THE ROLE AND VALUE OF EMPLOYMENT AND SKILLS TRAINING IN THE LIVES OF FEDERAL OFFENDERS.

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The Role and Value of Employment and Skills Training

in the Lives of Federal Offenders

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ABSTRACT

Since the rise of the penitentiary in the nineteenth century, strategies of inmate labour and training have been central to the correctional agenda. Although the nature of these strategies has changed in response to 'correctional reforms', they have remained grounded in three conceptually and empirically dubious premises: *1)* That unemployment is causally related to criminality; *2)* That strategies of inmate labour and training facilitate the transition of offenders into the workforce; and *3)* That unemployment is causally related to recidivism. In reviewing the literature surrounding these three premises, a lack of empirical and theoretical support was clearly evident. More importantly, these premises have not been researched from the perspective of offenders.

Therefore, this study has examined the role and value of employment and training in the lives of a group of federal offenders prior to incarceration, while incarcerated and once released from prison. In general, this study has aimed to contribute to our understanding of the correctional premises by examining offenders' experiences, attitudes and perceptions of work. More specifically, this study has addressed the following research questions:

1. Pre-institutional: How do differences in experiences, attitudes and perceptions of work affect the nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime?

2. Institutional: What is the value of institutional work and training programs in assisting offenders to make the transition into the work force?

3. Post-institutional: What is the role and value of post-release employment in the reintegration process?

In researching these questions, interviews were conducted with 22 federal offenders who have participated in a community-based employment assistance program (CEAP) within the last four years.

The findings revealed that the relationship between unemployment and crime is very complex and assumes various forms, as reflected in differences in experiences, attitudes, and opportunities for work. Additionally, although work was perceived by offenders as necessary to help them successfully reintegrate into society, institutional work and training programs had little effect on the transition of offenders into the workforce. On the other hand, the role and value of CEAPS in assisting offenders to successfully reintegrate back into society was strongly supported.

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

Throughout Canadian correctional history, strategies for punishing, reforming and reintegrating offenders have emphasized the value of inmate labour, institutional employment and vocational training. In tracing the historical development of Canadian correctional philosophy, it is clear that correctional strategies have always incorporated some form of convict labour--including the 18th/19th century work houses of moral reformation, the transportation of convicts, the contracting out of inmate labour contracts with private indusrties, the creation of CORCAN and prison industries, the utilization of work furloughs, ithe introduction of 'boot camps' for youth, and the development of institutional program opportunities for employment and vocational training. When Kingston Penitentiary was first opened in 1835, "hard labour", in and of istself , was believed to be the most effective means for reforming and punishing offenders. Today, the Correctional Service of Canada speaks less of the moral reformation of offenders and more of the overall instrumental value of correctional programming as a means to provide offenders with the necessary skills to reintegrate back into society as law-abiding citizens. That is, rather than being an end in itself, correctional strategies of work and training since the rehabilitation era have placed an instrumental value on all correctional programs, and have specifically called for more "meaningful" work and training programs that facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders. Given this, Cohen (1983:119) has suggested that "in some respects current correctional changes are moving in the direction of the body rather than the mind." For Cohen, contemporary penal philosophy rests on a neo-classical, back-to-justice model which reflects a "new behaviourism", in

strategies concerned with the "inner state" of the actor (moral discipline) have been replaced with strategies for controlling the behaviours of offenders (instrumental discipline).

While the purpose and objectives of inmate work and training strategies reflect the "flavour" of correctional philosophy at any given time, these strategies have, historically, been premised on a belief in the disciplinary and reformative value of instilling a legitimate work ethic in offenders through institutional labour and training that provides them with the work skills and attitudes necessary to pursue and secure legitimate and industrious employment once released. More specifically, while the nature of correctional strategies of inmate work has changed in response to 'correctional reforms', they have remained conceptually grounded, to varying degrees, in the three questionable premises:

1. That there is a positive relationship between economic idleness or unemployment and criminality based on the economic model of crime.

2. That correctional strategies of work and training provide inmates with the necessary work habits, job skills, and training to be successful in the competitive labour market once released from prison.

3. That post-release employment is necessary for the successful reintegration of inmates back into society as law-abiding citizens, and that the community has a responsibility to provide services to released offenders to facilitate their reintegration.

A review of the literature surrounding each of these three premises, however, illustrates a general lack of empirical support. Although the economic model of crime suggests that a significant,

positive, uni-directional, mutually exclusive relationship exists between unemployment and crime, aggregate research since the nineteenth century has produced a 'consensus of doubt' over the nature, significance and direction of the relationship. However, The association between unemployment and crime is further supported by individual level studies that found most offenders to be unemployed at the time of their last arrest. In addition, individual level studies have also illustrated that offenders generally lack any significant work experience, have few basic pre-employment and work skills, and are undereducated. In the end, the research literature focusing on the unemployment-crime relationship suggest there is enough evidence to at least claim an association between unemployment and property-crime. Although these studies have begun to delineate the conditional nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime, no examination of the relationship from the perspective of the offender has been conducted.

With respect to the second premise underlying correctional philosophy of work and training, while correctional reforms have resulted in some positive changes in the nature of inmate work and training strategies, rarely have these strategies met their intended goals. Throughout correctional history, strategies of inmate work and training have been criticized for serving the maintenance and production needs of the institution rather than providing inmates with meaningful work experiences and skills , marketable vocational skills, and a value for legitimate work. As very little research has been conducted to determine the effect of correctional work and training strategies on the transition of inmates into the work force, the reintegrative value of correctional work and training programs can not be taken for granted.

The literature surrounding the third premise does not support the claim that post-release unemployment is causally related to recidivism. Rather the literature illustrates that the relationship between unemployment and recidivism is as complex and dynamic as the relationship between unemployment and crime. However, individual level studies reveal that post-release employment plays an important, yet varied, role in the successful reintegration of offenders. While the literature on community-based employment assistance programs (CEAPS) in the United States, suggests that CEAPS play an important role in the successful reintegration of offenders, no Canadian research has been conducted on the post-release employment patterns of released offenders or the role and value of CEAPS in the reintegration of offenders into the work force.

Given the limitations of the literature surrounding these three premises, this study examines the role and value of employment in the pre-institutional, institutional, and post-institutional experiences of a group federal offenders. As such, this study is designed to contribute to an understanding of the relationship between unemployment and crime, the reintegrative value of institutional work and training strategies, and the role and value of post-release employment in the successful reintegration of released offenders, Specifically, this study has attempted to answer the following questions.

1. ***Pre-institutional:*** How are differences in work patterns and attitudes reflected in the nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime?

2. ***Institutional*** What reintegrative value does institutional work and training programs have in facilitating the transition of offenders from prison to the work force?

3. ***Post-institutional*** What is the role and value of post-release employment in the reintegration process?

With the importance placed on the experiences and perceptions of the offender cohort, this study breaks with standardized approaches to measuring pre-prison, prison and post-prison experience on the basis of questionable assumptions and superficial criteria, such as unemployment and recidivism rates.

