 ordinary paroles. In 1967 there were 2,422 ordinary paroles, including 973 federal ones. A future trend of increased use of parole seems assured. The shift to increased use of parole means that this seemingly most powerful of motivational weapons, a shorter stay in prison, requires revitalization. This will be difficult to accomplish even with the greater degree of integration which is planned for the Parole and Penitentiary Services.

If freedom on parole is to be properly utilized as a motivational tool in the penitentiary, then the

system of parole must allow some greater flexibility in the establishment of initial dates for parole consideration, in the setting of new parole consideration dates for those initially passed over, and in the decision to parole. Second, decision concerning dates and release should be in some way and to some degree clearly tied to the assessment of the man's activities in prison. These will be difficult to accomplish because the Parole Board, as distinct from the individual members, has no agreed upon and highly specific criteria for release, though a knowledgeable observer can predict parole outcomes with reasonable accuracy. A second difficulty is that the de-facto decision to release a man upon parole is essentially made by the regional parole officers, men who are completely at liberty to ignore the recommendations of penitentiary officials.

One curious aspect is that, while an ability to get along in the outside is an important consideration for parole, there are no explicit requirements that a man demonstrate that he has acquired the ability to adequately support himself through work before he is released. This is in striking contrast to the USSR where qualification in some skill is an essential prerequisite for release. It is

perhaps then not surprising that the work pace in the Soviet prison is essentially equal to that of an ordinary factory[22].

One approach to the problem would be to make parole dependent upon earning a given number of points, a number which might depend upon length of sentence, type of crime, etc. Points would be awarded for attitude, ability to support himself on the outside, etc. Some proportion of total points could be earned for prison activities and would be granted by penitentiary personnel. Since "doing one's own time" is not necessarily preparation for a life free of crime, care would have to be exercised to try to see that each man was evaluated in terms of his own weaknesses and strengths. Clearly there are legitimate objections which could be raised against the proposal and it would require special consideration and analysis before it could be adopted. Lest it appear too mechanical, it should be realized that the principal difference between this proposal and the present system is that in the suggested system the point values and trade-offs would be made explicit, whereas

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22 Joseph P. Conrad, Crime and Its Correction (Berkley: University of California Press, 1965) pp. 49, 169.

currently each member of the National Parole Board may assign his own weights and trade-offs to the various facts contained in the release report.

A number of advantages would also be evident. It would allow the prison officials an important motivation tool in more closely tying in institutional activities to the prospect of parole. By making the institutional authorities more responsible for their assessments of inmates it should ease the cooperation of Parole and Penitentiary employees[23].

After freedom, the second most useful motivational tool would seem to be inmate pay. At its current level of $ .35 to $ .65 per day, with a median and model inmate at the $ .55 pay level, inmate pay would seem to be too low to serve any useful purpose. In the words of the ex-inmates in Toronto:

> A better system of prison pay will greatly encourage a man to do a better job and to become involved in [illegible] training programmes. He would feel that he was getting some benefit from this in terms of material return which would help him upon release. He would recognize that work has value to it and that he has

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23 On occasion parole representatives feel that good reports are written on inmates less because they are true and more because the institution doesn't wish to be bothered with the man.

more freedom in determining the value of his work.[24]

In addition, the low absolute level of earnings means that an inmate is unable to contribute to the support of his dependents, and if it were allowed in Canada, some of them might even have to contribute to his support[25].

The low level means that, even with forced savings, his assets upon release will be too small to usefully serve to refinance his re-entry into the community. At a minimum, a man would seem to need enough to live on until he received his first cheque and a little money with which to have a "good" time. Even at a modest level of expenditure, this would imply saving of several hundred dollars. The very low level also raises a number of motivational difficulties for the internal operation of the custodial units. In regular life an abundant supply of goods and services, coupled with adequate money incomes, largely allows money to serve a wide assortment of practical motivational needs. In prison

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24 Confreres, p. 9

25 An inmate in another jurisdiction about to enter a work release program seemed most pleased that he would then be able to buy his own supply of "good" cigars rather than rely upon his wife to supply them.

it is just the opposite, for there most goods (food, shelter, recreation, schooling, etc.) which, on the outside, have a money price are provided free. Penal authorities to counterbalance the free goods, pay very low wages or none at all as in some American state systems. As a consequence, prison authorities lack a powerful motivational tool.

The low wage level means that, despite a Grade 4 inmate receiving eighty-six per cent higher wages than a Grade 1 inmate, the practical difference is not really apparent. Again, in the words of inmates:

> There is no marked distinction between the highest graded inmate and the lowest. The difference in purchasing power is negligible when it comes to canteen day and is not sufficient to influence an inmate's decision about the standard of work he will turn out.[26]

In addition, other assets such as knowledge of the system, cigarettes, and access to a second dessert, come to have a very high value and are exchanged between inmates for other things of "value". Since most of these other assets are but weakly under the control of prison officials, it means

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26 Psychotherapy Group, p. 7.

that they find the inmate not only not motivated toward their goals but actually motivated toward goals of the "inmate culture".

In opposition to the view that more reliance upon differential rewards and a money system would be helpful, some officials suggest that it would lead to the strong preying upon the weak, even more than they do at present. This largely is an untested assertion and there are enough successful situations to suggest that it should not be too much of a problem. In the Soviet Union, the workers at the corrective labour colony of Kryukovo (not far from Moscow) receive full pay at regular levels but with deductions for the maintenance of the camp. In practice, this means that a skilled worker might actually receive seventy-five per cent of his wages, while for a less skilled man, the rate might fall as low as forty-five per cent. The money paid to the inmate is unfettered and he is at liberty to send it to his family, save it, or spend it in the canteen. In the Kliniek institution in the Netherlands, the workers receive the rate of pay set by the government for sheltered workshops. In Finland, for work in road construction, men are paid the going outside wage less thirty per cent for the costs of maintaining the camps. In

Sweden at Tiiberga, the local area rates are paid, with the inmate having to pay for room and board. Elsewhere in Sweden, the rates are not yet up to the outside going rate. In addition, there is the ever growing experience with work-release programs where the men working outside receive their actual wages less some sums for maintenance[27]. These latter, it should be pointed out, are generally for only short periods, perhaps six months, and typically, the men are either in separate institutions or otherwise segregated from the general prison populations. Provision for the use of prison script which would have limited conversion rights into lawful money and the ability of all inmates to earn funds adequate to their prison comforts, would tend to reduce the magnitude of the danger of strong inmates preying upon weak ones[28]. A few experiments with "money" systems in correctional and rehabilitational institutions tend to support this view.

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27 Conrad, pp. 48, 49, 160, 222; Valentin Soine, "Finland's Open Institutions", Federal Probation 28 (December 1964) p. 20; Norval Morris, "Lessons from the Adult Correctional System of Sweden", Federal Probation 30 (December 1966), p. 9.

28 "I have heard a great deal about tobacco bargaining..but here in the Scrubs I have neither seen it nor heard of it operating. Where there is sufficient of a commodity graft has no chance." Zeno, Life, p. 78.

In the Black River forestry camp in Wisconsin the young men are given 250 points when they arrive. From these funds, they pay for private rooms, meals, recreational pursuits (television, swimming pool, etc.) and canteen items. Their work consists of programed instruction for which they are paid points for each page completed at a satisfactory level. Upon release, accrued points are converted into cash which the boys take with them[29]. A similar system is used with young people at the Boston State Hospital[30] while the programed learning rewards system has been a key part of the Draper Project[31]. In each of these, the results appear to be very good and the administrators are firm believers in the value of extending the programs.

Beyond the problem of the absolute level of inmate pay, an additional weakness is that the pay grade reflects not only a man's work (study) activity but also his behaviour in the rest of the prison. The extent to which non-work behaviour affects the pay grade seems to vary among institutions.

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29 Power, Education and Training, pp. 57-58.

30 Personal conversation with the director of Prop, Boston State Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts.

31 Rehabilitation Research Foundation, The Draper Project (Draper Correctional Center, Alabama) Final Report, 1968 I, p. 111.

Some instructors felt that their recommendations were central to whether a man was up-graded or not, while others mentioned the importance of other aspects of the man's behaviour, which were considered by the grading boards. In the case of Stony Mountain Penitentiary, the criteria for achieving the various grades are quite explicit and include high standards of citizenship and participation in addition to a good work record. The non-work standards for a Grade 4 (top grade) were such that several officers commented that they doubted that they would themselves qualify. While it may be desirable to reward good behaviour as well as work, it would seem unwise to dilute the relationship between reward and the specific activity by making it difficult for the inmate to know exactly why he did or did not receive an increase in wages. The tie between work and behaviour in grading can also be seen in the operation of the new medium institutions where grouping has been practiced in the assignment of inmates to living units[32]. The grouping is designed to grant additional privileges to, and require extra responsibility from, selected inmates. For example, inmates in one house unit might be

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32 The living units in the new medium institutions consist of four separate units grouped around a central court.

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responsible for their own cleaning, never have their cell door locked, and be allowed to go to the library at midnight; while in the lowest level living unit cell doors would be locked at 10 p.m. and assigned cleaners would look after the building. Usually this has meant that pay and responsibility grades have gone together, and there did not seem to be a great deal of sympathy among the officials involved for the idea that a Grade 1 behaviour inmate could be worth Grade 4 pay and vice versa.

It is not the practice of the institutions to include an instructor in the grading board decisions which concern his inmates and, as a consequence, when a man for whom the instructor has recommended a pay increase is turned down, the instructor cannot adequately explain why. This system also allows an instructor to shift to the board the onus for a failure of a raise to be granted. This may ease the job of an instructor with the particular inmate, but it does nothing to aid the man in understanding his own responsibility for what happens. This is not to imply that avoidance is typical or even common. Instructors largely reported that they specifically told an inmate why they had not put him in for a raise, if they had not, and what was expected of him before

a raise could be recommended.

The use of the grading board not only tends to take responsibility away from the instructor but, in practice, it tends to become a very inflexible system. Currently a change upward in the pay of an inmate can only come at the end of three months. These are fixed calendar dates which means that an inmate who arrives in an institution a few days after such a meeting will be ineligible for promotion at the next setting, not have been there three months and, consequently, will have to wait almost six months for his promotion. Among instructors questioned there were alternative evaluations of the usefulness of the three-month intervals. Some felt that it was valuable, since it forced the men to think in a longer time perspective than is common, so they said, for inmates. Others felt that the three months separated to an undue degree the reward, a pay raise, from the desired goal, better work performance. In general, however, the instructors felt that a much shorter period would be desirable ranging down to weekly or monthly. They also felt that the decision should be theirs alone and not delegated to some outside board.

Another deficiency is that the wage level is tied to appropriations from Parliament and, consequently, there can, and have been, cases where a man could not be advanced because there was not enough money in the account. Even if a lack of money in the account is not used as the basis for not giving a man an increased rate of pay, the idea that there is some natural distribution of inmates such that there cannot be too many Grade 4 or Grade 3 inmates does act potentially to inhibit the proper functioning of the reward system. As long as the grade of an inmate is supposed to reflect items other than his work record, there may be some meaning to the idea of a normal distribution, but it certainly has no merit for work alone unless it is closely tied to a job evaluation system.

Lastly there is a strong impression that the current wage and promotion system has been largely converted to a time in grade (length of service) system. This is shown in the insistence that an inmate can only progress at a given speed and by the minimal levels of performance necessary to earn promotion. One man's file bears eloquent testimony to the latter view, for it described a man who clearly had done only the bare minimum, yet he had received two pay raises prior to his discharge.

It should come as no surprise that it has become a length of service reward system, for incentive systems fall very easily into time-in-grade systems. The very real danger that even well conceived incentive pay systems will become merely time-in-grade systems may be partly guarded against if proper care is exercised in the operation of the system, making sure that the recommendations for pay increases and other evaluations of the inmates by the staff are done carefully and consistently. It is probably that under the current system officers are asked to evaluate each inmate on too many different qualities and using too many levels. An informal assessment by one Warden of the evaluations of his instructors found that they had essentially converted a five point scale into a three point one. Misuse of the system, as in the case of the officer who rates everyone highly, seems often to be handled by the grading board's adjusting the officer's recommendations, rather than by working with the officer to obtain more appropriate evaluations. These operational weaknesses are hardly unique to the Canadian Penitentiary Service, for they abound in perhaps all evaluation systems, even in well managed companies, as the progessional literature on the subject of performance appraisal and evaluation systems makes

abundantly clear[33]. Yet this should suggest to the Penitentiary Service that it takes time and work to make evaluation systems operate efficiently and usefully and that theirs is not an exception[34].

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33 Robert Evans, Jr., "Worker, Quality and Wage Dispension: An Analysis of a Clerical Labor Market in Boston." Proceedings, industrial Relations Research Association (December 1961) pp. 246-259.

34 The proposed organization at the new Warkworth Institution which will emphasize responsibility for inmates through dorm units organization should make it easier to more fully involve instructors in grading board type evaluations. This should ease certain evaluation problems. At least this has been the experience of a similar involvement of instructors in the American federal system.

RECOMMENDATIONS

While the careful reader probably inferred from the trend of the discussion many of the recommendations, it is still appropriate to discuss them in a more systematic manner.

1) A Correct Job Assignment

To ensure that the work-training program which a man enters will provide him with appropriate motivation depends upon two factors: 1) having the right openings to offer, and 2) making sure that the man enters the one that is best for him. A correct set of openings raises the general question of the utilization of inmate labour and the number and types of work-training or pure training opportunities which should be maintained in the prison system. John McKee, in discussing the type of opportunities, has placed great emphasis upon the need for every job for which an ex-offender is being prepared to have a career ladder built into it and to be a job that is prestigious[35]. He also noted that Dr. Charles Shack, in his work with streetcorner gangs many years ago,

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35 McKee, "Remarks", p. 43.

had also pointed out the importance of prestige and status in jobs for ex-offenders, while Clyde E. Sullivan's "Boy Jobs"[36] provides a much more colourful description of the low prestige level of many jobs held by the ex-offender.

I have sympathy for such a view as well as the view of a number of inmates in the United States that $2 an hour was an appropriate beginning wage. Yet it needs to be recognized that a number of Canadians hold down what are essentially "boy jobs" and that the figure of $2 an hour was, when proposed, $ .35 above the United States minimum wage and would have produced an annual income some twenty per cent above the poverty line. A Canadian comparison is that in 1961, thirty-five per cent of all non-farm families had incomes of $4,000 or less, while the average income in 1965 of non-farm families in the second lowest fifth of the Canadian income distribution was a modest $4,542.[37]

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36 Mr. Sullivan was responsible for a United States MDTA program for young short-term inmates in New York's Riker Island Institution. Because the men were young, the problem of the "Boy job" may have been more serious than for men released from adult penal institutions. "Boy jobs" refer to those which have no promise of promotion, and the term probably comes from employer instructions "Boy, do this" or the fact that want ads refer to "Boy Wanted....".

37 Economic Council of Canada, The Challenge of Growth and Change, Fifth Annual Review, September 1968, p. 107.

The aspirations of offenders in a context where large numbers of the population are economically worse off raises the question of whether the public at large will support programs which, in a sense, would offer inmates opportunities which are denied large numbers of other unfortunate but non-criminal citizens. Putting aside this philosophical or political question, the Penitentiary Service now provides training in only thirty-six per cent of the areas which are reported in the adult education statistics for Canada[38]. Algonquin, a community college in Ottawa, offers students a number of apprenticeship and one-year programs. The apprenticeship courses are all in areas which are also available to inmates, but only five, or half, of the one-year courses have similar counterparts available to federal inmates. The Canada New Start Corporations, which are designed to aid groups of the disadvantaged Canadian population, appear to be moving in new directions which would provide potentially more prestigeful jobs. In Nova Scotia

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38 The list of adult education courses is from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Preliminary Statistics of Education, 1967-68, April 1969, pp. 43 and 44.

the program includes training hospital aides, counsellor aids, teacher aids, and family service aids. Teacher aids, and social work aids and programs to prepare people in sales are part of the program in Saskatchewan[39]. These programs are moving in the direction of what has been termed "New Careers" in the United States. In some American jurisdictions, New Careers also includes the use of ex-offenders in correctional and parole positions, apparently with reasonable success[40]. What needs to be stressed is that an opening up of the possibility of moving out of the blue collar ranks to the inmate may be an important development in the search for increased motivation.

The second aspect of having the right openings for an inmate consists of having openings in his area of interest when he is available. The inability to place a man where he wants to be is a serious negative factor in

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39 Report to Senate Special Committee on Science Policy on the Canada New Start Program, March 1969, pp.20-23.

40 With regard to Indians, there has already been some discussion of employing ex-offenders to work with current ones.

motivation. This was mentioned in both of the reports by Canadian inmates cited earlier and was listed by countless officers during my institutional visits. There are several directions in which solutions may be sought. Over eighty per cent of the inmates available for useful employment are involved in institutional support activities and industries. In both instances, this means that there are production deadlines which force inmate supervisors to "demand" from classification an adequate number of inmates. Consequently, regardless of inmates' interests or desires, many will find themselves assigned to these operations[41].

Having openings for the inmates when they are interested thus, essentially, means that there must always be an excess demand for inmates in the work-training areas and this, necessarily, implies that inmates not find extensive employment in areas where there are tight production requirements or that alternative methods of adjusting to an excess or deficit of inmates be arranged. This may mean dry grass in the summer, production for inventory or the ability to utilize short service workers (like Office Overload) obtained from the outside or other methods.

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41 It should also be noted that many officers feel that inmates really don't know what they are interested in, or that their interests and subsequent motivation quickly change.

An approximation to a more complete system of job openings which would better join together the inmates' needs and interests would be obtained by a more systematic handling of inmate personnel. As institutions currently operate, an instructor may open his shop on Monday to find new inmates on his roster or old inmates suddenly gone, all without prior notice. The same practice may also apply to the institution in its receipt of men from regional reception, and, of course, reception in its receipt of men from the courts. Some of these difficulties are inherent in a system which has a very high rate of turnover and depends for recruits upon the pattern of individual crimes, trials, appeals, and sentences, and which largely discharges by direction of the National Parole Board. Still, much more could be done to regularize the flow of inmates through the system, especially in Quebec and Ontario where the major institutions are geographically close to one another. In order to achieve such a regularization, two decisions will have to be made by the Penitentiary Service. One is to improve the regional allocation of inmates, probably using a director of inmate personnel to accomplish this. The second, and more difficult one, would involve changing the basic rationale for assignment from a custody

determination to a work-training one. This would involve making certain institutions relatively specialized in their operations, which would not be difficult[42] but it would also involve some reorientation in the concept of custody grading, a more difficult task.

Beyond having the correct work-training openings available there needs to be assistance in helping the inmate decide what he is interested in doing. The plans for the new Regional Reception Centers call for vocational training rooms where certain mechanical aptitudes can be assessed. In addition, aptitude and interest tests will be given. Some of this is currently being carried out, but probably more needs to be done. The very nature of the testing process supposes that the inmate has had enough experience and training to make intelligent decisions. Yet any examination of the work history of inmates, especially young ones, would suggest that their real knowledge of the world of work is quite limited. It is also the experience of the Canada New Start Corporations that the trainees need assistance in

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42 In some degree, units are already specialized, the forestry camp being a prime example, and the heavy emphasis on industry at Leclerc and on vocational education at the Federal Training Center in the Quebec region being another. What is currently lacking is the concept that work-training is the basis for assignment to an institution and the design of an integrated program for the various institutions.

deciding upon appropriate occupational goals[43].