The remainder of this study is presented in five chapters. Chapter one examines the historical development of correctional strategies of inmate labour and training as reflected in four general shifts in correctional philosophy. This overview provides a historical backdrop for an examination of the premises underlying correctional strategies of work and training. This historical overview also illustrates that although the nature of correctional strategies of inmate labour and training have changed in response to 'correctional reforms', they have rarely met their intended goals. Most importantly, however, this chapter will argue that while the nature of inmate work and training strategies has changed from being principally a form of "carceral punishment" concerned with the moral reformation of offenders to "instruments" of reintegration concerned with the behaviour of offenders, they have remained conceptually grounded in the three premises previously mentioned. Chapter Two addresses the three premises underlying correctional strategies of work and training. The literature on the relationship between unemployment and crime is explored, followed by a review of the research on correctional strategies of work and training. The final section reviews the literature surrounding the post-release employment patterns of offenders, including an examination of the role and value of CEAPS in the reintegration process. Chapter Three presents the methods utilized in this study, the characteristics of the offenders in the sample, and an introduction to the

Program form which the sample was taken. Chapter four presents the findings from this study according to the three time periods on which data was collected. The final Chapter presents the conclusions and implications of the study, focusing on the theoretical and policy implications of the findings and directions for future research.

CHAPTER ONE

CORRECTIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF WORK AND TRAINING

Introduction

The purpose of Chapter One is to examine the changing nature of inmate work and training as reflected in four general shifts in correctional philosophy: Punishment and Penitence, Rehabilitation, Reintegration, and Assistance and Control. This historical overview of correctional philosophy of work and training is intended to provide a historical backdrop for the study and to illustrate that although the nature of correctional strategies of inmate labour and training have changed, they have remained conceptually grounded in three premises.

With the emergence of the penitentiary in the nineteenth century, 'hard labour' became the primary form of punishment and disciplinary training imposed on offenders. While ideals of inmate work and training have remained central to the correctional agenda throughout the history of the development correctional philosophy, the nature of correctional work and training strategies has changed in response to shifts in correctional philosophy. Shearing and Stenning (1985:337) argue that the central point of Foucault's "*Discipline and Punishment*" is that "discipline, as a form of power, is distinct from its particular expression", and therefore, the nature of the 'training' will vary according to the context in which discipline is applied. Although Shearing and Stenning were making a case for viewing private security as a form of discipline, their argument suggests that the disciplinary nature of inmate labour will also vary with 'contextual' shifts in correctional philosophy.

However, because the correctional enterprise itself "exists within, rather than apart, from the larger societal context" (Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:16), the nature of inmate work and training is necessarily tied not only to shifts in correctional thinking, but also to shifts in the larger social, economic and political climates. Despite the changing nature of strategies of inmate work and training, correctional philosophy or inmate work and training has remained conceptually grounded on a belief in the disciplinary and 'reformative' value of instilling a legitimate work ethic in offenders through institutional work training programs that provide them with the skills necessary to pursue and secure employment once released. More specifically, correctional philosophy of work and training have remained conceptually grounded, to varying degrees, on three premises:

1. That there is a positive relationship between economic idleness or unemployment and criminality based on the economic model of crime.

2. That correctional strategies of work and training provide inmates with the necessary work habits, job skills, and training to be successful in the competitive labour market once released from prison.

3. That post-release employment is necessary for the successful reintegration of inmates back into society as law-abiding citizens, and that the community has a responsibility to provide services to released offenders to facilitate their reintegration.

While changes in correctional philosophy and practice are commonly interpreted from a Liberal perspective as being inherently progressive and humanitarian, 'revisionists' (Cohen and Scull, 1983; Gosselin, 1982; Chunn, 1981) have offered different interpretations of these correctional 'reforms' which, according to Cohen and Scull (1983:2), share "skepticism about the professed aims, beliefs, and intentions of the reformers; concern with the analysis of power and its effects; curiosity about

the relationships between intentions and consequences; and determination to locate the reform enterprise in the social, economic and political contexts of the period." In light of this, the following examination of the changing nature of inmate work and training will attempt to move beyond the reformatory cloak of correctional change and proceed from Cohen and Scull's (1983:2) cautionary note.

> "Benevolent schemes at times end in failure, and control systems, like all human inventions, imperfectly and unevenly reflect the moral vision that creates and sustains them."

Punishment and Moral Reformation

With the emergence of the penitentiary in Canada during the nineteenth century, 'hard labour' became the primary form of disciplinary punishment imposed on offenders. The rise of the penitentiary in the nineteenth century represented a shift from the informal community control of deviance to a more formalized system of social control under the auspices of the state (Gosselin, 1982; Scull, 1977; Rothman, 1971). According to Foucault (1977), the penitentiary replaced corporal forms of punishment with carceral discipline; penal repression was redirected from the body to the mind of the offender. More importantly, however, the shift in focus to the 'mind' or 'spirit' of the offender, while propagated by reformers as a more 'humanitarian' and 'benevolent' form of punishment, necessarily gave the penitentiary a morally corrective agenda. Indeed, although the primary goals of the penitentiary in the 19th century were largely based on the ideals

of punishment and retribution, the 'moral reformation' of offenders through a strict regime of hard labour was implicit in the very nature of the penitentiary itself, and immediately formed part of the institutional framework of penal detention (Baehre, 1977:197; Foucault, 1977: 234).

According to Foucault (1977:242), a regime of hard labour necessarily accompanied the penitentiary as a primary agent of carceral transformation. Through a strict regime of 'hard labour' the bodies and souls of inmates were to be disciplined or trained to the virtues of a strong 'work ethic' and the habits of industry (Bottoms, 1983:182; Chunn, 1981; Foucault, 1977:242; Petchesky, 1981; Weiss, 1987:275). Within the penitentiary, therefore, the discipline and reformation of inmates were embedded in the very nature of 'hard labour'.

> "Penal labour must be seen as the very machinery that transforms the violent, agitated, unreflective convict into a part that plays its role with perfect regularity. The prison is not a workshop; it must be of itself, a machine whose convict-workers are both the cogs and the products" (Foucault, 1977:242).

Accordingly, the Penitentiary Act of 1834 stated that ..."solitary imprisonment, accompanied by well regulated labour and religious instruction...might be the means under Providence, not only of deterring others from the commission of crimes, but also of reforming the individuals, and inuring [sic] them to to [sic] habits of industry (Cited in Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:33).

When Kingston first opened in Canada in 1835, it was modelled on the Auburn system of imprisonment that prevailed in the United Sates throughout the nineteenth century. At the time, it was believed that crime resulted from "immorality, intemperance, lack of religious practice and idleness... vices directly contrary to the dominant values of the period" (Bellomo, 1972:16). As

such, it was thought that a strict regime of silence, religious instruction, and hard labour, interlaced with corporal punishment for any transgression against the rules (Chunn, 1981:17), would reform inmates to a more virtuous, industrious and law-abiding life. As Chunn suggests in her account of the first fifteen years of Kingston, 'hard labour' was an integral part of prison policy to reform and punish offenders.