Thus, a much longer period of time needs to be devoted to this process. In some industrial rehabilitation operations, six weeks or more may be allotted to finding the appropriate area for a man. At Mount St. Antoine, a training school in Quebec, the boys spend three months in working in the various shops before a decision is made concerning their regular shop assignment.

It is also instructive to note that Ontario employs seventy-two vocational counsellors in its physical and mental rehabilitation program[44] but the Penitentiary Service is only now considering the employment of its first vocational counsellor. At present, depending upon local circumstances, an official of the local area Manpower Office

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43 Interview with Mr. George Caldwell, Community Relations Consultant, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, July 1969.

44 Financial Post, June 21, 1969.

does talk with the inmates during reception, but this talk is largely devoted to answering questions and telling about the services available at Manpower offices. The counselling function is essentially undeveloped.

Clearly the large scale introduction of more and better vocational and job counselling with the Penitentiaries can be done either through an increased staff at the penitentiary or by cooperative arrangements with outside agencies. Some improvements can be accomplished by the Penitentiary Service with its own resources and this should be done. A number of occupational films could be viewed and discussed and men could be assigned for a day or two to actually work in various shops so that they could have a clearer idea of exactly what was involved and what could be achieved if they applied themselves. A program in this direction would also help to limit another recurrent problem which the instructors have - the man who thought he was interested in their area, but later decides that he really isn't interested. Cooperation with other agencies should be relied upon for the rest. Manpower offices, the Vocational Rehabilitation units in the various provinces,

and the new adult education oriented community colleges, all have talents which the Penitentiary Service should enlist in behalf of its inmates[45].

The discussion has centred on developing a program for the inmate, but what is his role in this? Clearly it should be positive and active. Ideally, an individualized program should be worked out between a counsellor and the inmate. It should include both long and short term objectives, with the goals being specific enough so that both the counsellor and the inmate will know whether they are being met. The meeting of such limits could become prior conditions for promotion in wage levels, increased freedom within the institution, or even parole. Such a program is inherent in the new contractual

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45 A program involving prison and vocational rehabilitation was begun in a unit of the Pennsylvania system in 1967. It involved an integrated unit (rehabilitation supervisor, counsellors, evaluators, social workers, psychologist, and psychiatrist) which did a comprehensive evaluation and plan development for the individual inmate for both prison and afterward. A member of this group then participated in the institutional classification system. John J. Gordon, "The Pennsylvania Public Offender Program of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation". The Prison Journal 48 (Spring-Summer 1967) pp. 39-42

approach to behaviour modification which is currently being emphasized in some correctional circles. The jointly agreed upon goals and plan between counsellor and inmate are, of course, the contract to which both the inmate and the penal system agree to abide. This approach is also very close to DACUM[46], a method of educational planning which has been developed for use in the Canada New Start Corporations.

The Stevenson-Kellogg report suggested that an inmate's initial work assignment be either to a no-work situation or to a non-work one (meaningless hands-out-of-mischief type) until the inmate "requested" an assignment to a more meaningful use of his time. Similar arrangements have also been suggested a number of times by various penitentiary staff members and somewhat the same approach is used at the diagnostic and treatment center at Dannemora Prison in the State of New York[47]. Various rationales in support of these have been presented. Stevenson-Kellogg felt that the request

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46 Design a Curriculum.

47 Address by John J. Moran at the Regional Seminar, Correctional Industries Association, Montreal, May 6, 1969.

of the inmate for a better assignment provided greater involvement by the inmate in his own program and what it would contribute to a positive motivation once the inmate moved on to a new and requested assignment. A somewhat similar set of reasons seemed to lie behind the suggestion when it has been made by Penitentiary Service staff. In the Dannemora situation the inmates are initially assigned to either shoes or tailoring as an attempt to develop dependability, staying power, and a proper industrial attitude.

It is doubtful if such negative situations as forced unemployment of shoemaking are really conducive to the development of appropriate attitudes. Most parents wish their children to have a positive attitude toward work, but they rarely impose either forced idleness or stupid work upon them. Inmates are hardly children, but the basic factors which underlie success are probably not so different. While I am opposed to the implementation of any such approach in the Penitentiary Service, the suggestion does serve to underscore the problem of unemployment. Most of the inmates are not accustomed to regular employment. Their life style has previously been of

interwoven periods of work and non-work. The recidivists in the sample reported an average of 8.6 weeks of unemployment in the period of one year prior to their re-arrest. The median number of weeks of employment to those employed at all, in the six months prior to re-arrest was only 6.5. Therefore, some consideration might be given to incorporating a system of voluntary inmate unemployment into the institutional program. A portion of the institution could be set aside for those who did not wish to work on any given day. Inmates who went there could walk around, talk, and engage in the other innocent pastimes of the non-worker. Deductions from inmate pay would result and, if the institution ran on the basis of a normal money economy, the inmates paying for room, board, recreation, etc., there would be strong forces tending to limit the amount of unemployment which would be chosen. Such an approach would also lessen the individual shop instructors problem because the man who didn't wish to work could stay out of the shop instead of going and just doing enough work to avoid being punished, but not enough to avoid being a disrupting influence. The current approach in the Penitentiaries is to deal with each inmate as an individual and the regional class-

ification officer does outline a specific program for the man. In actual practice the suggested program is not being anywhere near accomplished as the officers themselves are quick to admit. Nor is there any systematic follow-up to see to what extent the program has been followed.

After a better placement program is developed, there still remains the task of reward and punishment systems to ensure that the various training programs will be effective. The increased use of positive rewards and a decreased use of negative sanctions are highly desirable. The tentative movement in the new medium security units toward grouping of inmates in their living units with the more responsible groups being allowed increased privileges is certainly a move in the right direction. It is probably highly desirable that some experimentation be made in the use of a money equivalent reward system with which the inmate would pay for many of those desirable features of his life which he now receives free.

Such a system, in addition to having the potential of allowing men greater control over their lives, would allow the negative sanctions to become fines instead of segregation or long term decreases in the man's pay grade. As indicated earlier in the discussion, such a system does imply some very great changes in the manner of running a prison. For that reason it is probably appropriate that any moves in that direction be done in a smaller institution, perhaps one where younger and less prison-wise inmates are assigned.

The kinds of changes which would be appropriate in order to allow for an increased responsibility and role for the prison official in the granting of parole were given before and need only be briefly re-stated. Parole decisions should be explicitly linked, but only in part, to prison behaviour. Lest this be misunderstood, "doing one's own time" is not necessarily important, but learning job skills, improving one's education, being able to work cooperatively with others, completing a full day's work, etc., should improve one's ability to complete parole. One way to achieve this would be through the use of the contract system of inmate assignment, which was discussed in terms of proper job assignment. The achievement of certain levels would be required before parole was possible and the

achievement of certain others would almost grant the man a right to parole. If the parole officers were brought into the contract at the decision stage, it should provide sufficient assurance that the prison officers were not "giving the whole show away", but were being consistent with the position of the Parole Board which alone, by law, has the authority to grant parole.

Lastly, we turn to a reform of the wage system. This involves the determination of an appropriate base wage, the question of differential wages for different jobs, the decision to promote, the use of individual or group incentives the allied questions of holidays, vacations, sick pay, what is done for the halt, the sick, and the lame, and the relationship of educational subsidies to the going wage rate.

Earlier it was indicated that there were a number of places where essentially labour market equivalent wages were being paid to inmates but, with the exception of the USSR, it does not appear to be a rather general practice across any complete correctional system[48]. Recently in the

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48 It should perhaps be noted that the prison which Mr. Conrad visited was for "regular" as opposed to political prisoners. The treatment of the latter appears to be quite different.

United States there has been discussion of the minimum wage as the appropriate wage for federal prison industries. This is also the level which is prescribed in Canada and the United States for the operation of sheltered workshops and other work-rehabilitation situations[49]. Primarily because it is the basis of payment in the sheltered and rehabilitation workshops, it is recommended that the basic rate for a semi-skilled inmate worker be the highest minimum wage currently being paid by any Canadian province and that adjustments in the basic wage would be made in the fiscal year following an upward adjustment of the minimum wage in the highest minimum wage province[50] in conjunction with certain modest charges for food, shelter, etc. The introduction of such a wage level may not initially enjoy much support from the instructors and supervisors. About sixty per cent of them felt that

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49 In the United States a rehabilitation workshop may pay at less than the minimum wage if it can demonstrate to the Department of Labor that the specific worker cannot meet the rate of output which is common in industry.

50 This is considerably higher than what was recommended in the 1964 Official Statement, Prison Pay and Discharge Provisions in Canada, of the Canadian Corrections Association. This figure was twenty per cent of the minimum outside wage.

inmate pay up to $2 per day would be a helpful improvement, while only 8.8 per cent felt that it would be harmful. Response to $2 per hour was somewhat different with only twenty-three per cent feeling that it would be helpful and 46.8 per cent that it would be harmful. The mechanics of the wage system, individual and job rates, etc., are discussed in some detail in Appendix D.

Since it is highly desirable for inmates to obtain higher levels of basic education, it is recommended that, while he is initially and satisfactorily engaged in school activities, he should be paid the beginning work rate and that provision be made to increase this upon the completion of certain grade levels. It is anticipated that this would mean a somewhat lower pay than if the inmate were working full time. This should not be too much of a disadvantage since combination work-study programs are probably the most desirable for most inmates. In addition, the relative level of subsidy to education would still be greater there than it is for the non-criminal adult trainee under Canadian Manpower Programs.

Individual incentive plans are widespread in industrial operations, but they are also widely criticized by

many industrial relations authorities, a position with which I am in complete agreement. Consequently, it is recommended individual incentive rates not be introduced, though Appendix D does recommend the use of merit bonuses. Instructors are much more sympathetic to individual incentives, with seventy per cent of them believing that they would be helpful and only nine per cent feeling that they would be harmful. Group incentives do not share the same disadvantages as do the individual ones and also contain a number of valuable features. The most valuable of these are the sense of co-operation between workers and departments and the group encouragement and assistance to slower workers . It is, therefore, recommended that group incentive systems be utilized. There is moderate support for this among the instructors and supervisors, forty-five per cent feeling that it would be helpful and fourteen per cent that it would be harmful.

Group incentives are used in the United States federal prison industries with apparently good results. At Hall in Sweden, group incentives are also used and the director believes that the work is competitive with private

industry[51]. While highly desirable[52], group incentive systems can be very tricky in operation especially where they are introduced into shops with low levels of output. An additional complicating factor is the importance of training in the work situation, for, if care is not taken to see that the training component is included in the group form, then training can easily become lost in the drive for higher income. For these reasons, it is suggested that the general use of group incentives await the introduction and adjustment to a new general pay system. The group incentive system should be as simple as possible, and the inmates should be involved in determining the norms and the ratio of savings which are made part of the inmate incentives and the savings on capital which are kept by the employer.

The importance and usefulness of employee participation was underlined for Canadians in the recent

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51 Conrad, p. 132

52 The Toronto ex-offenders were opposed to production quotas (a form of incentive), but largely on the basis of their experience with those used in an informal way in the canvas shops. A well-designed group program would largely avoid the problems of which they spoke. Confreres, p. 4.

postal-worker response to the attempt by the Post Office to introduce the "straight-through" delivery system. It is instructive to note that the apparent burdens fell upon the postmen, but the savings went, not into higher pay, but greater postal profits (a reduction of losses) and thus its failure to succeed was almost foregone. In order to avoid similar problems in the Penitentiary Service, it is recommended that, prior to the introduction of group incentives, the alternative types of plans and their advantages and disadvantages be carefully considered by the work and industrial supervisors[53].

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53 The supervisors in the American federal prison industries with whom I spoke all cautioned that care should be used in the introduction of group incentives though they all felt that well functioning ones were quite valuable. The Author's own choice would be an adaptation of the wellknown Scanlon Plan. See: Frederick G. Lesieur (ed.) The Scanlon Plan (Cambridge M.I.T. Press, 1958).

Chapter 5

MARKETING POLICY

Marketing policy for the Industries Division of the Canadian Penitentiary system revolves around three key issues. These are: 1) what items should be sold, 2) to whom should they be sold and 3) at what price they should be sold.

What is sold

There are currently twenty-three major product areas grouped into fifteen major shop areas. Among the fifteen only five are of any size. These five produced approximately ninety per cent of the gross revenue of the Division in 1967-68, with the individual contribution ranging from about eight per cent to about thirty-eight per cent of gross revenue. These five shop areas in the order of their relative contribution to gross revenue were canvas, carpenter and paint, (including gymnasium equipment) tailor, metal and shoes. Within the individual shops, with the exception of canvas, tailor, and shoe operations where the product lines are very limited, the typical shop's output reflects a job-shop type of product line. In 1966-67 Industries produced 294 different items for the Penitentiary Service itself.

In the two years 1966-67 and 1967-68 a total of 280 different items were produced for other governmental and non-profit groups. Out of those 280 items only 87 were made in both years. In addition to these 574 items recorded at central headquarters, additional small orders were accepted by the institutions themselves. When these are included, the total product list is estimated to be about 650 items which are currently being sold to approximately 1,100 different customers. Among the items produced for sale outside the Service itself, the size of orders in 1967 - 68 ran from 1 unit to 141,000 units and from a dollar amount of $5.50 to $448,000. On the average each item produced $5,000 of gross revenue but if the single item with a billing of $448,000 is removed, the average drops to $2,480. Yet it may be more germane to note that the median order was only worth $448 dollars.

To Whom Sold

Based upon Penitentiary Service Regulations the groups and individuals to whom products may be sold are the federal government, provincial and municipal governments, other non-profit organizations and

employees of the Department of the Solicitor General and the Department of Justice. Government support, through purchases of penitentiary products, is based upon an Order-in-Council, No. 1760, dated June 1, 1921. More practically it rests upon Directive 296, January 15, 1968, of the Department of Defence Production, now Department of Services and Supply, which is rapidly becoming the buyer for all federal government departments. The Department's basic policy is as follows:

> The policy of this Department is to give the Penitentiary Service an opportunity to fulfill certain requirements of customer departments provided the Penitentiary Service can give the necessary service and quality at an acceptable cost.

The relative importance of the various buyers from Industries is the Penitentiary Service itself, other federal departments, and miscellaneous buyers. In 1967-68, twelve per cent of industries production within an institution was for self-consumption in that institution and twenty-seven per cent was for other units of

the Service, fifty-eight per cent was for non-profit and other governmental units and three per cent was officer custom work. In 1966-67 out of some $967,000 of governmental and non-profit production, the federal government took $701,000 or about seventy-three per cent with the post office alone taking 41.5 per cent, almost of all which was mail bags. Sales to school districts accounted for $138,000. If production for the requirements of the Penitentiary Service and for the post office are excluded, the federal government accounted for about half (fifty-three per cent) of the sales of Industries in 1966-67.

The Price Charged

Current price policies are as follows. Materials produced for the Service itself are sold for the cost of material alone. Governmental and non-profit groups are charged cost of materials, direct labour at $.10 an hour for inmate labour, plus handling at ten per cent of the direct labour charge. In addition a surcharge for wastage is usually added which generally amounts to twenty-five per cent of the cost of materials. Custom work for officers is charged at cost of materials,

direct labour at $.05 an hour and a handling charge of ten per cent. In some cases the Department of Supplies and Services specifies the price it will pay. Installation and servicing are not provided since the range of products does not usually require these.

The Development of Markets

The extensive number of items produced, over 650, reflects the wide number of shops, some eighty-five in the twelve institutions. The number of shops will increase as industrial operations are opened in the newer institutions, a process currently under way. It also reflects the tendency to operate job shops, a fact which is apparent in the conduct of most of the industrial operations. It seems clear that job-shop marketing followed the establishment of the shops on the basis of job-shop production because the shops were originally set up to provide for their own institutions. Annual reports for the 19th century make this quite clear as they itemize the number of kegs of nails, board feet of lumber, pounds of seeds, square feet of leather and cloth purchased, but with little mention of buying finished products. Gradually

industries expanded beyond that to selling to other government departments. During most of the 1950's, about two-thirds of production was for the Penitentiary Service, a figure which is now down to about forty per cent.

The cultivation of more extensive markets has been complicated by a number of factors. One has been product quality which is both a function of the level of work and of the range of skills available within a prison. In recent years with special emphasis having been given to quality control, including the appointment of a quality control officer in each of the three regions, the problem of poor workmanship does not appear to be too serious. A second, and from the point of view of most customers the most serious, problem is the lack of on-time delivery. A poor delivery record has its source in several practices. One is the failure to produce for inventory with sales then made from warehouse stock. A second is the lack of appropriate inventory of raw materials. The third and most influencial is a complete lack of inmate manpower planning. Whereas the foreman in an outside firm can predict with reasonable assurance the number of manhours of given skills of labour which

he will have available, the instructor in a shop can expect wide and unexpected interruptions.

In general the industrial program does not sell from inventory. This largely reflects the fact that, in its most established programs, gym equipment, steel shelving, and post office bags, they have a backlog of orders whereas in the other fields the lack of assurance that there will be orders in the immediate future largely precludes an extensive inventory. Secondly, there has been some confusion between the views of central office personnel and institutional personnel as to the legality of the latter having a modest inventory of items like playground equipment where orders are not assured but come in with reasonable regularity. The divergence may be related to what used to be the "revolving fund limitation" and the successful efforts to combat it. The sometime shortage of necessary raw materials again seems related to the wide swings in the pattern of product production which precludes maintaining a fixed inventory of raw materials. While there were some comments made by field officers concerning the slowness of obtaining

materials through the Services and Supply Division of the Penitentiary Service, the system with one possible exception seems well set up to handle orders.

The weaknesses in the area of inmate manpower planning can be divided into two groups, those which are characteristic of a prison system and those which are susceptible to organizational reform. In the first area would go the fact that new employees arrive only upon the action and timing of the courts and that a large share of the discharges are a result of the actions of another outside agency, the Parole Board. Additionally, the need to maintain some adequate security leads to the use of inmate labour for many of the supportive functions of the institution and the needs of these areas for labour come before that of the industrial supervisor. A third factor which belongs in both areas is the need to handle medical, outside interviewer, and family visits largely during normal working hours. Some better planning could reduce the interference of these with the work day.

Activities which are more controllable largely fall into the category of proper planning. This

is both at the institutional and the regional level of inmate assignment.

The key element in assignment is the custody grade. Regional reception is at the maximum security level. The strong tendency in the Canadian system to keep a large number of men initially in a regular maximum security unit and only later in the sentence to move them to a medium unit and in many cases eventually to a minimum level leads to a high rate of turnover. At Joyceville for example, with approximately 500 inmates, 439 were transferred in 1967-68 and 184 were transferred out, 161 were released and 101 were paroled. Within the institution, an effort is made to assign men in accordance with their abilities and interests, but manpower planning in a systematic way is not practiced. The combination of all of these results in rates of turnover in excess of 200 per cent per year in most shops and on occasion rising to over 500 per cent.

It seems clear that the solution to on-time delivery lies in a joint attack upon all of these complicating factors. Probably the most important

decision which is required is a drastic pruning of the list of available production items. Some reasonable number of appropriate production items should be chosen on the basis of availability of markets, stability of demand, and skills necessary to produce them. In general these should be items of essentially standard design though some design work by the Industries Division will be necessary in developing some new lines. Care must be taken to see that this necessary design work does not result in the division placing too much emphasis on new items which absorb too many hours of time which could more fruitfully be given to standardizing the flow of operations, a current weakness. The recreational field, especially national park needs for some of the institutions, would appear to have great promise. Another area would be the new modular furniture which will be soon a large item of standard federal government purchases.

Once the product line is extensively reduced in size, the twin inventory problems, raw materials and finished products, should largely disappear, though some care will still have to be exercised if the joint demands of on-time-delivery and minimized inventory costs are to be obtained.

The total expenditures of the governmental and non-profit groups who may purchase from the Penitentiary Service are more than adequate for whatever levels of activity might be generated. Despite this, some consideration should be given to removing the restriction upon the sale of items to the general public, though with suitable safeguards for private enterprise, to be discussed later. The reason for such a change is that, if operations are to be geared to producing a limited line of products, then it may be necessary from time to time to allow sales to private buyers in order to even out the fluctuations in production and in orders from public authorities.

The pricing policies of the Industries make no sense whatsoever and contribute in a number of ways to inefficiency. Since there is no standard price for an item and since the price bears no close relationship to actual costs, it fails to provide management with accurate information. As an example, a warden who interrupts a run of production in order to have a single item manufactured pays no premium and consequently has no incentive to properly plan for his needs, and this example could be repeated a dozen times. Nor is it possible to properly decide between

internal manufacture and external purchase. In 1968 it was possible to purchase discharge clothing for inmates at approximately $38 a suit, whereas the current penitentiary price was $15 or $16. Even if there had not been other strong grounds for reducing textile operations, because inmates typically won't wear discharge clothing more than on the day of release and textile operations' lack of training, current price policy did not allow a full and fair evaluation of the relevant cost to be used as one basis for the decision to buy discharge clothing instead of making it.

Current price policy also provides a subsidy to provincial and municipal governments and to non-profit groups and at the same time contributes to a subversion of federal budget setting by allowing groups picked upon no systematic basis to receive a subsidy through the purchase of Penitentiary Goods at less than market prices. It may well be that the Canadian Taxpayer wishes to help the newly formed ABC church of small town Canada by allowing it to obtain church furnishings at less than market prices, but if so, then

it should be done explicitly and not through the actions of the Solicitor General.

Perhaps the most serious weakness in the price policy is the aura of unfair competition which it gives to outside firms and unions. In Canada the Canadian Manufacturers Association has received complaints from the office furniture industry and gymnasium equipment manufacturers[1]. A provincial official was severely criticized for ordering two picnic tables from the Penitentiary Service[2]. a New Brunswick union is concerned about Penitentiary's production of ballot boxes and Alberta farmers are opposed to provincial dairy operations. Similar complaints abound elsewhere. In the United States Irwin Kaufman, of the Dallas Tire and Rubber Company, which recently lost $70,000 worth of sales to the government of Texas when prisons began to re-cap state tires, is quite critical of prison industry and fumes about "slave labour". James C. Butler, a representative of

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1 Letter from M. Reinbergs, Economist, Canadian Manufacturers Association, September 1968.

2 Stevenson-Kellogg, "Industrial Activities in Canadian Penitentiaries" 1962 Ch. 5, p. 5.

metal furniture makers in California who tried to prevent California officials from making $50,000 worth of metal furniture in prisons, says "It's like having a competitor with a fixed market and twelve cents an hour labour"[3].

While Industries may have an impact upon a single supplier or two, its macro-impact upon the economy as a whole is insignificant. The estimated commercial value of shipments of Industries amount to 1/100th of a per cent (.0001) of the value of shipments in Canadian manufacturing as a whole. Employing less than 2,000 inmates, industries would contribute an increase of 1/10th of one per cent in the 1968 manufacturing work force of 1.75 million Canadians. In the wood products area, the employment of men in Industries in 1967-68 was 1.2 per cent of the number of production employees in the Canadian household furniture industry in 1966 and Penitentiary shipments were 9/100 of one per cent of those in that industry. Penitentiary metal products may be compared to the fabricated

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3 R. C. Doiron, "Contractor vs Convicts" Journal of Correctional Education 21 (Winter, 1969) pp.6-7

metals industry, a comparison which shows employment at 2/100 of one percent and shipments at 12/1000 of one per cent[4].

Since it is only a modest competitor, it seems unfortunate that its price policy, which only by accident bears any relationship to market prices, should cast it an unfair role with outside industrial groups.

What To Sell

The basic recommendation in the area of what to sell was made in the recommendations on the types of industries to operate. Within these industries it is suggested that there be a drastic limitation upon the number of different items which are made. Careful consideration should be given to the production of a limited number of inter-related items which seem to have an adequate available market and whose production would allow for the appropriate amount and kind of training to take place. The training characteristic ought to have priority.

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4 Industry data are from the Preliminary Bulletin of the 1966 Annual Census of Manufactures, Dec. 1968

The appropriate sequence is as follows. Certain skill groups are determined as appropriate to the needs and interests of inmates. The production of a given class of items is determined to be consistent with the inmate's obtaining the agreed upon skills. The marketing officer then seeks out markets for these goods.

To Whom To Sell

It is recommended that the current limitation upon the sale of penitentiary items to the general public be dropped, upon the grounds of consistency, to provide for the orderly marketing surplus production, and to open the possibility of sub-contract work. It is also recommended, however, that the current emphasis upon being a supplier to government be continued. The production for "state use" restrictions appear to be either reflections of 19th century protests[5] or "keeping down with the Jones" in following United States Practice. Certainly

5 See J. Alex Edmison, "Some Aspects of Nineteenth Century Canadian Prisons", W. T. McGrath, (ed.) Crime and its Treatment in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968) p. 289

in recent times there have been no organized attempts by Canadian manufacturers[6] to enforce state use while the position of the Canadian union movement is governed by the nature of the work and not by the purchaser.

Currently in the United States there are some authorities who believe that the "state use" laws are quite detrimental to rehabilitation[7], but this would not seem to apply in Canada. It also needs to be recognized that all work by inmates, whether directed towards support of the institution or to working for outside firms, contractors, or buyers, is economically the same; that is, it is work which is not available to "free" workers. Since the distirction between "state use" and other activities is economically meaningless, inmate production should be designed in the best interests of their reformation. Thus with the exception of the possible use of sub-contracting the recommendation to eliminate the "state use" provisions

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6 Letter from W. H. Wrightman, Manager of Industrial Relations, Canadian Manufacturer Association, July 1969.

7 Letter from Howard B. Gill, Director, Institute of Correctional Administration, American University, Washington D.C., to the Washington Star, March 1969.

is largely to eliminate the inconsistency in its use.

It is difficult to say how much political opposition such a suggestion will produce. Properly handled, it should be relatively minor. The Canadian Labour Congress's position is that they will support rehabilitation work programs for inmates, but are unalterably opposed to the use of inmates in work which is not rehabilitative in nature and is in competition with free workmen[8]. The adoption of other proposals in this report should underscore the rehabilitative nature of the inmate work programs, and the more realistic pay scales for inmates would also accord with union suggestions. As indicated, there is no general management opposition to the abandonment of "state use" and the safeguards outlined under the price recommendations to follow should provide ample assurance that their competitive position would be protected.

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8 Letter from Harry Simon, Regional Director of Organization, Canadian Labour Congress, May 1969.

With the increasing take-over of purchase responsibilities for the entire federal operation by the Department of Services and Supplies, it is clear that a major buyer must and ought to be Services and Supply. The basic view of Services and Supply as expressed in its policy directive is to assist Penitentiary Industries when they can properly serve the goals of the Department, namely the fulfilment of the purchase functions of the federal government. This is not to say that the arrangement has been an arms length one or that cooperation has not been given by Services and Supply. There has been cooperation and most Industry officials feel that the responsibility to improve the relationship lies with Industries. It does underline the point that Services and Supply does not wish to assume burdens, such as highly fluctuating output rates, associated with production behind walls. It needs also to be recognized that for the Department of Services and Supply the situation of the Penitentiary Service is hardly unique. There are provincial prisons and, more importantly, over 200 sheltered workshops in Canada all of which are potentially suppliers to the

federal government, and some of them are actively seeking orders. If highly specialized purchase arrangements are to be set up with penitentiaries, should not the same support be given to all other production by handicapped workers? There is also, as seen by Supply and Services, their responsibility to Canadian firms to see that equal access to government markets is provided and too many specialized arrangements would not be consistent with this responsibility.

Currently the Department is willing to, and does, allocate portions of orders to the Penitentiary Service and it is willing to extend these in new directions. Consequently it is recommended that the Industries increase their efforts to find suitable products which they can supply in this manner. An excellent area for initial efforts would appear to be the new lines of modular metal and wooden furniture which will become standard for government purchase soon.

At What Price To Sell

It is proposed that the basic price policy

be changed to one of market prices[9] as determined by reference to catalogues, tenders, etc., of outside supplies in the case of large orders and more informal methods for small or one-of-a-kind orders.

There are a number of difficulties associated with operating an industrial facility within a prison which do not affect outside firms. A primary problem is associated with delivery dates and consequently some recognition of this would have to be provided for this in the price system. It is proposed that, where the prison service's delivery dates are in excess of normal industry practice, they be allowed to compensate by offering a lower price, said price decrease to be a function of the increased delivery time. When, from time to time, other special features were to intrude into the efficiency of the Penitentiary Service operations, similar suitable price differences would be allowed. These practices are, of course, quite in accord with other Canadian legislation and practice. Legislation with regard

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[9] The Stevenson-Kellogg Report on Industries in 1962 recommended a price of 92 1/2 per cent of market but did not justify in any way this figure.

to foreign import dumping recognized that the true comparison of price requires consideration of a number of elemints in addition to the raw unit figure. Also the recent legislation for incentives to locate business operations in regions of slow growth specifically recognizes that there are special costs to operating in special circumstances.

A system of adjusted market prices for penitentiary production should largely eliminate the source of any potential unfair competition, at least for the production of items for sale, the current emphasis of the Service. It is possible, however, that at some time in the future the Service would wish to engage in sub-contract work for outside firms, an area where going market prices are much less easily determined. Under such a procedure, especially where the sub-contracting might largely consist of labour services, a slightly different minimum contract system would have to be used. Under such circumstances, the basic price per unit should be based upon the labour rate which exists within the contractor's plant. For example, if operating machine "X" had a direct labour cost of $5.00 an hour (wage plus identifiable fringes) and average

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production was 100 units an hour, then the basic Penitentiary Service price should be $0.05 a piece for labour, to which would be added an appropriate figure for overhead. The latter would probably be based upon normal industry averages of labour costs as a percentage of total cost. Alternatively, the United States practice for sheltered workshops of 100 per cent of the labour rate for overhead could be followed.

In a formal manner, the two procedures outlined above ought to provide ample protection for labour and management. In their operation, there is always the possibility that problems will be raised for a particular company or union. Therefore, the following appeal system is suggested. The first stage would involve the presentation by the aggrieved party to the Commissioner of penitentiaries, pointing out where a given contract or contracts were inappropriate under the policies just outlined. Since a reasonably objective method exists for determining what the correct prices should be, it seems likely that the Commissioner and the party could obtain a harmonious solution.

It is not desirable, however, to have a government agency be the sole judge of its own behaviour. The following appeal procedure is thereby suggested. A firm or union which was not satisfied with the outcome of its discussion with the Commissioner of Penitentiaries would so state in writing to the Solicitor General. The Solicitor in conjunction with the aggrieved party would appoint an arbitrator. The Arbitrator, whose fees would be jointly shared, would normally be a regular commercial arbitrator, but could be anyone jointly suitable to both parties. Where the aggrieved party could prove injury because of the specific contracts in question, the arbitrator would be empowered to indicate suitable changes in future contracts which would be necessary in order to remove the possibility of injury for a period up to five years. For purposes of determining injury, the arbitrator would be instructed to accept the guidelines as laid down from time to time in the published decisions of the Anti-Dumping Tribunal. The Anti-Dumping Tribunal is just beginning to hear cases and its Chairman has wisely refused to speculate on its probable course. Since Canadian legislation is very similar to that of the United

States, the somewhat greater published record there may give some clues as to the possible standards. In the United States, "injury" has usually had to be material or significant, produced loss or idled production facilities, or where imports have captured a significant portion of the market.

Given the relative size of the Canadian Penitentiary system and the safeguards of a policy of market prices, it is highly unlikely that the arbitration part of the appeals procedure would ever have to be used. For this reason and the fact that the arbitration issue would raise mild issues of sovereignty, it should be left as only a formal government policy announced in the House of Commons but not made statutory.

Chapter 6

ORGANIZATION

Many of the proposed changes of the earlier chapters would require some re-organization of traditional modes of thought or methods of operation. These and other aspects of an on-going Penitentiary program are discussed in this chapter.

Integrated Work-Training

Among the suggestions of the P.S. Ross report was that of placing farm operations under Industries and perhaps certain other inmate work areas now grouped under Services. That proposal gives recognition to the fact that in terms of work training for the inmate, there is little or no distinction between work in Industries and work under Service and Supply to support the penitentiaries and work camps. Viewed in this way, more than three-quarters of the inmate population is involved in work-related situations, a figure which passes eighty per cent if suitable deductions are made for inmates in reception who are not available for assignment (Table9). Those

in industry constitute about one-third, twenty-seven per cent of all inmates. These percentages are essentially similar to those reported in May of 1962 in the Stevenson-Kellogg Report on Industries. At that time Stevenson-Kellogg recommended an increase in the proportions of inmates in educational and industrial activities and a reduction to thirty-one per cent of the proportion assigned to institutional support including farms. The suggested figure of twenty-nine per cent, exclusive of farming, is generally consistent with the target of twenty-five per cent of the American Correctional Association[1]. Even twenty-five per cent may be too high[2] as the gains of technology in the form of automated equipment are applied to the operation of the prison. The will to utilize such equipment,

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1 The American Correctional Association, Manual of Correctional Standards, 3rd. ed., 1966 p. 398.

2 Wesley D. Pointer, "Education and Training versus Maintenance and other Prison Work Programs" in United States Department of Labour, Manpower development and Training in Correctional Programs, 1966 p.33.

however, is probably more relevant than is the development of new machines. One example clearly stands out. In few other places will one find so much grass cut by hand mowers instead of by tractor-drawn gang mowers than in the penal institutions of Canada. Indeed the relevant question may not be how the grass is to be cut, but whether it should be cut at all. No more striking factor differentiates a Canadian Penitentiary from the Boston State Mental Hospital than the fact that at the penitentiary the grass is beautiful, green, and well-trimmed while at the hospital it is brown and unkempt. The explanation is simple: in the penitentiary the ornamental grounds detail is always well stocked with men either by choice or by executive decision. At the hospital, work assignments are handled by a private agency attached to the hospital and all assignments have to be both desired by a patient and held to provide legitimate work-therapy before a patient can be assigned. One of several results has been brown grass.

Currently in Canada there is seemingly no real recognition of the essential similarity of works, Service and Supply, and Industries officers in their use

of inmates. An integrated approach to the problem of appropriate work-training needs to be designed. The lack of recognition of the similarity of roles is related to several factors, chiefly to the fact that the normal order of priority of assignment of inmates is to institutional support needs, then to school, and finally to Industries. This is not to imply that no care is taken in the assignment of men to institutional support, but there appears to be no question but that the needs of the institution have priority over the desires of inmates. This can be seen in the plans for the new maximum security and regional reception complexes where minimum security camps are being built in order to supply needed manpower. As indicated in the chapter on motivation, the use of the inmate for the needs of the institution has undesirable connotations for motivation, and it also tends to seriously limit the development of appropriate work-training possibilities.

The first step in the direction of an integrated approach to work-training is to give renewed emphasis to the first part of the Commissioner's Directive

308 on employment in the institutions which states that inmate employment should "encourage every inmate to plan and progress towards ultimate rehabilitation". The process of renewed emphasis may vary but it will at a minimum include the following: Each inmate job would be classified according to the United States Dictionary of Occupational Titles (The Canadian one to be substituted upon its publication in 1971). The extent of training which can be achieved within the institutions should then be compared with the extent of activities, training, etc., which are expected by outside employers of persons fulfilling those jobs. Efforts could then be directed toward bringing institutional jobs more in line with the scope and responsibility which they have on the outside. Serious consideration should also be given to the staffing of institutions only in accord with the actual work requirements. In most cases this will mean a sharp reduction in the number of inmates who are assigned[3]. This is because the inefficient use

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3 At Drumheller this has been done with some success, but whether it will remain when the population is brought up to capacity remains to be seen.

of labour in Industries which is reflected in low levels of output is mirrored in Works and Services in the assignment of more inmates than are really required to do the work. Serious consideration should be given to dropping those support activities which provide little in the way of training, replacing inmates with hired labour if necessary. It should be noted that when the suggestion of using hired labour was made to some institutional personnel, it was not greeted with enthusiasm. For all other jobs, efforts should be made to extend the degree and variety of training which is provided. The following will illustrate the point. An inmate assigned to ornamental grounds currently learns how to cut grass, set out flowers and, depending upon the institution, some aspects of greenhouse operation. Discussion with outside employers of groundskeepers might determine that companies employing men with this type of experience also need men trained in tree maintenance, selling fertilizers and insecticides to Sunday afternoon gardeners, the repair of simple power tools, and for men who maintain suburban lawns, some experience with simple business records and tax forms. Much if not

all of these training requirements could be provided in a well-developed Works program.

Given the similarity of work in the various institutions, it would seem appropriate that much of the work on the assignment of Dictionary codes and the assessment of the proportion of training now being accomplished within the institutions could be done at Headquarters. Efforts to control over-manning should be undertaken at each institution. It must be recognized, however, that over-manning cannot be solved unless some provision is made for the employment of additional inmate labour in other areas.

The successful continuation of an integrated work-training program would seem to require the assignment of a regional personnel officer for inmates. The provision of the personnel officer at the regional office and not at the individual institutions pre-supposes that regionalization of the Penitentiary Service will proceed more rapidly in the direction of regional systems rather than the current practice of operating as isolated

Institutions[4]. The use of a personnel officer also envisions a greater emphasis upon training opportunities in inmate assignment to institutions rather than the current emphasis on custody. The Regional Director of Inmate Personnel would have duties very similar to those of a personnel officer in any private concern, the assurance of efficient manpower utilization through consultation with operating departments, the maintenance of appropriate records, and evaluations of manpower policy.

A similar position should also be created at Headquarters, or alternatively it might be desirable to convert the Director of Inmate Training into a Director of Inmate Personnel and provide him with an Assistant Director for occupational and work-training to correspond with his current assistants in the areas of education, academic, vocational, and social. The change in title would hopefully underscore the fact that, in terms of hours of inmate exposure, work-training

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4 An example of an approach toward a regional system was the recent evaluation of inmates in the Quebec region on the basis of custody, motivation, and preparation for training.

absorbs far more than any other aspect of the Inmate Training program.