> "From the beginning, hard labour was a key component of the prison regime; through incessant hard labour, criminals were to be deterred with the least possible expenditure...convicts would acquire skills which could be utilized to acquire gainful employment after release from prison. At the same time, hard labour would instill industrious habits and the 'correct' values in offenders. In short the responsibility imposed by hard labour would 'normalize' the prisoner and transform him into a productive citizen" (Chunn, 1981:13-14).

In essence, the penitentiary and its regime of hard labour symbolized the "moral architecture" of an ideal society as it should be (Taylor, 1979:407; Baehre, 1977:199). While the penitentiary aimed to remove "sources of temptation and corruption which fostered crime..." (Baehre, (1977:199), in larger terms, it reflected society's belief in the value of work under industrial capitalism. In particular, Liberal ideology during the growth of industrial capitalism in the 19th century was based on the ideal that success and prosperity were available to all who were willing to live a hard working, respectable, and moral life. Under this ideology, "criminals were conceived as purposive, rational individuals who through some moral defect (idleness, drunkenness) committed some transgression against the morality and property of others and had to be punished (Chunn, 1981:14). In effect, therefore, the penitentiary represented a moral economy as it aimed to "instill the virtues of bourgeois rationality into segments of the population least amenable to them" (Scull, 1977:26) by disciplining inmates to the "general norms of an industrial society" (Foucault, 1977:242). In

short, inmates--the unemployed, undisciplined and immoral--were to be reformed through hard labour and disciplined to industrious and virtuous habits.

In addition to being an agent of reform, the regime of hard labour also provided for the maintenance and production needs of a self-sustaining institution. Indeed, inmates have always been under a moral obligation to help defray the cost of their imprisonment through institutional maintenance and production work. It has been argued that the Auburn system of imprisonment was adopted in Canada because it was clearly the most efficient from the standpoint of productivity (Lightman, 1979:344; Chunn, 1981:14). Under the Auburn model, however, "prisoners were viewed as a cheap and exploitable source of labour" (Lightman, 1979:4). In fact, Petchesky (1981:348) argues that "the total economic, spiritual, moral and physical domination of labourers required by the factory system found its prototype in prison industry." This total domination was accentuated within the walls of the prison as inmates were not paid for the work they performed (Chunn, 1981:16). For all practical purposes, the regime of hard labour was a form of slave labour, in which severe punishments were imposed upon prisoners who did not work diligently to meet their established quotas (Lightman 1979:6).

In the early years of the penal system in Canada, therefore, inmate labour was intended to reform the inmate, while at the same time provide for the needs of the institution. However, it is arguable that these two goals represented conflicting ideals: productivity versus reformation. Ideally, it was thought that both goals could be equally served through the development of inmate labour; however, as inmate labour contracts were expanded, industrial output and profit became the

overriding institutional concerns (Lightman 1979:5). In practice "less emphasis was given to training or the internalization of morals than to the conditioning of outward behaviour to conform to standards of mechanical regularity required by the early factory system" (Petchesky, 1981:343).

From the beginning, private businesses, organized labour, and free tradesmen viewed prison labour as a direct threat to jobs, markets and profits (Lightman, 1979:6; Chunn, 1981:15; Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:187), as inmate contracts allowed private businesses to mass produce a very limited range of articles for competition on the free market at extremely low costs (Gosselin, 1982:66). In the end, opposition from mechanics and free tradesmen, coupled with public antipathy towards offenders, effectively constrained prison industries and prevented instruction in trades to inmates that would help them in securing employment when released (Chunn, 1981:15-16). As a result, inmate labour contracts were outlawed in 1895 (Griffiths et al., 1980:44), and inmate labour and training were restricted to production and maintenance needs of the institution. The elimination of inmate labour contracts left no clear focus for prison industry, and eventually prison industry turned inwards to the more restricted state use and public works systems of prison labour. Consequently, rather than providing inmates with training in specific vocational skills, inmate work and training programs served to reduce idleness in the institutions, discipline inmates to general work habits and attitudes, and ensure that the maintenance and production needs of the institutions were met. (Lightman 1979:6; Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:187).

In conclusion, although the regime of hard labour intended to reform inmates and create a self-sustaining prison, by the end of the 19th century convict labour was neither very profitable for the

institution nor reformative for the inmate (Chunn, 1981:15). Although the correctional agenda inherent in the 'humanitarian' reforms of the early 19th century represented a less 'vulgar' and public form of punishment, the penitentiary and its regime of hard labour were based on nothing more than retribution, intimidation, physical enslavement, divine fear, and corporal punishment. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the system of inmate labour responded to the demands of capitalist expansion as institutional concerns for productivity outweighed concerns for the training of inmates. This became more apparent when prison industries turned inward and trades training virtually halted. As such, prison labour in the 19th century was more concerned with the productivity demands of the institution than the training of inmates.

The Rise and Decline of Rehabilitation

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries a succession of prison riots occurred, prompting calls for a more 'humane' approach to corrections based on the ideal rehabilitation (Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:48; Gosselin, 1982:74). The ideal of offender rehabilitation as the primary objective of corrections was first presented by the Royal Commission on the Penal System of Canada in 1938. Almost two decades later, the ideal of rehabilitation formed the basis of the Fauteux Committee's report (1956) on the remission service of Canada. Both the Archambault Commission and the Fauteux Committee criticized the punitive and dehumanizing nature of Canada's penitentiary system and advocated a 'treatment model' that aspired to 'rehabilitate' offenders. In particular, the Archambault Commission condemned the prison for returning prisoners to society worse off than when they were first admitted. The Commission, therefore, suggested that "entirely

apart from humanitarian grounds, and for the eventual benefit of society, the task of the prison should be, not merely the temporary protection of society through the incarceration of captured offenders, but the *transformation* of reformable criminals into law-abiding citizens and the prevention of those who are accidental or occasional criminals from becoming habitual offenders" (1956:9). The Fauteux Committee (1956:11) also reinforced the conceptual shift towards rehabilitation as the primary aim of imprisonment by stating that "in a modern correctional system there is no place for punishment that is based on nothing more than retribution."

More importantly, both the Archambault Commission and the Fauteux Committee paved the way for the development of a 'positivist criminology' based on the principles of the 'medical model'. In its report, the Fauteux Committee (1956:71) asserted that "persons who violate the criminal law are persons who have been 'damaged' in the process of growing up." Within the rehabilitation model, criminality was viewed as symptomatic of some underlying 'sickness', 'illness' or 'maladjustment', which was understandable, measurable, predictable, and ultimately treatable. The process of rehabilitation, therefore, began with the diagnosis of the underlying causes of the criminal behaviour, followed by specific 'therapeutic' interventions or training programs to address the conditions and circumstances that produced the criminality of the individual. The widespread acceptance of 'positivist criminology' paved the way for 'professional' involvement in the development and delivery of psychiatric/psychological and educational/vocational training programs during this time (Vold, 1979:404; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994:361; Gosselin, 1982:74). Given this, the acceptance of the ideal of rehabilitation as the primary goal of corrections was largely a product of the victory of positivism and Freudian-style psychoanalysis, as the mind

rather than the body, the actor rather than the act, the psyche of individuals rather than their morality became the focus of correctional programs (Cohen, 1983:119-120).