At the institutional level the emphasis upon integrated work-training would also involve a re-arrangement of pre-employment shops and related trades instruction. Similarly with too many aspects of the Penitentiary Service, these latter two areas are too involved in staying behind neat little organizational lines. Most of the pre-employment shops and the related trades instructors are part of vocational organization. Also they exist physically apart from the work areas. As a consequence, their activities are all too often fragmented rather than being well integrated into the program. The idea behind the establishment of pre-employment shops was admirable. It was felt that there were a number of men who lacked familiarity with basic wood and metal tools and that, prior to their going into a shop or under the control of the works officer, they should receive some initial instruction. Even if they did not go into wood or metal work within the institution, they at least would have a few additional skills to offer to an outside employer. As

the shops have seemingly developed, they are operated more as the beginning of a vocational wood or metal shop program and their usefulness for production work is somewhat reduced.

The related trades program was seen as an aid to Industries in areas like reading blueprints or for the inmates in improving their English or French or general mathematics ability. In many instances these programs have not been well integrated with work in the production area with a loss to Industries and a failure to re-enforce the necessity of the knowledge for the inmate.

It is recommended that the pre-employment and related training be more completely integrated into the work-training area. This probably means assigning the pre-employment shops to the direction of the Industrial Supervisor for several days a week[5].

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[5] In one of the new institutions, Warkworth, one man has been given responsibility for all the work and training in building 18, the shop building. This is in accord with this recommendation.

More importantly it means breaking down the conceptual and physical divisions between pre-employment and related trades instruction and work-training in industry and institutional support. Especially in the new institutions where there is adequate shop space and a class room area near most of the shops, pre-employment in wood, the carpenter instructors and the related training instructor must be seen as a group with a common goal ofdeveloping a training sequence which is meaningful for the work in the institution and for subsequent employment. The location of the activities and the timing must be flexible. Initially the inmate may work in a separate pre-employment area, but later in his work he may well be trained by the pre-employment instructor on a new large machine on the shop floor. Some related training may best be given in a separate class room, while other parts should be done on the shop floor.

New Training Opportunities

The chapter on motivation recommended a wider selection of types and kinds of courses for inmates and the chapter on the inmate and labour market pointed

out the narrowness of the available training within the penitentiaries. One difficulty in extending the variety of services is that the numbers of men in prisons are too few unless extensive use is made of community resources. The greater use of programs in which the man spends only his evenings and weekends in prison, or even where he is specially paroled in order to participate in a particular type of training course, has to be greatly increased. There are stirrings in most of the mediums, but forceful leadership is needed. Even with a more complete use of the community, a very serious handicap of many of the institutions is that they are geographically very poorly located for inmate training. The recent Canadian policy of putting institutions away from population centers and using them like a military base to shore up the economy of depressed regions has drastically limited the community resources available. The new institution at Drumheller seems to be making extensive use of the community, but the resources of a former coal mining community with a population of 3,500 are hardly adequate. With some sixty per cent of the men sent to federal prisons having

sentences of four years or less, the emphasis should be on returning them to the community and this involves proximity and not outlandish places. One possible solution is for an increase in federal-provincial cooperation by designating certain institutions to provide specialized training resources and the assignment of both federal and provincial inmates to the same units. Certainly there is little difference between men assigned to federal units on two year sentences and those assigned to provincial ones with just under two yearstints. Naturally care would have to be taken to see that young truly first offenders in the provincial system were not housed with hardened recidivists. Yet it must be recognized that with increased use of probation, the dangers are not so great and the vast majority of provincial inmates are over 21.

The exact type of new programs which can and should be offered in the Penitentiary Service are not really the purview of this report. A few examples of the kinds of programs which might be tried should be enough. Several forestry camps are now operated by the

Penitentiary Service. In certain areas of Canada, especially on the coasts, this is not unreasonable since there are opportunities in forest employment. Currently such work does not provide the men with the additional subsidiary skills needed to become foresters in the service of the government or for private companies. A re-orientation in this direction would seem desirable.

More importantly it needs to be recognized that recreation in general is increasingly important as an employment area in Canada. Many employers in this area will be small which should mean a greater opportunity for ex-offender employment since such employers are less apt to require meaningless certification. This can be seen in the list of employers with whom parolees and recidivists found employment, in which the number of familiar company names is insignificant. It does mean, however, that the released offender must have the desired skills. At present there is a service station course, but if that were combined with small engine repair, especially of boats and perhaps a few other skills which the operator

of a service station, bait shop, etc., in recreational areas might operate, then the inmate would be better prepared.

Campground operation, selling tickets, assigning campers to their locations, selling food and fuel, renting boats, cleaning up, maintaining trails and taking care of the necessary bookkeeping, all of these are operations which inmates could easily learn to perform. Thus it is suggested that the Penitentiary Service give consideration to obtaining land from the forest service in which to open and operate a camp ground and recreational area, largely staffed with inmates.

The prison abounds with cleaners but few if any are well-trained in building maintenance, the handyman type of repairs, and the operation of more complex cleaning equipment than a bucket or a broom. The cleaning operation could be re-designed to include training in these subsidiary areas and could include an industrial operation which would contract for the cleaning and/or building maintenance of non-prison structures in the surrounding area.

Small hospitals are operated in all the institutions and more extensive ones in a few maximum security units. These would allow for beginning training programs in many medical sub-professional areas where jobs are available for men. Continuation of training could then be set up in conjunction with the local hospital, several of which are quite close to some prisons.

Some of these programs involve the use of work outside of the prisons. On occasion it might be necessary to employ non-inmates in order to have sufficient skilled employees or to take up the slack of work. Such arrangements could involve an internal industries operation which hired some free labour or they could be on a contract basis with a company that agreed to always employ a given number of inmates. Arrangements might be made with them to always employ up to X inmates who could either live at the institution or in town. For example near the Cowansville institution there is a large wood working firm. Arrangements might be made with that company to always employ up to X number of inmates who live at the prison or might board in town. The normal process would be that an inmate would transfer

to employment at the company after having worked in the institution's industrial wood operation.

Experience in the operation of retail trade establishments should be helpful for inmates and consideration might be given to opening stores to be operated by inmates in major cities. Such stores could become outlets for art and craft projects by inmates, wooden children's toys made by the industries, and other non-prison items.

There are in fact any number of other, perhaps better, combinations of training and work experience which the Penitentiary Service could operate itself or contract with others for its operation, the main requirement being to break the mold of "traditional prison work", a mold which seems to have been formed when Kingston was originally built.

Limitations on Work-Training Conducted in Prison Settings

This subject may be divided into three areas. These are a) security, b) length of employee service, and c) ability levels of potential employees.

In general these problems will be more apparent in employment programs, institutional maintenance and prison industries, but some of them will also affect more formal instructional programs.

Security

One of the major problems associated with security concerns the custody grading of institutions. This subject will be discussed in conjunction with section b. The remainder of the security problem may be grouped into two parts. One consists of all the minor but time-consuming infringements upon the working day, especially in a maximum security unit. These include counts, long lunch hours, daylight recreation, etc. Their chief drawback in terms of program comes in the reduction of time available for work and the fragmentation of the day which makes it difficult for the men to experience a smooth and normal work pace. For example, in one prison the men in one of the shops returned from morning recreation about twenty-five minutes before lunch and during those twenty-five minutes only two or three men returned to work. In the short run

it would appear that there is little that can be done to improve these situations, save for a careful examination to see which could be shortened, eliminated, or switched around in order to provide a longer and less broken day. In the longer run a conscious effort to reduce the custody level of the average prisoner would allow for the greatest improvement[6].

The second area of security involves the necessity to conduct operations in fairly small quarters in order to minimize the difficulty of knowing

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6 Recently a broad cross section of American commissioners of prison systems, wardens and prison psychologists were asked what proportion of men now held in maximum security prisons could be held safely in non-walled minimum security institutions. Fifty-eight per cent felt that at least forty per cent of current populations could be moved and some seventy-seven per cent of respondants felt that these men could be identified. See: "What do Administrative and Professional Staffs Think About Their Correctional Systems", Correctional Research Bulletin 17, Part One, (November 1967), p. 7. A more conservative view comes from the Quebec Region Manpower Study Committee. They concluded that thirty-two per cent of their then normal population (excludes those in reception and psychiatric areas) required maximum security and only 13.3 per cent were suitable for minimum security. Out of those currently in a maximum institution only about twenty per cent were felt eligible for medium security. "Inmate Population Study Report", July 1969.

where every man is at all times. The small space may inhibit the proper layout of machinery and the need for constant knowledge of the men's presence and actions reduces the time available to staff to engage in management or teaching activities. It also stands as a major deterrent to certain innovative operations. Again in the short-run only a few things can be done. This problem is largely absent, however, in the new institutions where space in the major shops is more than adequate. Unfortunately easily moveable interior partitions were not used and the result is a decrease in flexibility of use. It was noted earlier that the personal contact of industrial and work foremen played an important role in assisting men to turn away from crime. The addition of a few more administrative personnel at the clerical level to the Industries staff (regionally or within each prison) to take over some of the record keeping and other chores now performed by the foremen would free these men for more, hopefully productive, time with the inmates.

There is great variation in the assignment of custodial officers to the industrial and work areas. In some kitchens, for example, Warkworth in 1968, an

officer was assigned, while in others the stewards assumed all of the custodial responsibility. Armed guards sit and observe the shops in Kingston, but not in New Westminster. It is probable that some greater standardization of these practices could be obtained with more of these officers being retrained to allow them to attain a closer relationship with the inmates.

Length of Employee Service

A basic problem is the short period that men spend in prison. Close to thirty-nine per cent of all men are sentenced to less than three years and 58.6 per cent have sentences of less than four years. When these periods are reduced by statutory and earned remission of sentence, the possibility of early parole (an increasingly important factor) and periods of orientation and testing, it is clear that the educational, work, or training program time available to the median inmate is less than two years. This period is further shortened by custody grading movements. These involve shifting many of the men from maximum to medium to minimum security institutions as their

term progresses. The simplest way to reduce these operations is to greatly lower the proportion of men who are assigned from regional classification and reception to a maximum security institution general population and the elimination of minimum security farm and forestry operations. Men could still be assigned to live outside the main walls of the medium institutions, but they would still enter it for work or training purposes. Such a system is used at Haney, a provincial institution in British Columbia, but few if any federal correctional personnel reacted favourably to the idea when I suggested it. The difficulties associated with counterbrand seemed to them to be insurmountable. An alternative would be to establish new minimum institutions in urban areas where the men would be able to utilize community resources on a day parole type of basis. These would be similar to the newly established pre-release houses, but with a more systematic program than these houses now utilize.

An additional difficulty stems from

1) the attempts to include men in particular training programs which begin at specific and widely spaced

times, 2) decisions by men that they no longer enjoy or are interested in working in a particular area or in taking a particular kind of training, and 3) the shifting of men to activities which involve a higher priority than do the operations they are currently engaged in. Currently this often means away from prison industries. Higher priority areas appear to be institutional support activities, maintenance, education, vocational education, and farms and forestry camps, in that order.

The desire to move about and try different tasks is not unique to prison inmates. The results of follow-up studies of general re-training programs show that a number of men drop out from lack of interest. Even among men who complete their courses, sometimes as high as forty per cent indicate that they would have preferred a different course. In addition, inmates are largely younger men and high rates of job mobility are also common among younger age groups in the general labour market.

This combination leads to very high turn-over in the industrial shops. In 1968 in the Manitoba canvas shop

the turn-over was 505 per cent, the median time in the shop was two months and only three men had been in the shop at least one year. In the Saskatchewan print shop the turn-over was 200 per cent, the median period was three months and no inmates had been there at least one year. In the machine shop in New Westminster the turn-over rate was 310 per cent, the median stay was six months and four men had been there more than one year.

Some perspective on what this means is provided by a comparison with industrial experience and the evaluations of instructors on its meaning for the acquisition of skills. Separation data are no longer published for Canadian manufacturing firms, but in 1966 these rates were on the order of 4-6 per cent per month or about sixty per cent a year much lower than the prison rates. Only six per cent of the instructors and work supervisors believe that three months is adequate to make an unskilled inmate with an 8th grade education into a semi-skilled worker in their area. A period of 7-12 months was given by 35.1 per cent and more than twelve months by forty-five per cent. The median instructor's evaluation of the number of men leaving his shops or area with at least semi-skilled

ability (not necessarily acquired there) is twenty-one per cent to thirty per cent. Only 13.9 per cent of the instructors felt that over seventy per cent of the men leaving their shops were at least semi-skilled in those trades.

Ability Levels of Inmates

Potentially there are two types of problems associated with ability levels and the operation of prison employment systems. One involves operating with a group of men whose I.Q. levels are very low. The second is the lack of long term skilled employees in prison industries. Indeed, the operation of industries such as the canvas shops was justified to the author in some institutions as necessary because of the need to have very simple operations in which men of low intelligence could participate. In other institutions the explanation was that canvas shop inmates were those who, though capable of better work, cause disruption in other shops and work assignments.

According to Glaser[7] the measured intelligence of men in prison is not markedly different from that of men in the general population. The average I.Q. seems to be in the upper 90's. Since measured intelligence rises slightly with years of education, the slightly lower average I.Q. for prisoners can probably be explained by the lower educational levels of men in prison. The same conclusion undoubtedly applies to Canadian experience. On August 20th, 1968, the Canvas Shop in Kingston Penitentiary which manufactured mail bags had forty-two men on its nominal roll. The median I.Q. was 101.5 (Beta Score) and only seven of the 42 had I.Q.'s which were less than 90.[8]

Thus it seems unlikely that low intelligence levels are a valid basis for the continuation of the canvas shop[9].

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7 Glaser, p.261.

8 Letter from H.S. Bell, Deputy Warden, dated August 22,1968.

9 Until recently men who were at Kingston undergoing Regional Reception spent some time in prison industries. Such an arrangement did require at least one operation which could absorb wide fluctuations in its work force and which had a number of jobs which could be learned in a few minutes. This requirement is no longer germane.

Other experience also suggests that nominal job standards for education and intelligence are often overstated. Reference has already been made to the experience of the Dennison Miner Training Program. In the Fleetwood Manufacturing Company Training Program, some twenty-six per cent of the men had less education then the minimal grade 10 level, but the completion rate for thosewith lower education was not appreciably lower than that for the group as a whole.[10] These results appear to be generally true for the Ontario training program, with the proportion of graduates ranging from eighty per cent to 88.2 per cent in the educational range 6th through the 10th grade.[11]

The lack of key skilled workers who have

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10 "A Benefit-Cost Analysis of the Fleet Manufacturing Limited on-the-job Training Programme", Research Branch, Ontario Department of Labour, Jan. 1966 (Unpublished), p. 6.

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long tenure in the individual shops may be a more serious problem. The failure to have enough key employees will result in limitations on the complexity of work which can be undertaken, and in not having enough men to undertake the needed on-the-job training of the inmates. Two possible solutions might be utilized. One would be to hire one or two tradesmen to work primarily as skilled craftsmen in some of the operations. Alternatively, the addition of more assistant foremen or support personnel for the foremen may provide adequate levels of trained manpower in the shops. The exact requirements for skilled manpower and the most efficient manner in which this could be satisfied really require an individual analysis of each operation.

In the short-run several moves in these directions might be made. One would be to encourage multi-skills among assistant foremen so that they could be shifted between operations as circumstances demanded. Also in the Kingston and Montreal areas some easing of limitations on temporary inter-unit transfers would be helpful. Both of these suggestions would probably require some accommodation with the union of penitentiary employees. Such accommodation should not be

difficult to obtain as long as the reasons for it were made clear and wage provisions similar to those common in industrial practice for such mobility were established[12].

Productivity

Some of these problems which have just been discussed mean that the productivity of prison industries, indeed all institutional work, is below the levels experienced in outside operations. Exactly how much lower is difficult to estimate. The Stevenson-Kellogg Report estimated that productivity was six per cent and that forty per cent was a reasonable target with fifty per cent being the upper maximum which could be achieved. No clear basis for the six per cent estimate was presented in that report though it seems reasonable to conclude that it was

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12 Currently a permanent employee of a maximum institution receives a higher wage than does his counterpart in a medium institution. A maximum employee on temporary assignment in a medium unit would have to receive his usual rate of pay and the medium employee in temporary assignment in a maximum unit would have to be paid the extra amount.

based upon a comparison of shipments per inmate with shipments per production worker in the rest of Canadian industry. The estimates of the industrial instructors range from twenty-five per cent to fifty per cent depending upon the institution and shop. In some instances, for kitchen help and outside labour gangs a much higher estimate was given. In general the causes of the differences in productivity between prisons and outside shops was seen by the instructors to be about equally divided between the low levels of skills and the slower work pace.

In 1966-67 the median shipments per inmate in wood shops was $773; in tailor shops $1,119; metal shops $871, and canvas shops $1,406. These figures after being increased by some 1.5 to 4 times to account for the low prices used in determining the level of shipments may then be compared to shipments per production worker in Manufacturing in 1966.[13]

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13 Annual Census of Manufacturers, Preliminary Bulletin Dominion Bureau of Statistics, December 1968, Table 3.

In metal stamping the average value was $8,500, men's clothing $13,500, miscellaneous metal fabricating $24,800 and household furniture $15,500. These data would suggest that output at twenty-five per cent of a commercial rate was a generous upper estimate.

Efforts to improve the productivity levels can be directed in three ways: toward a longer and less broken-up work day, toward higher skill levels among inmates, and toward a faster and more consistent work pace. It must be remembered, though, that training and reformation and not dollar profits are the desired goals. A more consistent and rapid work pace belongs in the general category of "work habits", the development of which most instructors said was one of their prime responsibilities. I would agree, but what constitutes training in work habits? The Penitentiary Service lacks a clear-cut formulation of these though they and most other rehabilitation and sheltered work-shop instructors are quick to mention them. Most work habits fall into

the category of what Sidney A. Fine[14] refers to as adaptive skills, the how and an individual's handling of time, space, temperament, finances etc. Unfortunately these skills are usually learned from parents and peers during the years of childhood rather than being taught in school situations. This means that they largely tend to be "taught" by osmosis, from the values, manners, and mores of those with whom one is in close association.

Specifically this means that inmate punctuality is more apt to be dependent upon the attitude of the instructor than it is upon the use of time clocks and cards. If the instructor is enthusiastically ready to work a few minutes before the starting time, this will be more valuable than all the docked time for lateness which might be recorded. Inmate temperament, the ability to get along with obnoxious foremen or fellow workers, is probably aided more by

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14 Sidney A. Fine, "Nature of Skill", Implications for Education and Training, Proceedings 75th Annual Convention (American Penal Association, 1967).

the attitudes of cooperation among the institutional staff than it is by statements or punishment for misbehaviour. This is consistent with the beneficial impact of instructors on inmates lives reported in Chapter 2. Recognizing this, perhaps the first requirement is that the Penitentiary Service examine its own work habits to see where improvements in their "examples for inmates" might be made. A most important change desired by instructors, 34.4 per cent, is an increase in coordination within the institutions.