With regard to inmate labour and vocational training, the Archambault Commission (1938:129) argued that "continuous and useful employment must be regarded not as punishment but as an instrument of discipline and reformation." Although the belief in inmate labour as a means of discipline and reformation was reaffirmed by the Archambault Commission, its report represented one of the first attempts to distinguish between punitive and rehabilitative work.

> "If work is treated as a form of punishment, the inevitable consequence is that as little as possible will be done and interest and effort will be discouraged. The spirit in which work is regarded by both the prison officer and the prisoner is more important than the nature of the work. However laborious or disagreeable a task may be, if the worker feels that he has been set to do it because its accomplishment serves a useful purpose and performs it in a spirit of stoicism or service, he will profit from the experience. On the other hand, if the prisoner feels that the task is of an artificial character invented by the Prison Authorities either for the purpose of punishing him or merely for the purpose of keeping him occupied, he will perform it in a resentful or in a listless spirit, and the effect both on his character and on his usefulness as an industrial worker will be bad." (Archambault Commission, 1938:129).

Although the Commission suggested that prison work was rehabilitative in so far as it served a useful purpose, it assumed that inmates would see intrinsic value in performing work in a 'spirit of stoicism' regardless of the actual nature or value of work. Underlying the Commission's argument was the implication that the primary rehabilitative goal of inmate work was to affect the motivation of inmates to be diligent in their work, regardless of the nature of the work or the value that it had to the inmates. However in assuming this, the Commission overlooked the fact that the spirit in

which work was regarded by inmates necessarily affected the rehabilitative effect of correctional work programs.

While the Archambault Commission argued that 'useful' work, rather than punitive or aimless work, was necessary for the rehabilitation of the offender, it found that within the penitentiaries the lack of productive work and the 'spirit' in which inmates performed their work was adverse to the goals of rehabilitation. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Commission (1938:128) condemned the idleness in Canadian prisons as it was believed to be "destructive to the physical and moral fabric of the prisoners...". The following quote from the Commission (1938:26) summarizes their findings on the nature and extent of inmate labour and training in federal prisons.

> "Notwithstanding the importance of the employment of prisoners, your Commissioners found that in Canadian Penitentiaries the number of prisoners employed on productive labour is extremely low. Because the hours of labour are short an undue proportion of the prisoner's time is spent in idleness. Little of the employment provided in Canadian Penitentiaries gives the prisoner any sense of accomplishment in the perfection of his task, or, in fact, an inducement to finish the task that is immediately before him. The result is that those who are employed perform their daily duties with a monotonous indifference."

In addition to the low productivity, widespread idleness, and the lack of useful work in federal penitentiaries, the Archambault Commission concluded that "trades are not taught because of the lack of industries and the dual role of the instructors, who are also custodial officers" (1938:23). Moreover, the Commission found that any vocational training offered in penitentiaries was "largely incidental to carrying on the prison industries", which were restricted to producing goods strictly for state use (Archambault, 116). In other words, prison industries continued to provide

opportunities for work that served the maintenance and production needs of the institution, rather than providing inmates with opportunities to develop the necessary skills and habits to succeed in the outside labour market.

In addressing institutional work and training, both the Archambault Commission and the Fauteux Committee gave cursory attention to the post-release employment of offenders. The Archambault Commission suggested that society must ensure that released inmates are not prevented from competing in the free workforce, as it would be a "grave ethical mistake to condemn an ex-prisoner to unemployment and thereby drive him into recidivism which will involve his continued support at public expense" (Archambault, 1938:263). In similar tone, the Fauteux Committee placed a large amount of responsibility on after-care agencies to address the employment needs of ex-offenders.

> "Wherever his job comes from, the ex-inmate will probably need counselling in the early days of his employment... Some of his fears and psychological difficulties [are]: inability to sell himself or his skills; general feelings of insecurity arising from fear of fellow employees or of the police visiting his place of employment; returning bouts of depression at being unable to make progress as first planned; frustration when faced with preconviction debts and threats of seizure of his wages; suspicions that his foreman is 'picking' on him because of his prison record. We feel that prospective employers and the general public should have more understanding of these special employment difficulties which endanger the rehabilitation of the dischargee..." (Fauteux, 1956:71).

In light of its findings, the Archambault Commission called for the development of 'useful' employment and vocational/educational training programs in the institutions. To eradicate the low level of production, inmate idleness and the lack of vocational training programs in federal prisons, the Archambault Commission specifically called for a more "efficient administration in the

operation of industries in Canadian penitentiaries" (1938:135). The recommendations of the Commission suggested a concern for increasing the production and marketing of prison made goods, the employment of inmates, and the vocational training of inmates. More specifically, it was recommended that:

1. a complete survey be instituted to determine what requirements of the various government departments can be supplied by properly equipped prison industries;

2. the penitentiary shops be equipped with the necessary machinery to produce merchandise as will give ample productive employment to all the employable prisoners;

3. the trade instructors be relieved of all custodial duties so that they may devote their whole time to carrying out their instructional duties;

4. only such trade instructors be engaged as are equipped by training and experience to teach trades.

With regard to inmate pay, the Commission also recommended that inmate remuneration be utilized as a negative check on idleness. In other words, rather than having inmate pay tied to the value or amount of production, it should reflect the diligence and rehabilitation of the inmate (Archambault, 1938:144).

The recommendations of the Archambault Commission, however, had little immediate effect on correctional practice (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994:466). As such, the productive labour of inmates remained low, prison industries remained restricted to 'public-use', idleness remained unchecked, and vocational training programs remained undeveloped. In the period following World War II, however, there was an increasing acceptance of rehabilitation as the primary

objective of corrections, and as a result, "a wide variety of educational, vocational training and treatment programs were introduced in federal and provincial institutions, although the introduction of rehabilitative programs were slow and uneven" (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994:510). As a further symbol of its commitment to eradicating idleness and developing work and training programs in penitentiaries, Canada became a signatory of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which contained a clause giving all prisoners the right to work (Cited in Weiss, 1984:277).

By the time the Fauteux Committee released its report in 1956, it was clear the recommendations made by the Archambault Commission that had been accepted in principle were neither completely or adequately implemented. As such, the Fauteux Committee (1956:46) reasserted the ideal of rehabilitation as the major goal of corrections and emphasized the importance of developing inmate employment and vocational training programs for the rehabilitation of inmates. In contrast to the Archambault Commission, the Fauteux Committee (1956) viewed inmate work as an effective form of therapy and rehabilitation, in so far as it changed the behaviour, attitudes and patterns of the inmate (Fauteux, 1956:47).

In conclusion, while the acceptance of the rehabilitation model resulted in the development of various educational, vocational, and treatment programs (Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:187-188), inmate work and training programs were expected to balance the needs of the institution with the rehabilitative needs of the inmates. However, despite the negative effects of 'invented' or 'useless' work identified by the Archambault Commission, the development of 'make work' projects

continued, which only served to strip work of its rehabilitative value and the inmates of their dignity (Weiss, 1987:276). Rather than being provided with 'meaningful' work and vocational training programs that provided inmates with marketable work skills and habits, the majority of inmates were required to work in jobs that did nothing more than serve the maintenance, service and production needs of the institution (Lightman, 1979:48). In the end, the rehabilitative value of correctional work and training programs were overshadowed by conflicting concerns for the needs of the institution.