Secondly an explicit list of desirable work habits and methods of aiding in their achievement should be drawn up. Thirdly the latter should be implemented. In large measure this will mean giving the inmate responsibilities and trusting him to accomplish those tasks, difficult twin goals for any prison system.

The Organization of Industries

There are several types of organizational questions which are germane to the Industries operation. One is the relationship of Industries to the rest of the Penitentiary Service. A second concerns that group of

changes which, if enacted, would affect both Industries and other divisions. The third would be the group of changes which would be wholly internal to Industries, or, if not internal, having few if any implications for other Penitentiary operations.

Perhaps the most basic question is what is the proper relationship of Industries to the operations of the rest of the Penitentiary Service? A planning committee in 1960 recommended that Industries be set up as a Crown Corporation, an idea which was basically that of Mr. McLaughlin, then as now, head of Industries. The proposal has never been implemented though Mr. McLaughlin has continued to support it.

The Stevenson-Kellogg Report on Industries in 1962 did not explicitly consider the matter of a Crown Corporation and generally supported the policy of the Director of Industries reporting to the Deputy Commissioner. The P.S. Ross report in 1969 on the over-all organization of the Penitentiary Service supports the Stevenson-Kellogg position, though their grouping of Industries with other

elements of "program" represents a change from the current pattern. Some recognition is also given in the Ross report to the fact that Industries and Services both employ inmates and the report suggests that some services might be re-organized as industries.

A shift to a Crown corporation form of organization may be evaluated with respect to its meaning for relationships outside of the Penitentiary Service, for central administration and for the operation of individual institutions. The advent of a Crown corporation, Canadian Prison Industries, would mean the creation of a board of directors, the membership of which would probably reflect the various interest and skill groups which are relevant to an industrial operation in a prison setting. The community ties which such a board would represent are clearly desirable, yet probably no more so than would be true of a similar national group of advisors for Industries as a division of the Penitentiary Service.

It is also well to recognize that the usefulness and success of outsiders, boards of directors or committees depend upon a wise selection of those asked

to serve and upon the willingness of the advised to involve the outsiders in the important decisions and in evaluations of the agency or corporation. In some respects, an advisory group is probably more useful than a board of directors. Following the formation in the summer of 1969 of the Canadian Manpower and Immigration Council, its new Chairman, Sydney D. Pierce, was asked what would happen if the Minister and the Department were not prepared to follow the advice of the Council. While not anticipating such problems, Mr. Pierce made it clear that the Council would be quite prepared to look for alternative means of achieving goals which they felt to be desirable[15]. A similar outlook could apply to formal advisors to the Penitentiary Service. It is difficult, however, to imagine a situation where a board of directors would feel free to appeal its lack of success in altering the operation of a Crown corporation to the floor of the House of Commons.[16]

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15 Financial Post, July 19, 1969.

16 Legally the board could order the executive to take certain actions, but as a practical matter this is unlikely if, as in the United States, the members served without pay and where the executive has expertice in corrections which the board doesn't share.

A second outside relationship would be with those to whom the Corporation would sell its products. At the moment these are restricted to governmental organizations and non-profit groups. A change in these policies to allow production for other than "state use" could be achieved equally easily for Industries as a division of the Penitentiary Service or as a Crown Corporation, since the decision would be that of the Cabinet and it would have to be acceptable to Parliament.

A third external relationship would be with employers from whom inmates sought work upon release. Would an inmate who could say he had worked for Canadian Prison Industries have a better chance of obtaining work than one who could only say that he had been employed in a prison industry? A corporate name might imply some greater efficiency, but the old adage ... "A rose by any other name" ... would still seem to apply.

Changed relationships internal to the Headquarters of the Penitentiary Service would in part depend upon the legislation setting up the corporation. In the United States the Director of the Bureau of

Prisons is the senior officer of Federal Prison Industries though operating responsibilities and duties are delegated to a subordinate. This is essentially the current relationship between the Commissioner of Penitentiaries and the Director of Industries and there is little reason to expect any change if a corporation were to be established. The most profound change from today's pattern would tend to be found at the institutions. Currently the assignment of inmates to the specific shops is done by the institutions' committees. Raw materials are ordered through institutional stores, and accounts are kept by institutional finance and accounting officers. Were industries to become a Crown corporation it is probable that internal job assignment, ordering of materials, and financial records would be internalized by Industries rather than being handled jointly with the rest of the institution's business. The internalizing of support activities would to a degree give the Industrial Supervisor a greater measure of control than he has at present. For example, several supervisors felt that Services and Supply didn't provide them with the best assistance in ordering and in July of 1969 a lack of accountants at one institution meant that bills for

certain shipped goods had not yet been issued and consequently some funds were unnecessarily tied up in receivables. Thus there would clearly be some advantages at the institutional level to a shift to a corporate form. These would primarily be associated with changes in the priority with which Industries needs would be met.

Another area in which there might be some changes resulting from conversion to a Crown corporation would be in the flow of funds. Currently Industries earn no profits and suffer no losses for prices are set to only cover direct material expenses. Salaries for both instructors and inmates are paid out of the general budget of the Penitentiary Service and new items of capital are obtained in the same manner as the school master obtains a new projector, by putting it into the budget for a future year. Under a corporate arrangement, Industries would have both greater income, from selling at close to market prices, and would have to meet its own expenses. If the experience in the United States is any guide, and it is only in part, then the Crown corporation should be profitable. In fiscal 1967 U.S. Federal Prison Industries earned 11.5 million dollars profit on 58.3 million dollars worth of sales.

Would a similar flow of funds be beneficial to Industries in Canada, or more bluntly, what could they do with the money that they can not now do? Perhaps the most important advantage would be the necessity of making rational profit and loss decisions. Such a stimulus should result in programs being looked at with greater care and should result in an improvement in efficiency. Beyond that there might be changes in salaries, capital purchases, and inventory management.

In 1962 the Stevenson-Kellogg report spoke of the need to obtain better salaries for industrial instructors. Since that time salaries in the Penitentiary Service have been brought into the standard Canadian Public Service pattern with the advent of collective bargaining and the necessity of using the Pay and Classification Section of Treasury Board for the evaluation of all positions. At the institutional level any prior wage problem would appear to have been solved. In October of 1967 the base rate in Ontario for the highest grade instructor was $3.44 to which was added certain additional amounts depending upon supervisory factors. This would compare very favourably

with the range of hourly wages $2.77 - $3.23, for maintenance trades in Toronto. Within the higher management levels, however, the Pay and Classification approach has lead to certain curious situations. Because of the collective agreement it is possible for the Assistant Industrial Supervisor of Industries to earn more than the Supervisor and both now earn more than the Regional Director of Industries, a man who is nominally their supervisor. Such a strange state of affairs would not occur in a corporation because the primary aim of its wage structure would be balance in its own organization and not in the whole of Canada.

Old and outdated equipment, often said to be the curse of prison industries, does not appear to be a problem with the federal service in Canada. New equipment can be overdone. One trainee's response in a California course for heavy equipment operators was that all they practiced on was the newest equipment, while on the job only the most senior men would be assigned the new equipment and the newer men would be stuck with the old. Similarly the tire recapping equipment in an American prison was the newest and best, but the shops in

which released offenders found employment used much older equipment. Most of the instructors felt that they did get those items of new capital which they needed. The biggest area of difference, now past, is that Industries wanted to use butler-type buildings in the new institutions rather than the much more expensive fortress like structures for buildings which were built.

Some senior officials in Industries feel that the program has been affected by the limitation to one million dollars of working capital in the revolving fund. Close cooperation with the financial officers of the Penitentiary Service has brought the revolving fund from its position of a few years ago when it was almost always overdrawn to a position where, as at present, it usually runs between 600-700 thousand dollars. The Stevenson-Kellogg Report in 1962 suggested that one dollar of working capital would be appropriate for every four dollars of sales. With sales now at about two million dollars, the revolving fund would appear to be adequate. On balance there does not appear to be any serious need for the introduction of a corporation in order to ease money flow problems. Major benefits of the fresh winds

of profitability can be obtained by adopting the recommended system of prices and careful evaluation of programs.

Taken as a whole, the principal benefits to be obtained from the corporate form of organization would be in a reduction of the evils of red tape and the assignment of a greater priority to the needs of Industries by supporting services. Yet these same benefits would occur to any section of the Penitentiary Service which was organized independently. Possible disadvantages are of two types: a lessened degree of cooperation between the corporation and the rest of the Penitentiary program and an undue emphasis upon profits to the exclusion of training. Neither would need to be results, but separation has its way of building fences. Certainly the American experience doesn't suggest that the corporate form generates an emphasis upon inmate training.

It is, therefore, recommended that Industries remain a division of the Penitentiary Service, largely within the general form suggested in the P.S. Ross report. In order to ensure that the fresh breath of wind associated with the need to earn a profit will

benefit Industries, it is recommended that the Commissioner require an annual statement of profits from the Director of Industries. The statement of profit would involve market prices for goods, and full costs on inmate and supervisor salaries, capital costs for machines, raw materials. In addition, an income account for training, as if sold to the Director of Inmate Training, would also be included.

Industries Organization

The Stevenson-Kellogg Report laid great stress upon the functionalization of the areas of production, control, marketing, etc., in Industries. These changes have not taken place. Given the size of the Headquarters staff, and their years of close association, it is doubtful that an over-emphasis on functional responsibility would be wise. All that is required is that the existence of requirements in each of these functional areas be recognized, a situation which seems to exist. Consequently no changes are recommended here. The Headquarters staff exercises a good deal of centralized control over inventory and the allocation of

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major government orders to the various institutions. In this they are in contradiction with the general emphasis in the recent P.S. Ross Report which proposed to make the Penitentiary Headquarters operate in a staff rather than in a line capacity. In general there are a number of difficulties associated with implementing the type of decentralized organizational structure which the Ross Report favours. The principal weakness is that the great bulk of the warden's budget and his utilization of manpower are associated with housekeeping activities and custody, not with treatment broadly defined, and as a consequence, it is housekeeping and custody which receive the major emphasis of his attention. Also the typical institution is too small to have an adequate staff to chart an independent course. In these circumstances, unless there is a clear functional responsibility and authority at Headquarters, desirable programs may tend not to be implemented in the institutions. Program weakness stemming directly from the lack of clear-cut functional authority in the treatment area could easily be illustrated, but no useful purpose would be served. Management by objective and decentralization are useful, potentially highly motivational,

and, in the hands of General Motors, very profitable, but their application in the Penitentiary Service will require great care if success is to be obtained.

Apart from the general problem of this type of organization for the Penitentiary Service, decentralization presents a great many special ones for industries. The principle market for industries products has been the Service itself and the federal government. With the consolidation of federal purchasing in the Department of Services and Supply the principle marketing activity will take place in Ottawa. The same is true of purchases of raw material to be processed by the various shops. The general policies of inventory, on-time completion and quality control are also of particular importance to Headquarters in its sales role. Consequently a reasonable amount of centralized control will have to remain in the hands of the Headquarters executive.

The recommendation here is that the current de-facto organization of industries be given formal recognition. In areas of shop product selection,

marketing, inventory management, and the preparation of training programs, formal recognition should be given to the fact that the Director of Industries has a line authority through the regional director of industries to the industrial supervisor in the institutions. Since the various institutions are geographically quite separated, it is to be expected that most of this supervision will be in the nature of guidelines, rather than detailed directions. By limiting the areas wherein responsibility lies with the Director of Industries, due recognition, hopefully, is given to the areas where the warden should have responsibility for the actions of the supervisor of industries. In the hands of those who wish to quibble and to those who like para-military organizations, the dual responsibility of the institutional supervisor of industries to both the warden and the Director of Industries can be an impossible situation, but any organization for effective operation requires men of good will.

The Stevenson-Kellogg Report considered the Headquarters staff of Industries to be adequate in size. Since that time two positions have become vacant.

In light of the general freeze on new personnel, it does not seem reasonable to suggest a large increase in staff, nor would it be necessary. There is one new consultant position which is needed, but it also relates to other divisions as well and is discussed in the next section.

Consultants and Advisory Committees

Unlike many other institutions or private companies, the Penitentiary Service's concern for the total life of the inmate and for his reformation results in a range of activities and concerns which are quite broad and which have a potential for interaction with those of a myriad of other agencies or companies. The Penitentiary Service runs its own schools and industrial programs, provides building maintenance, engages in job placements, operates small hospitals, etc. In these various capacities, it would be only natural for the Pententiary Service to always be reaching out to others with similar interests, contributing its own insights, and drawing to its own use the successful programs and ideas of others. Such an interchange is absolutely essential to the success of the Penitentiary Service program because, in most of its

areas of operation, it is too small to have adequate internal resources to be sufficiently innovative. To cite but a single example, some of the better occupational training is currently being carried out by the stewards. Teaching cooking is also a responsibility of a variety of other agencies in Canada, in particular the community colleges. Rather than the Penitentiary Service producing its own training sequences at the individual institutions with some coordination across the Service, it would seem more desirable to make greater utilization of the time and talents of outside groups in the development and improvement of a training sequence like cooking. This is not to say that this type of involvement is not practiced, but in most respects the utilization of outside resources by the Penitentiary Service has remained quite undeveloped, a factor which can only lead to inefficiency and a lack of forward development. It is needless to speculate over the probable causes for this seeming parochialism. Perhaps, as one official suggested, the officers are also kept prisoner by the grey stone walls.

Useful contact by the Penitentiary Service with outside groups can be maintained in one of three ways. One is through the appropriate use of advisory committees, a second is through staff upgrading at outside institutions, and the third is through the use of internal consultants. Within the last year the wardens have been requested to establish local public committees to assist them in exploring community resources. At this writing it is too early to gauge the success of the venture, though a few institutions are off to very good beginnings. A committee on trades and employment has been formed at the Warkworth institution and is actively involved. It seems probable that the success of this committee should lead to the establishment of similar committees in the other regions. In addition it is highly desirable that a national advisory committee for industry and training be established. A national committee should be able to provide not only a necessary stimulus and advice to the Penitentiary Service but it should also serve to enlist the aid of the outside community in accepting a more modern approach to inmate training.

Care must be exercised in the setting up of national and regional committees. Those who are

appointed should have a genuine interest in fulfilling their responsibilities. This means that the primary emphasis should be placed upon finding interested individuals regardless of background, though it would be hoped that these would be widely representative of the Canadian world of work and would include representatives of the labour movement. What would be unfortunate would be the appointment of individuals to represent particular interest groups who would lack an interest in the problems of inmates, or whose other responsibilities would be too heavy for them to be able to devote the required time to advising.

A second requirement is that the Penitentiary Service must take the primary responsibility for making the consultation work and not consider that once the appointments were made their responsibility ended. An example of this was the "interdepartmental committee on the re-establishment of inmates of correctional institutions". Some increased cooperation between local Manpower offices and federal institutions resulted, but in the absence of any sustained interest

by the Penitentiary Service in carrying forward the enterprise, the potential appears largely to have been lost. This example ought to underscore the obvious, that assisting the Penitentiary Service is but a small part of the work of a local Manpower Office or of a member of an advisory committee and thus the leadership must largely come from the Penitentiary Service if these outside resources are to be properly utilized. It is recommended that the appointment of a national and additional regional committees on work and training be undertaken by the Penitentiary Service. If at some future time a more general national committee on corrections were to be appointed, the national and regional committees on industry and training might well be integrated as sub-committees of the new national body.

A second source of outside ideas lies in staff training. Currently almost all staff upgrading is carried out at the three staff colleges. At the induction level of training for new officers and for other in-service training, it is only natural that training be internal. For more senior personnel and in certain specialized areas of training, it is highly

questionable if the most appropriate way is through internally designed and delivered courses. The use of outside training resources for staff up-grading should produce not only better courses because of greater specialized skills, but it would also serve to broaden the horizons of the individuals involved by exposing them to the ideas and practices of organizations not solely involved with inmates.

The third approach is the use of internal consultants. At one time there was a position in the industries section for an internal consultant, but it was never filled and the authorization was later used for an alternative appointment. The need for one or two consultant positions may be seen in the following. Within any individual institution the supervisor of education has a staff of two or three teachers. It is a job which might be said to require the same capabilities as the head of a department in a modest sized school. The assistant director of inmate training for education in Ottawa, however, has some sixty teachers spread across Canada for whom he is responsible. He is also responsible for the necessary innovation and

leadership required to keep the inmate school system in the forefront of adult re-education. In the latter areas the capability level is probably closer to that of an assistant superintendent in a major school system. Similar gaps between the levels of responsibility and leadership which are required at the institution and those necessary for innovation at central Headquarters are observable in other areas including Industries.

There are several possible solutions. One is to require extensive non-prison experience for central office appointment. While in the long run it would be desirable if interdepartmental career patterns could be developed, in the short run such a policy would have unfortunate consequences for career advancement in the Penitentiary Service. The second way is to utilize one or two consultant positions in the program area, perhaps initially in adult education and in on-the-job or work-training. The positions would be consultative to the Program Director, currently Mr. Stone, and would have salary levels on the order of those of senior directors of divisions. They would, however, not be

filled by regular public service appointment, but would be limited period contract positions. Individuals would be employed for a particular period to provide advice and leadership in innovations in particular areas. With new programs hopefully started in that area, the contract would be completed, and the individual would be replaced by a new individual with a new concern. For example, educational television, both group and individual lessons, may well be a highly desirable addition to the penitentiary program. A senior individual from the very successful Tevec experience in Quebec[17] might be brought in as a consultant to survey the introduction of a system-wide adult taped television series and to conduct a demonstration program.

The use of internal consultants might be also the most useful way to provide the Penitentiary Service

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17 Tevec, Television Educative du Quebec, was a two year pilot project in multi media adult education in the Saguenay-Lac St. Jean area. Some 35,000 people out of 270,000 in the area were registered, but over 100,000 watched at least one night a week. See the description in the Montreal Star, June 25, 1969.

with the resources to maintain program planning consistent with future needs. The non-use of educational television, the slow movement toward reduction in training in women's work such as making clothes, the slow introduction of adult content in educational courses and the use of classes of fixed duration, are all examples of a tendency of the penitentiary program to be too caught up in day to day happenings rather than "continuous innovation". This is not to say that senior officials do not attend meetings of correctional organizations, exchange ideas and programs, or are completely unaware of what goes on in foreign jurisdictions. It is to suggest that there is no equivalent to a "new Products Division" of a major company whose responsibility is not next years budget and employment estimates, but the optimum program for ten years in the future.

The Sub-Contract Prison

In earlier sections, mention has been made of hiring short term instructors to give special courses while there was a labour market need for the particular skills, the arrangement with regular companies

to agree to hire a given number of inmates, etc. All of these could be grouped into the general concept of buying services instead of supplying them internally. The 19th century prison was close to a self-sufficient organization, Today's prison is far less so, primarily because there has been a substitution of purchased goods for those which had been either raised or manufactured by the prison. There has been much less of a substitution in the area of services. There might well be real advantages to the Penitentiary Service shifting over to more and more contract services. Such a shift could take several forms, either the sub-contracting of entire prisons, a potentially useful idea where real innovation is desired, or the contracting for services. The value of sub-contracting innovations is illustrated in the following two examples.

In one institution the reaction of the staff to a major innovation was that half were ready to start that afternoon and half were ready to start in one hundred years. At another institution the suggestion that many professional staff members should work afternoons and evenings instead of a regular day shift was greeted with

opposition and the quick quotation of the relevant clause of the collective agreement. These are just two illustrations of why an innovative program may be more appropriately staffed by a contractor than by the transfer of regular staff and management personnel, all of whom know how it was done at X prison. In addition to being free of past practice in the establishment of the innovative unit, if the concepts turned out to be like the Edsel, the contract could just not be renewed and the Penitentiary Service would not be stuck with the remains of the mess.

Alternatively, or more appropriately in association, greater use could be made of purchased services. Guards could be hired from the local protective company, a firm like Quebec Sports Services could provide the food, vocational education could be provided by the local vocational school, etc. As part of the arrangement each sub-contractor could agree to employ and train a given number of inmates. The primary advantage of such a system would be that it would allow the warden to place primary emphasis upon the major task, rehabilitation, rather than on the mere physical tasks

of food, shelter, and custody. Indeed the Penitentiary Service of the future might become little more than a headquarters staff with all operations done under contract.

The evolution of the 19th century prison away from self-sufficiency in goods is now tentatively being duplicated for services in some jurisdictions, primarily education in some of the provinces where the local school board is accepting responsibility for the education of young people in the local provincial institution. Such a move is perhaps long overdue as the following illustrates. Currently the per inmate cost of operating the system is approximately $7,500 and .7 of a man year. Less than twenty per cent of this time and money is devoted to the training and treatment (other than medical) of the inmate. This should be compared to the close to forty-three per cent of the manpower and thirty per cent of the budget which is applied to custody. Given the disproportionate amount of time and money which goes not to support the ultimate aim of the reformation, but merely to maintain inmates, it is not surprising that in many ways prisons appear to be run more for themselves and the officers

than for the inmates.

Assistance in the Employment of Released Offenders

The increasing efforts of the Penitentiary Service to involve the Canada Manpower Centers in the employment process of the inmates is very different from the earlier rules which forbid an officer from having any contact with an inmate after he was released. Despite these changes a number of instructors still have ambivalent feelings about an involvement in the finding of employment for inmates upon release. In addition to the role of Canada Manpower, directors of social education have begun to establish pre-release programs which would hopefully assist inmates to adapt to the world into which they will be released. A similar service, though on an individual basis, has been provided by the pre-release program of the John Howard Societies.

Increasingly it is becoming realized that assistance in securing adequate employment is essential to re-establishing the inmate into the community, yet typically assistance is not provided on any extensive scale.

Parolees and recidivists were asked to indicate the various sources of information which had been useful to them in obtaining the job which they held on the date of the interview for parolees and prior to arrest for recidivists. Among successful parolees at the six month report 29.4 per cent and 28.0 per cent at one month indicated that they had secured their jobs through their own efforts, but among recidivists 44.8 per cent indicated that their own efforts had been responsible for their jobs. The usefulness of Canada Manpower and correctionally related sources (John Howard, parole, probation and penitentiary officers) vary between the two groups. Canada Manpower was listed 27 per cent by parolees at one month but only 15.7 percent at six months, while for recidivists the percentage was 27.8. For correctionally related assistance the respective replies were 21.8 per cent, 20.7 per cent and 7.9 per cent. The contribution of friends and relatives was 37.1 per cent and 31.6 per cent for all parolees and 34.2 per cent for recidivists, both low in comparison to United States experience. A recent United States Department of Labour financed study found that eighty per cent of first jobs after release were obtained through the help of family

and friends and less than ten per cent were obtained through the efforts of the federal and state employment agencies and less than five per cent through correctional sources. In subsequent jobs the efforts of the individual became more pronounced and that of friends and relatives less so.[18] Despite the superior performance of formal groups in Canada, less than thirty - five per cent of the released inmates, some months after release were receiving assistance from the two formal groups, correctional groups and Canada Manpower.

Experimental evidence from the United States on job development for ex-inmates suggests that it is time consuming, cannot be limited to initial placement, and is highly specialized[19]. In New York a program involving training on I.B.M. equipment required an average

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18 George Pownal, "Employment Problems of Released Prisoners" in Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, Education and Training in Correctional Institutions, 1968, p. 74.

19 "Digest of Workshops on Job Development and Placement", Manpower Development and Training in Correctional Programs (United States Department of Labour, 1968) pp. 143-147.

of thirty calls per placed inmate[20]. While released offender placement was felt to be specialized, those involved felt that the need for other labour market skills and for placements over a wide geographical area required the assistance of the public employment services with the ideal arrangement being the assignment of qualified individuals to the task by the public employment agency.

The Canadian experience is similar. Canada Manpower has the principal responsibility for the placement of the inmate upon release. There are several difficulties. One is budgetary since the inmate is too small a portion of the caseload to warrant the amount of time which should be ideally devoted to it. The second is that the Canada Manpower representative who sees the man in the institution can not actually refer the man to a place of employment in the town to which the in-

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20 Clyde E. Sullivan et al, Restoration of Youth Through Training (Springfield, Virginia: Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, 1967) p.74.

mate will go. Rather the representative must refer the inmate to the Canada Manpower Office in the target city. He cannot even refer the man to a specific person in the Manpower Office, since most of them have given up the practice of having specialist counsellors for particular problem groups. Canada Manpower has had experience, as in Halifax with blacks and during the summer with students, with specialized counsellors for special groups, as well as a prior history of their use for disadvantaged individuals. It is possible, therefore, that the future will see a reversion in this direction. Even this would probably not be sufficient for the needs of the Penitentiary Service because of the budgetary limitations mentioned earlier.

Thus it is recommended that the initial step should be working with Canada Manpower to secure the appointment of specialized counsellors for released offenders in Canada's major urban centers. Secondly the Solicitor General should employ three employment coordinators, one in each Penitentiary region, whose duties would involve coordinating the efforts of Manpower at the local institution, in the

major centers to which the men return, the regional representatives of the National Parole Service, and the other after-care groups. They could also work through the various advisory groups to secure the assistance of local businessmen and labour organizations. It would seem appropriate to draw these men on a long term loan from the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

It is essential that appropriate employment assistance is available to the inmate upon release, but it is still to be expected that most jobs will have to be found and obtained by the men themselves. Therefore, it would be desirable if some systematic training in obtaining jobs were to be available within the institutions. Some pre-release guide lines have been developed, but they do not include anything on job search and application. While some changes toward the inclusion of material on job seeking are in order, care must be exercised if the training is to be meaningful to the inmate. Experience in California has not been very favourable or encouraging.

The difficulties have been those which could have been anticipated, the level of instruction provided by community leaders has not been expert, staff instruction has been unimaginative or in-expert, attendance was required, but for any subject area only one-third to one-half of the men were interested[21].

The Unresponsive and the Long Term Inmate

Unfortunately there will always be some inmates who are quite unresponsive, actively uncooperative or who regardless of their attitude will remain in prison for a long period. Nothing that has been suggested in the foregoing chapters is really inapplicable to these men except those programs which involve extensive time outside of the institution's walls. However, there are a few additional comments which might be directed specifically toward the treatment of these men. The requirement that

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21 Norman Holt and Rudy Renteria, "How Effective are Pre-release Programs", (California Department of Corrections, Research Report 30, October 1968.)

these men remain behind walls, perhaps in maximum security, means that some inmate work assignments which may offer little in the way of training may have to be retained in order to provide work for these inmates. If so, care must be taken to ensure that the existence of this work does not come to supplant inmate characteristics as the basis for assignment. The operation of the Industrial canvas shops was usually justified to me on the basis that for some inmates it was the only place where they could be employed. Yet all who said that some men needed the canvas shop would also admit that all of the men then assigned to canvas operations did not qualify as men for whom no other assignments were possible. The pattern which leads to such a situation is relatively simple. The inmate characteristics dictate the establishment of the shop, orders are obtained and then it turns out that the level of orders requires more manhours than "difficult" inmates will supply and consequently other men are assigned to a dead end operation.

The typical pattern in the Penitentiary Service seems to have been to concentrate vocational and academic education opportunities in the institutions

where the younger and less recidivist individuals are assigned. These practices need to be re-examined. There is evidence that older and more recividist individuals have a higher probablility of success upon release than do younger men. In addition experience with re-training programs has shown that age is no barrier to successful re-training. Given the additional years in prison of the long-term inmate, it will be easier to design a comprehensive program of significant academic up-grading, vocational training to the journeyman level, and work experience for such men than it is for the individual with a two or three year term. Depending upon how many men who have completed some vocational training continue that training outside, it may be apprcpriate to concentrate vocational training in the maximum or long term prisons and to utilize academic up-grading, short term skill courses, and work experience in the institutions for men with short sentences.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations

Location in the Report	
Chapter 1	1) The goal of the Penitentiary Service should be phrased in operational terms and the data necessary for the evaluation of success should be developed and collected. The subsidiary goals of the various departments and divisions should be treated similarly.
Chapter 2	2) The specific goal of the Penitentiary Service should be the maximization of the number of months of freedom for released offenders.
Chapter 3	3) Major educational and work-training programs should be consistent with broad long-term developments in the Canadian economy.

Chapter 3 — 4) Provision for short-term courses should be made to meet regional skill shortages as determined by Canadian Manpower Offices.

Chapter 3 — 5) The equipping of each inmate with a minimum of a vocational grade 8 prior to his release should have a high priority.

Chapter 3 — 6) Judged by their contribution to useful training, agriculture, tailor operations, shoes, and canvas operations should be phased out.

Chapter 3 — 7) Training opportunities ought to be expanded into newer manufacturing areas, service, and white collar type occupations.

Chapter 4 — 8) Motivation among inmates should be sought through an emphasis upon individual growth factors instead of dissatisfiers.

Chapter 4 — 9) The range of training offerings, both

school and work-training, should be broadened especially in the direction of white collar and service-type occupations.

Chapter 4

10) A greater assurance of inmate placement in training situations of his choice should be encouraged. This will involve the expansion of occupational counselling, less use of inmates in institutional support jobs, and the design of training situations to normally operate at less than full capacity.

Chapter 4

11) Inmate programs should be jointly determined by the Penitentiary Service and the individual involved. They should include subsidiary goals which can be the basis for promotions, additional freedoms, and eventually parole.

Chapter 4

12) The basic inmate pay rate should be the minimum wage. There should also be a group incentive system.

Chapter 5 — 13) The number of items produced by Industries should be reduced in number.

Chapter 5 — 14) The training characteristics of each item of production should be the chief determining factor in deciding whether to produce it.

Chapter 5 — 15) The principle source of markets should continue to be governmental and not-for-profit groups, but the limitation on sales to private citizens should be removed.

Chapter 5 — 16) Industries products should be sold at market prices, including goods sold to the Penitentiary Service. These prices should be adjusted downward where conditions of sale by the Penitentiary are not equivalent to market offerings, for example in delivery dates or installation services.

Chapter 5

17) The Solicitor General ought to publicly establish a formal grievance system to handle any complaints by outside groups of unfair competition by Industries. The key to unfairness ought to be "injury" in the sense in which it comes to be used in the decisions of the Canadian Anti-Dumping Tribunal.

Chapter 6

18) The essential similarity of the work-training opportunities and deficiencies in Works, Service and Supply, and Industries should be recognized and appropriate cooperation and integration should be undertaken.

Chapter 6

19) Inmate jobs should be classified according to the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. The extent of training in these jobs which is available within an institution should then be compared to similar jobs outside and steps taken to bring the institutional

job into conformity with outside practice.

Chapter 6

20) Support activities and jobs which provide the inmate with little useful training or work experience should either be enlarged to provide a meaningful experience or inmate labour should be replaced by hired hourly employees.

Chapter 6

21) The post of a regional inmate personnel officer should be established. His duties would be very similar to those of a personnel officer in any concern, the assurance of efficient manpower utilization, maintenance of records, evaluations of manpower policy, etc.

Chapter 6

22) Pre-employment and related trades instructors should be seen as integral parts of the industrial program and their assignment for at least part of the week should be under the direction of an industrial supervisor.

Chapter 6

23) Programs designed to provide skills

useful in the broad field of recreation should be established.

Chapter 6

24) Present work-training areas need to be examined to see if broader and more comprehensive training could not be provided.

Chapter 6

25) The rate of inmate turnover and the length of tenure in the industrial shops are not conducive to adequate training and efforts should be made to reduce turnover and increase the median period of inmate tenure.

Chapter 6

26) An explicit list of inmate work habits which are desired should be drawn up and programs to achieve them should then be implemented. Due recognition should be given, however, to the fact that officer work habits and attitudes are probably more important in developing good habits among inmates than are formal programs.

Chapter 6 — 27) Industries should remain a division of the Penitentiary Service and not become a Crown Corporation.

Chapter 6 — 28) The Commissioner should annually require a profit-and-loss statement from Industries and an account of the amount of inmate training which was accomplished.

Chapter 6 — 29) The headquarters staff of Industries should retain explicit functional responsibility in relation to Industry personnel in the institutions, especially in such areas as product selection, marketing, inventory management, and the preparation of training programs.

Chapter 6 — 30) Appropriate national and regional advisory committees on education and work training should be established.

Chapter 6 — 31) Positions for two full-time contract consultants to the Program Director should

be established.

Chapter 6

32) The Solicitor General should employ three employment specialists to coordinate employment assistance for released offenders.

Appendix A

CANADIAN CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION

55 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa 3, Ontario
May 20, 1969

Dear Sir:

Last year, the Solicitor General asked the Canadian Corrections Association to establish a committee to study some aspects of the industry and training programs in the Canadian Penitentiary Service. One part of the Committee's study involves an analysis of these programs as seen by industrial and other work supervisors, teachers and vocational instructors. Some preliminary impressions and data were obtained through prison visits last summer and more will be acquired during additional visits this summer.

Time, vacation schedules and other factors, however, mean that I will be unable to speak with every foreman or instructor. Consequently, it is necessary to supplement these conversations with answers from a more formal questionnaire. I would, therefore, appreciate it if you would take the time to answer the questions which are enclosed.

Most of the answers are already pre-coded and require only that you check the one which is most correct or appropriate. In some cases, you may wish to answer at greater length. Please use the extra space at the bottom of each page for such comments.

The confidentiality of your answers will be completely maintained.

Thank you for your kindness and help in filling our the questionnaire. Please return it in the attached stamped self-addressed envelope.

Yours truly,

Robert Evens, Jr.
Associate Professor,
Brandeis University, and
Consultant, Committee on
Prison Industries.

RE:ad
Encl.

CANADIAN CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION
(Numbers are percentage distributions
of the answers).

EMPLOYMENT

In questions 1 to 4, please check the box which most correctly describes your current employment situation.

1) Geographical

12.4% ( ) 1. Atlantic Sub-Region
34.0% ( ) 2. Quebec Region
20.2% ( ) 3. Ontario Region
14.6% ( ) 4. Prairie Sub-Region
18.5% ( ) 5. Western Region

2) Security Level

39.6% ( ) 1. Maximum Security Unit
45.9% ( ) 2. Medium Security Unit
14.1% ( ) 3. Minimum Security Unit

3) My current job is

27.9% ( ) 1. Instructor in Prison Industry
36.2% ( ) 2. Instructor in Institutional Maintenance Service or Labour Foreman.
16.8% ( ) 3. Instructor in Vocational Training
10.5% ( ) 4. Teacher in Academic Education
7.2% ( ) 5. Farm Assistant in Agricultural Operations (including Senior Herdsman, Gardener, Cannery Instructor).
0.2% ( ) 6. Foreman in Forestry Operations

4) How many years have you been employed in your current occupation in the Penitentiary Service?

4.1% ( ) 1. Less than 1 year
37.9% ( ) 2. More than 1 year but less than 5 years
56.5% ( ) 3. Five or more years

Additional Comments:

5) In addition to the Penitentiary Service, have you held any of the following types of employment on a full-time basis? (Please check all applicable answers.)

32.9% ( ) 1. Employed in private industry

17.9% ( ) 2. Employed in military forces

8.4% ( ) 3. Employed in other government agencies

25.7% ( ) 4. Held a supervisory position in private industry

10.1% ( ) 5. Held a supervisory position in military forces

4.7% ( ) 6. Held a supervisory position in other government agencies.

6) Motivation of individuals is a major problem in most employment and learning situations. It has been said that motivation is more of a problem when one deals with prisoners. Do you agree with this statement? (Please check one answer only.)

74.1% ( ) 1. Strongly agree

19.1% ( ) 2. Agree somewhat

7.3% ( ) 3. Neither agree nor disagree

2.7% ( ) 4. Disagree somewhat

1.3% ( ) 5. Strongly disagree

0.5% ( ) 6. No opinion

Additional Comments:

7) As a work supervisor or instructor in the Canadian Penitentiary Service, you have several methods which you may use in trying to motivate inmates.

1) Please check all of the ones which you use with some regularity.

2) Please indicate the two (by 1 for first choice and by 2 for second choice) which in your judgement are the most effective.

(1) Use regularly	(2) Most effective 1st	2nd	
38.2% ( )	65.6% ( )	14.8%	a) Talk to the men to understand their problems and, in that way, try to get them to want to do a better job.
19.5% ( )	10.8% ( )	23.7%	b) Use formal recommendations for increased pay, earned remission, or parole.
12.8% ( )	6.0% ( )	10.9%	c) Structure the work or learning situation so as to allow the best workers to have the "best" work.
10.0% ( )	4.5% ( )	10.6%	d) Bend the rules a little here and there as rewards for those who are good workers or students.
24.7% ( )	12.9% ( )	39.7%	e) Try to pair the men so that the good worker will act as a good influence upon the one whose motivation may be less.

Additional Comments:

8) A number of suggestions have been made concerning changes in prisons in Canada, the United States and England, in order to try to motivate inmates to work more effectively.

For each proposed change in the operation of the prison system, please indicate the one of the four responses which most correctly reflects your evaluation of the probable desirability of the change.

	The adoption of this proposal would probably be				
	very helpful	some help	little or no help	harmful	no answer
a) The payment of higher wages to inmates, up to $2 per day	21.8% ( )	37.6%( )	20.2%( )	8.8% ( )	11.3%( )
b) The payment of higher wages to inmates, up to $2 per hour	10.2 ( )	13.0 ( )	15.7 ( )	46.8 ( )	14.1 ( )
c) The payment of an individual incentive bonus in addition to the regular wage, if production justified it	36.0 ( )	34.0 ( )	10.5 ( )	8.8 ( )	10.5 ( )
d) The payment of a group incentive bonus in addition to the regular wage, if production justified it	15.7 ( )	30.4 ( )	26.0 ( )	14.1 ( )	13.5 ( )
e) Some earned remission granted solely upon the recommendation of the work or education supervisor	31.0 ( )	31.0 ( )	16.6 ( )	11.3 ( )	9.9 ( )
f) Wage increases granted solely upon the authority of the work or education supervisor	29.0 ( )	26.5 ( )	17.7 ( )	15.5 ( )	11.0 ( )
g) Wage increases or decreases could be granted on a monthly basis if the supervisor felt it was desirable	32.4 ( )	32.4 ( )	15.5 ( )	8.5 ( )	11.0 ( )
h) Wage increases or decreases could be granted on a weekly basis if the supervisor felt it was desirable	20.2 ( )	20.2 ( )	30.1 ( )	16.3 ( )	13.0 ( )
i) The granting of extra privileges within the prison as a reward for efficient work (extra monies, outside recreation, etc.)	30.7 ( )	28.8 ( )	14.6 ( )	14.4 ( )	11.3 ( )

Additional Comments: (Please use back of page).