By the 1960s, there was mounting scepticism towards the original intentions and aims of the rehabilitation model. Despite the benevolent aims and intentions of the rehabilitation model, in effect it resembled a form of tyranny, hidden behind a cloak of humanitarian concern for healing the 'sick'. In addition to compulsory labour, inmates were forced into 'therapy' and 'treatment' under the pretext that it was for their and society's benefit. However, as C.S. Lewis suggests in his argument against the 'humanitarian' theory of punishment, "Of all tyrannies, a tyranny sincerely exercised for the good of its victims may be the most oppressive" (cited in Gerber, 1972:197).

Reintegration

Beginning in the 1960s, the ideal of rehabilitation as a goal of corrections came under increasing criticism from what Cohen (1985:31) calls the 'destructuring impulse'. According to Cohen, the destructuring movement signalled a reversal of the nineteenth century reforms and was represented by the ideals of 'decentralization', 'deprofessionalization', and 'deinstitutionalization'. Underlying

this 'destructuring impulse' was a visionary transformation of the social order in which the centralized power of the state to regulate criminality would be replaced with instruments of 'decentralized community control'. The 'decentralization movement' of the 1960s was ideologically rooted in 'labeling theory' which argued that contact with formal criminal justice agencies, such as police, courts, and prisons, merely validated and reinforced deviancy. As such, it was reasoned that 'community corrections' represented a more effective, cheap, and humane alternative than penal institutions and its programme of rehabilitation. The expansion of 'community based corrections' or what Cohen (1987:361) calls 'inclusionary' forms of social control aimed to "incorporate, integrate and assimilate offenders into conventional social institutions."

The ideal of 'community reintegration' was adocated by the Ouimet Commission in 1969 as the major objective of corrections. While the Ouimet Commission did not abandon the ideal of 'reforming' offenders, it rejected the assumption that rehabilitation methods in prison were "necessarily more humane and more effective in practice" (1969:15). Rather, the Commission stressed the need for correctional treatment to "take place in the community wherever possible..." (1969:373). By placing offenders in the community, it was believed that they would be able to support themselves, make restitution to the victim(s), and avoid the negative effects of being incarcerated (Ouimet, 1969:277).

Throughout the 1970s, successive federal reports reaffirmed the ideal of community reintegration as the primary goal of corrections. In particular, the Law Reform Commission (1975), the Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada (MacGuigan Report, 1977) and the Task Force

on the Creation of an Integrated Canadian Corrections Service (1977) all suggested that the "rehabilitation of the offender within the penitentiary was an unrealistic and unattainable goal that should be abandoned in favour of an increased emphasis on community-based corrections and the implementation of an opportunities model within federal correctional institutions" (Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:198). In essence, these reports collectively argued that the reformation of offenders could be best achieved within the community, and therefore, the prison should be used as a last resort for offenders who posed too great of risk to be left in the community.

Under the reintegration model, the ultimate aim of the prison was to provide correctional programming that prepared inmates for their eventual return to society as law-abiding individuals. Although the prison was not expected to work rehabilitative miracles, the MacGuigan Sub-Committee (1977:39) argued that it must be structured to facilitate the 'personal reformation' of offenders by providing "certain essential conditions: discipline, justice, work, academic and vocational training, and socialization." While the ultimate aim of correctional programming was to facilitate the reintegration of offenders, within the prisons the long held belief in the value of inmate work and training programs remained crucial to the 'reformation' of offenders and the maintenance of the institution. However, rather than being justified in terms of its rehabilitative value, the main purpose of inmate work and training programs was to facilitate the reintegration of inmates as law-abiding citizens by providing them with the employment, vocational and social skills necessary to secure and maintain employment when released. The Ouimet Committee (1969:318) outlined several rationale for institutional work and training programs.

1. Reinforces the overall aim of prison to prepare offenders for their return to 'normal community living';

2. Idleness is unhealthy and incapacitating;

3. Inmates can assume financial responsibility for his maintenance, family and restitution;

4. The goods of prison industries contribute to reducing the costs of operating the prison.

In its review of prison industries, however, the Ouimet Committee (1969:320) found that "industrial production in prisons sometimes tend to be inefficient, and old machinery and old production methods are sometimes continued in order to keep a maximum number of inmates busy, even though this means production methods do not correspond with those in the outside community". In its recommendations, therefore, the Committee argued that machinery and production methods of prison industries should duplicate those on the outside and that vocational training should be related to industrial production within the prison, yet remain administratively separate. Moreover, it was recommended that vocational training be offered through established community organizations as this would reduce institutional costs of operating duplicate programs, provide for quality instruction, offer specialized training, and certify inmates according to industrial standards. In addition, the Committee also recognized the need for expanding the market for prison made goods within government departments and international aid programs. Although the Committee stressed the need for more efficient prison industries, it asserted that the "treatment needs of inmates should take precedence over maintenance requirements of the institution, or the financial gains to be had from industrial production" (196:321). As such, it recommended that remuneration be paid to all inmates who were fully 'employed' in educational, vocational, work or

therapy programs. Accordingly, the Ouimet Committee classified all forms correctional programs as 'work' deserving of pay.

Many of the issues relating to inmate employment and training initially raised by the Ouimet Committee (1969) were again raised by the MacGuigan Sub-Committee in 1977. In particular, the Sub-Committee argued that "it is essential that an ex-inmate, if he is not to return to his criminal pattern of behaviour, must be able to find suitable and desirable employment upon his release... (1977:112). The role of prison work in preparing the inmate for competitive employment was also stressed by the Sub-Committee.

> "There is little chance of reforming an inmate who, upon his release, is unwilling, unable, or unfit to accept employment. In most cases, it is only by inspiring the inmate to pursue creative and productive work habits that any lasting value will be obtained from the expense of imprisoning him" (MacGuigan, 1977:106).

Although the ideal of developing a complete and effective work program in prisons has been repeatedly advocated for decades, the MacGuigan Sub-Committee found that a complete work program in federal prisons had yet to be achieved. With regards to prison industry, the Sub-Committee (1977:108) criticized the Canadian Penitentiary Service for being "Woefully inefficient in its handling of prison industry. Not only was the production of the industries found to be below potential, but few inmates were actually engaged in industrial work." In sum, the Sub-Committee found that many inmates were not engaged in work, the system of work was not structured to duplicate 'normal' working conditions in outside industries, prison industries was directed towards

institutional maintenance, and consequently, inmates working in prison industries were trained towards non-competitive jobs in the outside market.

In light of these findings, the Sub-Committee (1977:107) stressed that institutional work should be planned, organized and performed in a way that will provide a certain amount of vocational training. Acknowledging that the skills required for institutional maintenance duties are generally not in great demand in the outside labour market, the Sub-Committee suggested that a maximum of 20% of the inmate population should be employed in institutional maintenance work, and that inmate pay in these jobs should be based on the amount of time and skill required of the job (MacGuigan, 1977:107). In order to motivate those inmates in prison industries to work at a pace similar to that of private industry, the Sub-Committee argued that "it will be necessary to raise production quotas, increase inmate pay, and base this payment not on an hourly rate, but on the amount produced" (1977:109).

Finally, the Sub-Committee (1977:111) exposed concern over the quality, applicability and availability of vocational training programs in prisons. In its review, the Sub-Committee heard from many ex-inmates that the training they received in prison was useless to them once they were released. Employers often did not recognized vocational training programs as valid since they either provided insufficient training to the inmates or they trained inmates in outdated techniques. In making its recommendations, therefore, the Sub-Committee argued that "The Penitentiary Service must therefore take immediate steps to ensure that the courses offered in its vocational programs are both of good quality and relevant to the employment opportunities the inmate may be

expected to encounter in the region into which he will eventually be released" (1977:112). It is interesting to note that the Sub-Committee did not offer further support for the utilization of community vocational training programs, but rather recommended that vocational training programs be designed to compliment prison industries, as this would provide the inmate who has completed his vocational training program a degree of work experience in the field in which he has been trained. This ideal provided the basis for later correctional reforms linking prison industries, institutional maintenance and service work, and vocational training.

In an attempt to address the problems surrounding inmate work and vocational training programs, the Sub-Committee made five recommendations.

1. ***Recommendation 39:*** The Penitentiaries Act should be amended to allow for the products of inmate labour to compete on the open market.

2. ***Recommendation 40:*** A national prison industries corporation should be established...

3. ***Recommendation 41:*** There must be a graded system of incentives based on labour productivity. Incentives should include bonuses for piecework and improvements, and earned remission. Inmates who work either inside or outside Penitentiaries should be required to pay room and board at reasonable rates and to contribute to the support of their families to the extent that these demands are compatible with their retaining a financial incentive to work.

4. ***Recommendation 42:*** The training given in workshops should be monitored by official representatives of outside trade groups, and the penitentiary should direct itself towards the production of things in demand. Arrangements would be made with the provinces for apprenticeship programs and licensing or certification.

5. ***Recommendation 43:*** Academic education and trades training must be provided. Every inmate who so wishes should be allowed to follow correspondence courses.

As of 1984, four out of five recommendations made by the Sub-Committee were implemented as stated, while one was adopted in modified form. Carson (1984) noted that the following changes to inmate work and vocational training programs had been implemented. 1) The prison industries have been revitalized through joint venture projects with the private sector to manufacture components which are not available in Canada. 2) The Correctional Service has implemented a new inmate wage system designed to provide inmates with pay according to the work done. However, while all inmates who participated in any of the number of institutional work and training programs qualified for pay under this scheme, a higher number of inmates involved in vocational training and educational programs remained at lower pay levels than inmates employed in production work (Carson, 1984: Appendix B:18). 3) Since 1977 all vocational programs apart from the adult basic education program have been accredited. However, accreditation for many of the trades require a year or more of apprenticeship, which in many cases is impossible for inmates to obtain while in prison. 4) While the Correctional Service felt that the establishment of a national prison industry corporation was not viable at the time, it responded by Advisory Committee on Inmate Employment to provide guidance, on the organization and implementation of inmate work opportunities (Carson, 1984, Appendix B:20)

Following the MacGuigan Report, the Task Force on the Creation of an Integrated Canadian Corrections Service (1977) further condemned the concept of rehabilitation for being intrinsically coercive and minimizing the responsibility of the offender.

> "Based upon the assumptions of the traditional medical model, the concept of rehabilitation has raised unrealistic expectations of altering criminal behaviour. The model assumes that criminality is a

> form of "sickness" and that the offender's pathology must be "cured" before he will cease to engage in further criminal activity. By implying that the offender is "sick" through causes beyond his control, this approach minimizes the offender's responsibility for his own criminal behaviour. The approach gives correctional practitioners a strong inducement to employ coercion in the guise of humane treatment, and enforce participation in treatment program as a requisite to release" (Task Force, 1977:27).

Accordingly, the Task Force (1977:71) argued that the offender should be "convicted on the basis of his criminal behaviour, not on the basis of some underlying personality order or socio-economic deprivation. As such, it argued that "corrections should not be expected to do more than provide an environment within prison that is conducive to offenders making responsible choices among reasonable opportunities..." This approach came to be know as the 'program opportunities model', and in practice provided inmates with opportunities to participate in a variety of programs that aimed to give them the social and vocational skills needed to live law-abiding lives in the community. More importantly, however, the adoption of the 'program opportunities model' in federal penitentiaries represented a shift in responsibility from the institution to the offender, as the ultimate responsibility to participate in work and skills training programs rested with the offender.

Although offenders were responsible under the program opportunities model for taking advantage of the available correctional programs to 'reform' themselves, correctional authorities still expected all offenders to be involved in some form of work activity as means to ensure prison discipline and to measure an inmate's readiness for early release. Given this, Cohen (1983) suggests, that the coercive nature of 'treatment' under the rehabilitation model had simply taken on another form under the ideal of reintegration.

> "The type of help offenders actually receive, though justified in terms of reintegration rather than rehabilitation, often looks suspiciously like the old one-to one treatment. Although the notion of the individual pathology has been discredited, the offender is still someone with a defect to be corrected; not his psyche but his ties to the external social world, his social and vocational skills..." (Cohen, 1983:114).

In conclusion, the Ouimet Report, MacGuigan Report and Task Force represent a collective shift in correctional philosophy from the ideal of rehabilitation to the ideal of community reintegration as the ultimate aim of corrections. As such, the primary focus of correctional programming shifted from the mind or psychological state of the offender to the behaviour and offence patterns of the individual offender. Under the reintegration model, the 'community' assumed a great deal of responsibility for assisting and controlling inmates. Within the institutions, inmate work and training programs aimed to provide inmates with the work and vocational skills needed to successfully reintegrate into society as law-abiding citizens. Despite positive changes made to prison industries and vocational/educational training, it has been argued that the Correctional Service of Canada did not provide the environment of positive support deemed critical by the MacGuigan Sub-Committee (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994:468). In particular, inmate work and training programs continued to be criticised for being characterized by "poorly defined and often conflicting program objectives, dull work assignments, outdated work equipment, and inadequate incentives for inmates and staff" (Macdonald, 1982:4). Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:413) have also argued that the Penitentiary Act (1985) was the primary obstacle to the expansion of prison industry programs as it stipulated that goods and services produced by inmate were to be sold only to federal, provincial and municipal governments or to charitable, religious and non-profit organizations.

While the reintegration model appeared to compliment the broader 'destructuring movement' and the development of community based corrections, by the end of the 1970s, it was becoming more and more obvious that the visionary goal of removing social control from the power of the state and returning it to the community was not being achieved. According to Cohen (1985:37), "the early nineteenth-century reforms were being expanded and intensified, as rates of institutionalization were not decreasing, community alternatives did not prove to be more effective, cheap and humane, and initiatives were integrated into the formal system of social control," resulting in a wider net of social control (Cohen, 1985:37). In the end, the visionary goals underlying the reintegration model were coopted by the New Right under its back-to-justice policies, and a new era of penal reform emerged based on a "just-desert, modified Kantian, social defense model" (Cohen, 1983:124).