9) Most of us feel that the day is never long enough to accomplish everything which needs to be done. Which of the following changes do you feel would be most helpful to you in accomplishing your job duties? (Please check <u>two</u> answers, but no more).

22.3%	( )	1.	Additional assistant foreman or teaching assistant
10.9	( )	2.	More clerical assistance
6.6	( )	3.	More assistance from the Supervisor of Industries or Education
12.6	( )	4.	More staff assistance in areas like personnel, safety, etc.
3.1	( )	5.	More engineering assistance
9.8	( )	6.	Closer coordination with Regional or National Supervisors
34.4	( )	7.	Closer coordination with other parts (classification, security) of the institution

10) To obtain enough skill to be considered a semi-skilled worker in an industrial, maintenance, or service job, a man must have some formal training or on-the-job training and experience.

For the operation which you now supervise or the trade you teach, what is the median number of months which would be required for an untrained man (eighth grade education) to obtain semi-skilled competence? (Please check <u>one</u> answer only.)

5.5	( )	1.	0-3 months
16.8	( )	2.	4-6 months
35.1	( )	3.	7-12 months
44.8	( )	4.	More than 12 months

<u>Additional Comments:</u>

11) Among the men who have left your supervision in the last year by transfer or release, what percentage had semi-skilled competence in that area either from working in your operation or because they had obtained prior experience? (Please check one answer only.)

18.2%	( )	1.	0-10%
15.7%	( )	2.	11-20%
9.1%	( )	3.	21-30%
9.4%	( )	4.	31-40%
8.5%	( )	5.	41-50%
6.6%	( )	6.	51-60%
6.3%	( )	7.	61-70%
8.3%	( )	8.	71-80%
3.6%	( )	9.	81-90%
1.9%	( )	10.	91-100%

12) If you could make one, and only one, change in the operation of the institution in which you work or in the Penitentiary Service, what change would you make?

Additional Comments:

Appendix B

CANADIAN CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION

COMMITTEE ON
PRISON INDUSTRIES

55 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa 3, Ontario

Parolee Work History Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of a study of prison industries being conducted by a Committee formed by the Canadian Corrections Association at the request of the Solicitor General of Canada. It is being used to investigate the patterns of relationships between employment and training within prison and employment upon release. As a supervisor of a parolee released from a federal institution, you are being requested to obtain information upon his employment experience one month and six months after his release. The information requested can only be obtained in an interview and we have tried to design the questionnaire so that it will provide as little disruption in your normal interview practices as was possible. We recognize, however, that this does represent an increase in your workload and we are deeply appreciative of your cooperation.

The questionnaire should be used at those interviews which most closely coincide with the end of the man's first and sixth month of parole. Upon completion of the second interview, the completed form should be returned to Mr. Réal Jubinville, Associate Executive Secretary, Canadian Corrections Association, 55 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa 3, Ontario. If the second interview cannot be accomplished, please return the half-completed form as indicated above. For purposes of this study, any period of suspended parole may be ignored. It would be desirable if the questionnaire were to be formally administered to the man, but this is not essential.

For each question, please a) write in the answer
or
b) check the appropriate box or boxes
or
c) enter the number of the pre-coded answer in the box at the end of the question.

If there are any questions or comments, please write to Mr. Réal Jubinville, Associate Executive Secretary, Canadian Corrections Association, 55 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa 3, Ontario, or to Mr. Robert Evans Jr., Consultant, Committee on Prison Industries, 43 High, Acton, Mass. 01720, U.S.A.

Name of individual
(please print)

Last or Surname First Middle

Penitentiary number
of individual

Name of
institution _____

Date of interview

One-month			Six-month		
Day	Month	Year	Day	Month	Year

Note: Parole all is based on 255 replies, success only by 218 replies.

1. Currently, are you employed, going to school, etc.? (Check all applicable boxes).

	One-Month Interview All	Six-Month Interview Success Only
Enrolled in a full-time training course	☐ 8.6%	☐ 7.8%
Enrolled in a formal training course, part-time	☐ 1.2%	☐ 1.8%
Employed full-time	☐ 49.4%	☐ 68.3%
Employed part-time	☐ 7.1%	☐ 5.0%
Employed on a casual day-to-day basis	☐ 8.2%	☐ 7.3%
Looking for work by applying to employers	☐ 28.6%	☐ 10.6%
Looking for work by going to Manpower office	☐ 21.9%	☐ 9.2%
None of the above	☐ 4.7%	☐ 7.3%

2. In looking for a new job, individuals often use information or assistance from a number of different sources like friends, employment offices, etc. In looking for your present job, did you receive any help or information from other people or agencies or did you just go to the company or individual and ask for a job?

(Check all applicable boxes)

(If unemployed, answer for most recent job).	One-month Interview All	Six-month Interview Success Only
Walked in and asked for a job	☐ 29.0%	☐ 29.4%
Friends	☐ 22.0%	☐ 23.9%
Relatives	☐ 15.3%	☐ 11.9%
Union	☐ 1.6%	☐ 1.8%
Newspaper	☐ 9.4%	☐ 9.2%
Private employment office	☐ 1.6%	☐ 0.5%
Parole officer, John Howard Society, or similar group	☐ 23.1	☐ 19.7
Prison officer, shop foreman, vocational or academic instructor	☐ 3.5%	☐ 4.1%
Canada Manpower Office	☐ 27.1%	☐ 17.9%

3. What is the name of your present job? (If unemployed, the most recent job; if in full-time training only, the name of job for which being trained.)

	One-Month Interview	Six-Month Interview
a)	(See text table 4)	
	Please describe briefly what you do	
b)		

4. What is the name of your employer?

	One-Month Interview	Six-Month Interview
a)	(See text table 4)	
	Describe carefully the principal product or service which your employer supplied.	
b)		

5. For the job given in Question 3 (present job), where did you learn the skills, or receive the training or experience which are required in doing this job?

(If unemployed, answer for most recent job; if in training, answer for job for which being trained.)

		One-Month Interview ALL	Six-Month Interview Success Only
0	No skills, training or work experience are required to do this job	23.1% ☐	19.3% ☐
1	They were obtained on this job or earlier jobs	28.6% ☐	40.8% ☐
2	They were obtained in elementary or high school	1.6% ☐	1.8% ☐
3	They were obtained in a formal adult training course	1.2% ☐	.9% ☐
4	They were obtained in adult training in prison	3.2% ☐	7.9% ☐
5	They were obtained in a provincial juvenile or adult correctional institution	.4% ☐	1.4% ☐
6	They were obtained by work in prison industry	2.0% ☐	3.2% ☐
7	They were obtained by work in prison maintenance or service work	.2% ☐	1.0% ☐
8	They were obtained from a combination of formal training and work experience outside a penal institution	10.6% ☐	11.5% ☐
9	They were obtained from a combination of formal training and work experience inside a penal institution	6.2% ☐	6.2% ☐
	No answer	17.3% ☐	1.6% ☐

6. Please indicate the number of employers and approximately the number of weeks worked for each since the one-month interview or release from the institution.

	One-Month Interview		Six-Month Interview	
	Weeks Worked	Approx. Weekly Wage $85.68 average	Weeks Worked	Wage $93.35 average
First employer	_____	_____	Employer one month after release (8 weeks is median)	_____
Second employer (3.5 is median)	_____		Next employer (for all employees reportin)	
Third employer (for all employees)	_____		Next employer (any weeks)	_____
Fourth employer (for those reporting)	_____		Next employer	_____
Fifth employer (any employment)	_____		Next employer	_____
Sixth employer	_____	_____	Next employer	_____
			Next employer	_____
			Next employer	_____

Please indicate total number of employers if it exceeds six. ☐
93.3% report one or fewer

Please indicate total number of employers if it exceeds eight. ☐
86% report 2 or fewer.

7. In Question 6, you indicated that you had worked for several employers. were any of those jobs ones which involved different kinds of work than what you are now doing? (His answer to Question 3.) If so, please give the names of those jobs.

(If none of the jobs were different, please enter N/A after a) Name of job.)

a) Name of Job _____

Describe briefly what you did _____

_____

b) Name of job _____

Brief description _____

_____

c) Name of job _____

Brief description _____

_____

Please list no more than 3 different jobs, but if there were more than 3, please indicate the number of different jobs. [ ]

8. Have you used the skills, training or experience which you received in prison in any of the jobs listed in Question 7?

One-Month Interview [ ] Six-Month Interview [ ]

ALL			Success Only
21.1%	0.	No jobs listed in Question 7	78.0%
5.1%	1.	Have not used prison skills, training nor experience	3.7
1.6%	2.	Did not learn anything in prison	3.7
0.0%	3.	Yes, have used formal training received in prison	2.6
0.1%	4.	Yes, have used skills and experience obtained in prison industry	1.0
0.0%	5.	Yes, have used skills and experience received in prison maintenance or service areas	1.6
0.1%	6.	Yes, have used both formal training and experience in prison industry	1.4
0.1%	7.	Yes, have used both formal training and experience in maintenance or service areas	0.4
0.1%	8.	Yes, have used both formal training and experience in both maintenance and service areas and prison industries	0.5
10.6%		No answer.	3.2

9. During the time between our last interview or your release from prison, have you had any periods when you have not worked or gone to school on a full-time basis? If so, please indicate the number of weeks when less than fully occupied.
(Full-time is 35 or more hours a week; part-time is less than 35 hours on a regular basis; casual is employment on a day-to-day basis.)

Please enter the applicable number (which may be 0) in each box.

	One-Month Interview	Six-Month Interview
a) Number of weeks of complete unemployment	[ ] 1.8 avg.	[ ] 2.9 avg.
b) Number of weeks of part-time employment	[ ] .2	[ ] .7
c) Number of weeks of casual employment only	[ ] .2	[ ] .8

10. Since leaving the institution, have you started or completed any formal training program?

One-Month Interview [ ] Six-Month Interview [ ]

ALL			Success Only
77.2%	0	No	76.6%
3.9%	1	Yes, started but dropped out	5.1%
5.1%	2	Yes, started and am continuing	10.6%
.4%	3	Yes, completed a formal training program under arrangements with Manpower and Immigration	1.0%
0.0%	4	Yes, completed an apprenticeship program	0.0%
0.4%	5	Yes, completed another kind of a formal program	0.5%
10.9%		No answer	5.5%

CONTINUED

5 OF 5

11. Since being released from the institution, have you married?

		One-Month Interview ALL	Six-Month Interview Success Only
0	No	1.2%	81.6%
1	Yes, once	0.0%	2.8%
2	Yes, more than once	0.0%	.5%
3	Yes, but common-law only	0.0%	7.3%
4	No answer	98.8%	8.0%

12. Why did you leave the job you had before your current one? (If unemployed, his last job.)

		One-Month Interview All	Six-Month Interview Success Only
0	Non-applicable	73.3%	48.6%
1	Did not like the work (too hot, dirty, etc.)	1.6%	5.5%
2	The pay was too low	1.6%	6.4%
3	The general working conditions were not satisfactory (bad hours, too far from home)	1.2%	5.5%
4	Did not like the foreman	0.8%	1.0%
5	Did not like the other workers	0.4%	.5%
6	The company found out about my record	0.8%	2.6%
7	There were no prospects for advancement	9.0%	2.8%
8	I just felt it was time for a change	0.0%	.5%
9	Other	9.0%	20.6%
	No answer	11.4%	6.4%

CANADIAN CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION

COMMITTEE
PRISON INDUSTRIES

54 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa 3, Ontario

Federal Recidivist Work History Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of a study of inmate employment upon release from prison in conjunction with prison employment and training. It is being conducted by a Committee formed by the Canadian Corrections Association at the request of the Solicitor General and with the cooperation of the Penitentiary Service. We are aware of the extra work which it entails and we appreciate your cooperation in the administration of the questionnaire.

Please administer the questionnaire directly to the inmate after explaining to him that it is being conducted for an outside group which is interested in inmates and their problems, that he will never be identified in any way in published results and that his answers will neither hinder nor assist him during his current prison term.

For each question, a) write in the answer
or
b) check the appropriate box or boxes
or
c) enter the number of the most nearly correct pre-coded answer in the box at the end of the question.

If there are any questions or comments, please write to Réal Jubinville, Canadian Corrections Association, 54 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa 3, Ontario, or to Robert Evans Jr., Consultant, Committee on Prison Industries, 43 High, Acton, Mass. 01720, U.S.A.

Name of individual
(please print) Last or Surname First Middle

Current penitentiary number
of the individual

Date of interview

Day Month Year

Date of last release from
a federal institution

Day Month Year

(Do not interview if the time between
these dates is more than 3 years.)

1. At the time of your arrest were you employed, engaged in a full-time formal training course, etc?
(Please check all applicable boxes).

1	Enrolled in a full-time training course	☐	2.2%
2	Enrolled in a formal training course, part-time	☐	0.7%
3	Employed full-time	☐	30.0%
4	Employed full-time and have an additional part-time job	☐	2.5%
5	Employed part-time	☐	10.5%
6	Employed on a casual day-to-day basis	☐	9.8%
7	Looking for work by applying to employers	☐	22.0%
8	Going to Manpower office	☐	19.9%
9	None of the above	☐	26.7%

2. In looking for a new job, individuals often use information or assistance from a number of different sources like friends, employment offices, etc. In looking for the job you held at the time of your arrest, did you receive any help or information from other people or agencies or did you just go to the company or individual and ask for a job?
(Check all applicable boxes)

1	Walked in and asked for a job	☐	44.8%
2	Friends	☐	23.5%
3	Relatives	☐	10.8%
4	Union	☐	4.0%
5	Newspaper	☐	11.6%
6	Private employment office	☐	4.3%
7	Parole officer, John Howard Society, or similar group	☐	7.9%
8	Prison officer, shop foreman, vocational or academic instructor	☐	0.0%
9	Canada Manpower office	☐	27.8%

3. What was the name of your job at the time of arrest?
(If unemployed, the most recent job).
(If in full-time training, the name of job or occupation for which being trained).

(See Text Table 4)

Describe briefly what you did in that job _____

4. What was the name of your employer? _____

Describe carefully the principal product or service which that employer supplied (See Text Table 4)

5. For the job given in Question 3 (most recent job), where did you learn the skills, or receive the training or experience which are required in doing this job?

0	No skills, training or work experience are required to do this job	26.4%
1	They were obtained on this job or on earlier jobs	33.9%
2	They were obtained in elementary or high school	1.8%
3	They were obtained in a formal adult training course	2.1%
4	They were obtained in formal adult training in prison	2.9%
5	They were obtained in a provincial juvenile or adult correctional institution	1.4%
6	They were obtained by work in prison industry	1.1%
7	They were obtained by work in prison maintenance or service work	2.1%
8	They were obtained from a combination of formal training and work experience outside a penal institution	5.4%
9	They were obtained from a combination of formal training and work experience inside a penal institution	3.5%
	No answer	19.5%

6. Please indicate the number of employers and approximately the number of weeks worked for each one during the six months prior to your arrest.

	Weeks Worked Median 6.5	Approx. Weekly Wage Avg. $93.66
Employer 6 months ago	_____	_____
Next employer 1	_____	_____
Next employer 2	_____	_____
Next employer 3	_____	_____
Next employer 4	_____	_____
Next employer 5	_____	_____

Please indicate total number of employers if it exceeds 6 [ ] 86.6% reported two or fewer employers.

7. In Question 6, you indicated that you had worked for several employers. Were any of those jobs ones which involved different kinds of work than what you were doing at the time of your arrest (his answer to Question 3)? If so, please give the names of those jobs.

(If none of the jobs were different, please enter N/A after a) Name of job).

a) Name of job_____

Describe briefly what you did_____

_____

b) Name of job_____

Brief description_____

_____

c) Name of job_____

Brief description_____

_____

Please list no more than 3 jobs, but if there were more than 3, please indicate the number of different jobs [ ]

8. Have you used the skills, training or experience which you received in federal prison in any of the jobs listed in Question 7? [ ]

0. No jobs listed in Question 7	72.6%
1. Have not used federal correctional institution skills, training or experience	11.2%
2. Did not learn anything in federal prison(s)	6.5%
3. Yes, have used formal training received in federal correctional institution	1.1%
4. Yes, have used skills and experience received in federal prison industry	4.7%
5. Yes, have used skills and experience received in federal correctional maintenance or service areas	1.4%
6. Yes, have used both formal training and experience in federal prison industry	.4%
7. Yes, have used both formal training and experience in maintenance or service areas	0.0%
8. Yes, have used both formal training and experience in both maintenance and service areas and federal prison industries	.4%
No answer	1.8%

9. During the period (up to a year) prior to your arrest, did you have any periods of unemployment or of part-time employment only?

(Full-time is 35 hours or more a week; part-time is less than 35 hours on a regular basis; casual is employment on a day-to-day basis. Please enter the applicable number (which may be 0) in each box.)

a)	Number of weeks of full-time unemployment [ ]	8.7
b)	Number of weeks of part-time employment [ ]	2.2
c)	Number of weeks of casual employment [ ]	1.9

10. Since leaving the federal institution, did you start or complete any formal employment training program? [ ]

0	No	87.7%
1	Yes, started but dropped out	4.3%
2	Yes, started and was continuing at time of arrest	2.5%
3	Yes, completed a formal training program under arrangements with Manpower and Immigration	1.4%
4	Yes, completed an apprenticeship program	0.0%
5	Yes, completed another kind of a formal program	1.4%
	No answer	2.5%

11. Since being released from the federal institution, were you married? [ ]

0	No	80.5%
1	Yes, once	6.1%
2	Yes, more than once	.4%
3	Yes, but common-law only	8.3%
	No answer	4.7%

12. Why did you leave the job before the job you held at the time of your arrest? [ ]

0	Non-applicable	44.4%
1	Did not like the work (too hot, dirty, etc.)	3.2%
2	The pay was too low	4.7%
3	The general working conditions were not satisfactory (bad hours, too far from home)	3.6%
4	Did not like the foreman	1.4%
5	Did not like the other workers	.4%
6	The company found out about my record	2.9%
7	There were no prospects for advancement	1.4%
8	I just felt it was time for a change	2.5%
9	Other	29.9%
	No answer	5.4%

A Wage System

A wage system is installed by initially evaluating all jobs according to a number of common characteristics, knowledge, skill, physical effort, responsibility for equipment, materials, safety, interrelation with other work, working conditions such as heat, light, noise, monotony, etc. Points are allocated for each aspect with the maximum for any one being determined by management or union-management discussions. For example, skill might have a potential maximum three times as high as working conditions if most jobs were in a bakery where conditions are generally pleasant, but perhaps only twice as much in a foundry with its greater exposure to heat and dirt.