Assistance and Control of Offenders

In 1989, the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) released its Mission Document. This document presents the Mission Statement of the CSC and outlines its operational philosophy, fundamental priorities, core values and guiding principles, strategic objectives, and future directions. The Mission Statement of the CSC is as follows:

> *"The Correctional Service of Canada, as part of the criminal justice system, contributes to the protection of society by actively encouraging and assisting offenders to become law-abiding citizens, while exercising reasonable, safe, secure and humane control" (Mission Statement of the Correction Service of Canada, 1990).*

According to the Mission Statement, the assistance and control of offenders are equally valued goals of the CSC. While the Mission Statement directs the CSC to assist offenders in their reintegration, it also requires that CSC provide the minimum control necessary over offenders for the protection of society. While it may appear that the CSC has set itself conflicting goals, the CSC believes that it can balance the need to secure, control and punish offenders with the need to provide institutional programing that seves the needs of the offenders. However, it is too soon to evaluate the success of CSC in achieving an equilibrium between the two goals of assistance and control.

Fundamentally, the Mission statement suggests that society will be best protected through the successful reintegration of offenders. In support of the Mission Statement, the newly released Corrections and Conditional Release Act (Bill C-36, Chapter 20, 1992:4) states that the purpose of the correctional system is to contribute to the maintenance of a just and peaceful, and safe society by a) carrying out sentences imposed by courts through the safe and humane custody and supervision of offenders; and b) assisting the rehabilitation of offenders and their reintegration into the community as law-abiding citizens through the provision of programs in penitentiaries and in the community. "The challenge of programming is not only to ensure that it is offender needs driven and is directed at changing behaviour, but also to ensure that there is continuity between the institutions and the community" (Correctional Strategy, CSC, 1993:5). Given the renewed emphasis on the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders, the goal of CSC is to "provide programs and opportunities to meet the unique needs of the various types of offenders..., to assist

them in changing their criminal behaviour and to enhance their potential for successful reintegration with the community" (Mission, 1990:7).

While the Mission document (1990) and the Task Force on Community and Institutional Programs (CSC:1988) reaffirm the commitment of the CSC to providing and promoting the development of community-based programs aimed at facilitating the reintegration of offenders, the CSC has placed much of the responsibility for released offenders on community based organizations. According to the Correctional Program Principles (Task Force, 1988:8), the community must provide support if the offender is to be successfully reintegrated as a law-abiding citizen.

> "The community has a responsibility to assist in the reintegration of offenders, and the Correctional Service of Canada will actively seek the support and participation of the community during the sentence and encourage the provision of ongoing support to offenders after the sentence expires."

As such, the CSC has adopted a 'community development approach' which utilizes existing community resources to promote and facilitate the reintegration of offenders and encourages or initiates the development and delivery of community programs where none exist.

While the direction suggested by the Mission Statement merely reaffirms the ideal of reintegration as the ultimate goal of corrections raised earlier, it continues to refer to the ideal of rehabilitation as an objective of corrections, yet not in its original sense. Rather than implying that offenders have identifiable 'illnesses' that can be addressed through 'treatment', it now refers more to the ideal of 'behavioral rehabilitation' in which individual factors influencing criminality can be identified and addressed through programs that aim to change the behaviours of offenders. In other words,

contemporary corrections appears more concerned with consequences rather than causes of criminal behaviour, with the external state not the internal state of offenders. As such, correctional philosophy appears to be rooted in a neo-classical, rational choice theory of criminal behaviour, which views crime as rationally calculated behaviour. Under this model, criminal behaviour is to be punished, while the offender is expected to undergo programming aimed at changing his behaviour. According to Cohen (1985:151) the "conservative, neo-classical movement now gaining dominance in crime-control politics, looks forward to a return to an undiluted behaviourism: no discretion and discussion of motivation or causation; only fixed sentencing, deterrence and incapacitation based on the gravity of the act." In other words, although reintegration has remained a primary goal of corrections, it has been tempered by an increasing emphasis on punishment, reparation, retribution and a renewed concern for the actions or behaviour patterns of offenders (Griffiths and Ekstedt, 1984:72). Whereas the reintegration model under the 'decentralization' movement was based on a vision of social reform, the new behaviouralism is only concerned with changing the daily-behaviour of the offender (Cohen, 1983:22).

Under the assistance and control model, the role and purpose of inmate employment and training have undergone little change. The CSC (1990:10) continues to believe that "offender employment plays a critical role in developing skills and abilities which will serve offenders on release, contributes to the good order and management of institutions, and reflects our society's belief in the value of work" (Mission Document, 1990:10). As such, the employment history of offenders is collected, their employment training needs are assessed, and a corrrectional plan is implemented to

address the criminogenic influences relating to their emplоment needs[1]. According to the Corrections and Conditional Release Regulations (1993), CORCAN is to ensure that an inmate who works is a) fully, regularly and suitably employed in a work environment that strives to achieve private sector standards of productivity and quality so that the inmate will be better able to obtain and hold employment when the inmate returns to the community; and b) provided with programs and services that facilitate the inmate's re-entry into the community. Today, it appears that the goal of CORCAN is not only to provide inmates with marketable work skills, habits and experiences to make the transition into the labour force, but also to discipline them to the demands, responsibilites, and rewards of the work force.

In order for inmates to be considered for employment with CORCAN they must have at least a grade 10 educational level and be willing to participate in other program requirements of their correctional plan. Given the overall low educational level of federal inmates, CORCAN only employs 14% of federal inmates in manufacturing, agricultural, and service jobs in 46 federal institutions and 12 community correctional centres. In its efforts to focus on products and services that are in demand in the labour market, CORCAN's new training programs are concentrated on the growing services sector, such as computer repair and electronic sub-assembly, micro-filming and word processing, printing and sign making, food processing and environmental services. Through private sector involvement, CORCAN also offers employment services including pre-employment orientation, employment-related training, on the job skill development, pre-release employment counselling, and post-release employment support, assistance and placement.

[1] See appendix 1 for the employment indicators used by the Regional Reception Assessment Centre at Matsqui insitution to assess offenders' employment needs.

Although CORCAN is mandated to provide or coordinate the provision of these services, there is little evidence that employment training services both in the prisons and in the communities are widely available or adequate to meet the employment needs of inmates and ex-inmates.