The points for each job's various aspects are totalled and the totals arrayed on a chart. Natural groupings or clusters of total points are then usually used to determine pay grades. Following the establishment of the grades, a wage survey in the firm's labour market levels might be made for several key rates though

often only for the beginning wage rate. Internal wage differentials would be based upon the firm's own needs, though for blue-collar and production jobs these differences would usually be on the order of five to seven per cent between each level or grouping.

The application of such a system to the Penitentiary Service raises several difficulties. It presupposes that an inmate's work is easily ordered according to specific job requirements. Yet within industries much of the current work is of a job shop nature and one man will perform at several job levels as he goes about making a single item. A similar observation would also seem to apply to inmates in institutional maintenance who tend to be assistants to the craftsmen and in other areas of institutional support. In some ways the operations of the stewards department come closest to a job ladder organization. There are assistant cooks, salad men, etc. A second problem is that if recourse were made to labour market standards, the total institutional wage structure would become quite broad with some jobs, for example, hospital orderlies, receiving very low wages while others would be much higher. Such a system might well have a number of values, but under current conditions it cannot

be recommended. It is also possible that the training function would be hindered by too rigid an application of job classifications.

The following adaptations or a more traditional wage and salary system are therefore recommended:

1) The directors of Supply and Services, Inmate Training and Industries should jointly determine the number of factors upon which jobs would be evaluated and the maximum point totals which would apply. In this they may wish to be guided by job grading point method of the United States Federal Prison Industries, a five job element system with maximum points from fifteen for working conditions to forty for skill.

2) The director of programs within each institution in conjunction with the appropriate heads of departments would allocate the inmate duties in each area into job titles. They would use the guidelines developed at Headquarters for the allocation of inmate jobs into Dictionary of Occupational Titles jobs. Until the Canadian one is published in 1971, this would have to be the United States Dictionary, but this should cause few problems

since it is the one used by the local Canada Manpower Office. It should be remembered that the process of allocating duties to job titles is for the benefit of the Penitentiary Service and that the standard should be reasonable consistency and not 100 per cent exactness.

3) The jobs in the institution, after having been evaluated, should, on the basis of point totals, be grouped into five wage classes.

4) The middle job (3) would receive the basic wage, which, if the recommendation of this report is followed, would be the minimum wage. Wage differentials would be seven per cent giving the following distribution, eighty-six per cent, ninety-three per cent, 1.00 per cent, 1.07 per cent and 1.14 per cent of the base rate.[1] Men in pre-employment training would initially receive fifty per cent of the base rate, but, while being trained for up-grading in the occupation, would receive the rate from which they were being up-graded.

5) The individual foreman each week could grant merit and productivity awards of five or ten per cent of the man's wage as an extra incentive.

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1 See footnote p.X of this Appendix.

6) Once a man had achieved a given level of pay for at least one month and had earned at least one week's ten per cent merit pay or two weeks at the five per cent level, that pay grade would become his personal rate and as long as he worked in that shop and his work was satisfactory, he would receive at least that rate.

A report of the wage levels for each man and the records of merit pay would be reviewed by the inmate personnel officer (Grading Board) monthly and efforts would be made to maintain some rough consistency among the various instructors. An inmate who felt that he had been unfairly treated could appeal in writing to the personnel officer and his position would be reviewed. The personnel officer could, after consultation with the instructor, adjust the wage level or merit pay of an inmate.

The system in operation may be illustrated as follows. Mr. Jones is assigned to the Carpenter Shop. He doesn't know a file from a saw and is initially sent to pre-employment training. There he receives fifty per cent of the base rate. A few weeks later he is sent into

the shop and works in areas classed as job level 5. He is paid eighty-six per cent of the base rate and is eligible to receive a merit bonus, but it is anticipated that it will be several weeks before his production and quality will be consistent with earning a merit rate. Once he has earned merit rates and is judged ready to do more demanding work, he may receive special training. During this period he earns his personal rate, level 5, but has no opportunity for a merit award. In time he has achieved sufficient training to work at level 1 and has earned merit rates for the required time. One day the instructor explains to him that he will have to do level 5 work in order that another level 2 inmate may learn and practice at level 1 prior to receiving parole. Since Mr. Jones has level 1 as a personal rate he earns that rate in whatever work he does.

Until this point each inmate has been considered as motivated and capable of learning the various jobs, but unfortunately this is not the case. The following suggestions are made for these men:

7) The physically or mentally handicapped worker would receive that proportion of the wage of his job level which was consistent with his production, except that in no case would it be less than fifty per cent of the base rate. He clearly could not receive merit pay, but would share in any group incentive.

8) An inmate who transferred at his request to another shop or to another institution would receive whatever wage was consistent with his ability to do the work to which he was assigned. A trained cook who had worked in ornamental grounds for some months and then went into the kitchen would receive level 1 pay if the steward used him in those duties, but if there were others already there and adequately performing the work so that he was assigned to salads, then he would receive the salad rate of pay.

9) An inmate who returned to his prior shop after a period in dis-association would receive his old job rate, but if it was necessary to transfer him to another shop, he would be considered to be a voluntary transfer and the conditions of 8) would apply.

10) An inmate who, after reaching a given grade, then decides not to produce at the expected rate of output may receive a de-merit pay deduction of five or ten per cent of the rate. The determination would be by the instructor on a weekly basis, subject to appeal. Four straight weeks of de-merit pay would result in an automatic down-grading by one pay level. In addition the inmate personnel committee could, upon recommendation of an instructor, down-grade a man or transfer him, for lack of effort. Such a transfer would also be considered voluntary.

Despite the best efforts of the Service, they will on occasion need to transfer a man for their convenience or they may fail to carry out their part of the training contract set up between the inmate and the regional classification committee. In these cases the man receives his prior rate on a red circle basis, or the higher rate of the job he actually does. For example, a man who wants to go into wood working is sent to welding because there is no space in wood. When he can go into wood he has reached level 4 in welding. Even though he goes into pre-employment in wood there he should receive

fifty per cent of the base rate, he will receive ninety-three per cent, his personal rate of grade h, because it was the Service's fault and not his that he did not initially go into wood.

In addition to wages, there are fringe benefits and other lost time payments relative to penitentiary activities. The following are recommended. Time spent in sick call is time for which there is no payment. When a man is confined to the hospital, he receives sick pay of seventy-five per cent of his last pay level after the second day. Each man is to receive up to two paid hours per week for family visits and interviews with treatment staff. Normal pay is granted for holidays provided the man worked the day prior and the day following. Two weeks of paid vacation is awarded after one year of employment and additional weeks on the same schedule as the federal Civil Service. Overtime is paid at time and one-half.

Note

1 The seven per cent is consistent with the recommendations of the American Management Association, Robert E. Sibson, Wages and Salaries (New York, 1960), p. 76 and with the wage structures in Ontario and Quebec metal and wood industries. In these industries the difference between the average wage of the lowest paid job and that of the highest ranges between forty-six and seventy per cent. The range between the lowest observation for the low wage and the highest one of the high wage is between 100 and 150 per cent. Wage Rates, Salaries and Hours of Labour, 1967 (Department of Labour, Report 50,1968), pp.110-111, 136.

Table 1

Recidivism by Months Since Release

Time Period	Proportion of all Recidivists					
	Group A %		Group B %		Group C %	
	simple	cum.	simple	cum.	simple	cum.
Under 1 Month	4.0	4.0	----	----	----	----
1 to 3 months	25.8	29.8	15.2	15.2	31.1	31.1
3 to 6 months	40.4	70.2	12.4	27.8	26.0	57.1
6 to 9 months	20.9	91.1	11.8	39.6	24.0	81.1
9 to 12 months	7.6	98.7	9.2	48.8	18.8	99.9
12 to 18 months	1.2	99.9	----	----	----	----
18 to 24 months	----	----	22.8	71.6	----	----
24 to 36 months	----	----	12.8	84.4	----	----
36 to 48 months	----	----	8.6	93.0	----	----
48 to 60 months	----	----	4.8	97.8	----	----
More than 60 months	----	----	3.1	100.9	----	----

Source: Group A is from Judicial Section, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Recidivism - A Pilot Study", March 1968.

Group B is from Rapport Annuel Recherche Penitentiaire, Department de Criminologie, Universite de Montreal, Avril 1967, p. 73.

Column C is the distribution of B's first year recidivists only.

Table 2

Basic Labour Market Trends in Canada

Industries	Percentage Distribution of Employment 1946	1956	1961	1967
Agriculture	25.4	12.9	11.2	8.7
Other Primary Industries	4.0	4.6	3.0	3.0
Manufacturing	26.0	25.7	24.0	23.8
Construction	4.8	7.4	6.2	6.4
Transportation and Other Utilities	8.1	9.0	9.3	8.9
Trade	12.3	15.8	16.9	16.6
Real Estate, Insurance, Finance	2.7	3.5	3.9	4.2
Service (including Public and Defence)	16.8	20.3	25.3	29.5
Occupations	**1948**	**1956**	**1961**	**1967**
Managers	6.1	8.3	9.2	9.4
Professional and Technical	5.9	7.6	9.9	12.4
Clerical	10.2	12.2	13.3	14.1
Sales	8.4	7.6	7.4	6.8
Service and Recreation	7.4	9.1	10.9	11.8
Transportation	7.0	6.7	5.8	4.7
Communication	1.4	1.4	.9	?
Farmers	22.5	14.0	11.3	7.6
Fishing, Forestry and Mines	3.3	3.3	2.1	1.9
Craftsmen and Operatives	23.9	23.3	24.2	24.1
Labourers	4.0	6.4	5.0	4.3

N.B.: Data for 1961 and 1967 use the 1960 industrial and 1961 occupational classifications.

Source: Canada Year Book, 1968, pp. 759-60

Table 3

Educational Levels, Males in Prison and in the General Population

Level of Education	In Prison 1967	Age 65+ (1965)	Age 25-34 (1965)	Age 20-24 (1965)	Age 25-44 (1965) (Post-war Immigrants)
Some Elementary School	39.0	44.0	16.0	10.2	15.8
Completed Elementary School	22.5	28.6	21.5	14.8	25.0
Some High School	26.8	13.9	33.9	18.8	23.0
Completed High School	4.1	7.8	15.8	18.8	19.4
Some University Education	1.2	2.6	5.7	14.9	6.8
University Degree		3.1	7.1	3.6	9.8

N.B.: The prison data refer to levels at entrance and exclude 1.1% who were illiterate and 4.5% for whom data was not available.

Source: The prison data are unpublished totals prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The remainder of the data are from Frank J. Whittingham, "Educational Attainment of the Canadian Population and Labour Force: 1960-1965", Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Special Labour Force Studies I, October 1966, pp. 9,33.

Table 4

Male Released Offender Employment, 1968-69
(% Distribution)

	Parolees 6 months Success	Recidivists	Canadian Economy
Occupation			
Managerial	0.5	0.0	9.4
Professional & Technical	3.4	3.3	12.4
Clerical	1.0	1.8	14.1
Sales	10.5	2.9	6.8
Craftsmen and Operatives	32.8	33.0	26.1
Transportation & Communication	8.6	6.2	5.6
Farmers	2.4	4.4	7.6
Other Primary Production	5.2	5.9	1.9
Services and Recreation	11.8	11.7	11.8
Labourers	14.3	11.7	4.3
Occupation Unstated	8.6	18.3	----
Industry			
Agriculture	7.6	4.0	8.7
Other Primary	3.3	5.8	3.0
Manufacturing	32.2	16.4	23.8
Construction	13.3	10.8	6.4
Transportation & Utilities	2.4	7.9	8.9
Trade	9.5	4.4	16.6
Real Estate, Finance, Insurance	0.0	1.4	4.2
Service	24.6	22.6	27.5
Industry Unknown	6.6	27.1	----

N.B.: Figures for all of Canada are from Table 2. The Parolee sample collection system contained a bias against including men in isolated areas.

Table 5

Levels of Unemployment and of Education

	Total Unemployment Rate 1964	Actual Male Educational Level 1961	Required Male Educational Level 1961	Projected Percentage of Labour Force with 8 or Less and 9-12 Years of Education in 1970	
				0-8	9-12
Occupations					
Managerial	3.6	10.5	14.8	20.8	42.2
Professional and Technical	4.3	13.8	15.9	5.7	23.1
Clerical	11.5	10.4	10.0	10.7	61.9
Sales	10.9	10.3	10.4	22.2	53.8
Agriculture	6.3	7.2	10.3	60.4	34.4
Other Primary	47.3	6.5*	8.2*	63.8	29.8
Service	14.3	8.7	8.7	46.1	43.7
Transportation and Communication	20.3	8.2	9.3	42.6	47.2
Craftsmen and Production Process and Related Workers	20.6	8.2	10.1	47.5	42.5
Labours	36.8	7.2	6.1	58.0	34.4
All Occupations	15.6	9.0	10.3	33.3	43.4
Industries					
Agriculture	6.1	----	----	----	----
Other Primary	41.8	----	----	----	----
Manufacturing	16.6	----	----	----	----
Construction	39.1	----	----	----	----
Transportation	13.6	----	----	----	----
Trade	12.1	----	----	----	----
Finance	8.7	----	----	----	----
Service	10.4	----	----	----	----
Public Administration	11.2	----	----	----	----

* estimated

The total unemployment rate is the number of persons with some unemployment during 1964 as a percentage of the number of persons in the labour force during 1964.

Source: OSTRY, Sylvia. Unemployment in Canada. Ottawa : Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968, p.23.

WILKINSON, Bruce W. Studies in the Economics of Education. Department of Labour, Occasional Paper 4, July 1965, p.179-81.

MELTZ, Noah M. and PENZ, G. Peter. Canada's Manpower Requirements in 1970. Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1968, p.25.

Table 6

Areas of Occupational Training in Federal Prisons

Occupations	Canadian Male Labour Force 1961 (%)	Increase in Employment 1961/51 (%)
1. Barbers	.40	38.8
2. Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Tilesetters	.44	----
3. Carpenters	2.59	-5.6
4. Drafting	.42	----
5. Fitters and Assemblers Electrical and Electronics Equipment, Electrical and Electronics Workers NEC	.21	3.1
6. Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers and Related Workers	4.61	----
Sheet Metal	.35	23.7
Plumbers & Pipefitters	.80	26.9
Welders & Flame Cutters	.81	63.6
7. Mechanics and Repairmen, Motor Vehicle	1.89	38.4
8. Painters, Paperhangers and Glaziers	1.08	9.2
9. Plasterers and Lathers	.21	8.3
10. Service Station Attendants	.42	160.4
11. Stationary Engineering	.62	14.5
12. Cooks	.53	28.3
14. Craftsmen and Production Process Workers	28.2	18.7
Average Male Occupation Growth 1951-61	----	14.1

Source: OSTRY, Sylvia. The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967, pp. 56-74.

Table 7

Distribution of Industrial Production

	Male Employment Fiscal 1967/68 (Inmates)		Gain in Employment In Canadian Manufacturing 1961-1966	
	No.	%	%	
Blacksmith & Machine	177	9.4	36.2	Metal Fabricating
Garage	35	1.9		
Metal Products	209	11.1	36.2	Metal Fabricating
Canvas	253	13.4		
Tailor	399	21.2	20.2	Men's Clothing
Shoes	198	10.5	1.2	Shoes
Carpenter & Paint	445	23.6	13.1	Wood Products
Gymnasium Equipment	16	0.9	36.9	Household Furniture
Upholstery	6	0.3		
Bookbinding & Printing	72	3.8	10.9	Printing
Brooms & Brushes	25	1.3		
Mason & Quarry	20	1.1		
Electronic	6	0.3		
Carton Products	-	---		
Total	1,891	100.0	23.5	

Source: "Value of Penitentiaries Industrial Production, Fiscal 1967-68", unpublished Penitentiary Service Data. Canada Year Book, 1968. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, pp. 762-764.

Table 8

Major Short Term Training Projects
in Ontario Industry 1966-67 and 1967-68

	Males			
	Start		Graduate	
	1966-67	1967-68	1966-67	1967-68
Assembler-Fitters	830	2[illegible]	5[illegible]2	26[illegible]
Auto Parts Assemblers	35[illegible]	[illegible]03	129	[illegible]6[illegible]
Boat/Ship Builders	225	152	15[illegible]	[illegible]9
Business Machine Servicemen	66	[illegible]2	[illegible]4	1[illegible]
Chemical Workers	[illegible]36	17[illegible]	237	18[illegible]
Concrete Workers	63	[illegible]6	1[illegible]	[illegible]2
Construction Machinery Repairmen	172	139	[illegible]6	12[illegible]
Diamond Drillers and Sorters	-	[illegible]7	-	[illegible]
Electricians (Vehicle)	-	10[illegible]	-	71
Electrical Component Assemblers	[illegible]9	25[illegible]	[illegible]h	[illegible]
Electronic Equipment Workers	7[illegible]	[illegible]2	13	[illegible]
Foundry Workers	1[illegible]4	[illegible]	[illegible]2	1
Furniture/Woodworkers	1,2[illegible]2	17[illegible]	[illegible]1[illegible]	[illegible]
Glass Workers	75	[illegible]2[illegible]	[illegible]2	[illegible]3
Heavy Duty Equipment	-	[illegible]7	-	[illegible]
Knitting Machine Fixers	[illegible]3	[illegible]6	[illegible]3	[illegible]2
Loggers	10[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]h	[illegible]
Machine Operators	[illegible]32	[illegible]33	33[illegible]	[illegible]
Meat Cutters	[illegible]9	[illegible]	[illegible]8	[illegible]
Metal Fabricators	332	12[illegible]	[illegible]1	[illegible]
Miners	2[illegible]4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pre-fab Homes	-	[illegible]5	-	[illegible]
Public Transport Operators	-	[illegible]2	-	[illegible]
Refrigeration Assemblers	107	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rubber Workers	[illegible]7	[illegible]	[illegible]2	[illegible]
Shoe Workers	[illegible]	[illegible]	34	[illegible]
Steel Workers	-	[illegible]	-	[illegible]
Synthetic Fibres	-	[illegible]	-	[illegible]
Telephone Installers	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	[illegible]
Textile Workers	[illegible]4	75	26[illegible]	[illegible]
Welders	[illegible]7	53	[illegible]1	[illegible]
Plastics	-	96	-	[illegible]
Total*	6,683	5,553	3,549	4,199

* The total includes nineteen small courses involving 197 men who started and 129 graduates for 1966-67, and twenty-four courses, 347 beginners and 219 graduates in 1967-68.

Source: Ontario Department of Labour Annual Reports 1966-67 (p.41) and 1967-68 (pp. 10-11).

Table 9

Utilization of Male Inmates - May-June 1969

Utilization	Type of Institution				
	Maximum %	Medium %	Minimum %	Farm %	All %
Institutional Support	42.9	56.7	47.6	53.3	50.4
Clerical & Works	15.1	26.7	21.6	35.3	22.2
Services	27.8	30.0	26.0	17.7	28.2
Education	10.8	19.3	0.0	5.0	14.4
Industries	34.0	20.0	49.5	41.5	26.8
Other					
(Hospital, Segregation, Reception, Misc.)	15.3	4.0	2.6	0.0	8.3

N.B.: Data for a few institutions were not available.
The above is based upon approximately 5,700 inmates.