In an effort to address some of its operational and financial difficulties, CORCAN became a Special Operating Agency in 1990. Under this new status, CORCAN is responsible for managing its own revolving budget and overall operations. Indeed this places a great pressure on CORCAN to produce a relative profit as the size of their budget, and subsequently the quality and quantity of the training provided, will be determined by the amount of profit made from the sale of CORCAN products. According to the Corrections and Conditional Release Regulations (1993), CORCAN can now sell its goods on the open market and enter into inmate labour contract with private industry. Moreover, Commissioner's Directive 730 relating to program assignment and pay authorizes CORCAN to establish a monetary incentive plan to increase productivity and maximize quality. As a Special Operating Agency, the CSC believes that CORCAN can take an integrated approach to the issues of motivation, occupational training and the employment of federal inmates. While it is too early to determine whether this will eradicate some of the long standing criticisms of prison industries, it appears that concern for increased productivity, sales and marketing is to be given priority over improved training and employment conditions of inmates, as prison industries must successfully compete on the open market to remain a viable correctional program.

In a 1990 national audit of vocational educational programs in federal prisons, it was found that CSC suffers from a lack of a specific and clearly enunciated policy (Cited in Van Den Assem,

1993:16). As a result, different vocational programs are offered in different regions and across institutions with no national standard or guidelines for designing, planning, delivering and assessing vocational education programs. In practice, opportunities for vocational training, as well as work with prison industries, largely vary according to security level and the discretion of institutional heads. As well, there are disparities in work and vocational training programs available to male and female offenders.

Despite the absence of clearly stated policy, Commissioner's Directive 720 states that the objectives of vocational education programs are:

1. To provide offenders with provincially accredited or certified program which meet their identified education needs to assist then to reintegrate into the community as law-abiding citizens.

2. To facilitate continuity in educational programming when offenders are transferred between institutions or are released into the community.

As the above indicates, the CSC is careful to delineate the conceptual link between vocational education, institutional employment and successful reintegration in the community work force. Ideally, "vocational programs shall provide marketable work skills by which offenders will be prepared for CORCAN or other institutional work programs and community employment. The purpose of these programs is to facilitate the reintegration of offenders through having better equipped them to enter into the labour market" (Correctional Education Program, CSC, 1992:9). However, given the lack of direction, standards and policy of current vocational training programs in federal prisons, Van Den Assem (1993) has presented a standardized model detailing the process

for preparing an individual for sustained and meaningful employmen[2]. Ideally, all inmates involved in vocational education programs receive generic skills training in fundamental pre-employment job skills, followed by specific skills training in a provincially accredited program. Once the formal training is completed the inmate is then given the opportunity to apply and develop the acquired skills by working in either CORCAN, technical services or food services. At the appropriate time, the inmate would then be eased into a work release program, and eventual released into the community. In an attempt at restructuring vocational training programs, Van Den Assem's model calls for a symbiotic relationship between vocational education and institutional employment opportunities with CORCAN or prison services, and attempts to balance the skill, aptitude and interest of offenders with the demands of regional labour markets. In the end, Van Den Assem recommends that guidelines for effective vocational education be enunciated and developed nationally, with programs operationalized regionally to reflect differences in local labour markets.

In sum, current correctional philosophy is guided by the dual goals of assisting offenders to reintegrate and controlling the risk they pose to society. While offender reintegration has remained the ultimate aim of correctional programming, the new reintegration model retains a rehabilitative flavour, albeit in a behaviourial rather than a therapeutic sense, and reflects a back-to-justice model emphasizing offender responsibility, punishment, and reparation. Under the reintegration model, correctional work and training programs aim to prepare inmates for their return to society as a law abiding citizen by providing them with work skills, experience and habits to secure and maintain employment once they are released. As prison industries are now free to compete in the private

[2] See appendix 2 for an illustration of Van Den Assem's model for reprofiling vocational educational and institutional work programs.

sector, work and vocational training programs appear to be assuming a more central and integrated role in the overall correctional strategy.

Conclusion

While this examination of correctional philosophy was presented to provide a historical backdrop to view the changing nature of correctional strategies of inmate work and training programs, it has illustrated several points. First, correctional reforms that suggest a more humane, benevolent and cost-effective approach to corrections do not always live up to their expected intentions or ideals, and at times are ineffectively implemented. Second, the nature of inmate work and training programs vary according to the dominant correctional ideology of the time. Third, while changes in inmate work and training programs reflect shifts in Correctional philosophy, they have remained firmly rooted in society's belief in the value and morality of work. Fourth, inmate work and training programs have always been expected to serve 'conflicting' aims or goals--balancing the employment, training, and 'rehabilitative' needs of the inmates with the production, maintenance, and disciplinary needs of the institution. Fifth, in contrast to the use of private industries in U.S. prisons, the development of private industries in Canadian prisons remain underdeveloped.

Most importantly, however, this historical sketch of the development of correctional work and training strategies has illustrated that correctional strategies of work and training have been conceptually grounded, to varying degrees, on the following three premises:

1. That there is a positive relationship between economic idleness or unemployment and criminality based on the economic model of

crime.

2. That correctional strategies of work and training provide inmates with the necessary work habits, job skills, and training to be successful in the competitive labour market once released from prison.

3. That post-release employment is necessary for the successful reintegration of inmates back into society as law-abiding citizens, and that the community has a responsibility to provide services to released offenders to facilitate their reintegration.

While this chapter has presented a historical backdrop for viewing the changing nature of correctional work and training strategies, the following chapter will provide a critical analysis of current correctional strategies of inmate work and training by examining the literature surrounding these three premises.

CHAPTER TWO

CORRECTIONAL STRATEGIES OF WORK AND TRAINING:

A Critique of the Premises

Introduction

While the previous chapter traced the development of correctional philosophy and the changing nature of inmate work and training strategies, Chapter Two presents a critical analysis of the three conceptual premises underlying current correctional strategies on inmate work and vocational training. Since such a task could very well take us beyond the scope of this paper, this analysis will be limited to a summary examination of the empirical literature surrounding the three premises and a critique of the concepts underlying them. In essence, this chapter is concerned with identifying the empirical gaps in the literature and examining the conceptual limitations of each premise.

The first section of the present chapter examines aggregate and individual level research on the relationship between unemployment and crime. Although there has been a long-standing belief in the association between unemployment and crime, more than a century of aggregate-level research has failed to produce conclusive evidence or agreement over the direction, nature or significance of the relationship between unemployment and crime. However, recent reviews of aggregate-level research on the unemployment-crime relationship suggests that unemployment is significantly related to property crime rates. While individual-level research has contributed to our understanding of the conditional nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime, more

qualitative research on the attitudes and perceptions of offenders in order to gain a better understanding of the nature of the relationship.

The second section in this chapter addresses the assumption that institutional work and training programs provide inmates with the necessary skills and work habits to secure and maintain post release employment, and thus live law abiding lives. The limited literature available suggests that correctional strategies of work and vocational training do not prepare offenders to successful compete in the labour market. As such, it is argued that the lack of qualitative research into the transition of released offenders into the competitive labour market inhibits our understanding of the role of employment in the process of reintegration.

The third section in this chapter addresses the assumption that post-release employment is necessary for offenders to successfully reintegrate back into society. The assumption that unemployment is causally related to recidivism is examined through research on community-based employment assistance programs (CEAPS). Although the literature generally supports the ideal that ex-offenders who participate in CEAPS secure employment and have a relatively lower rate of recidivism than similar groups of nonparticipants, no research has been conducted on the perceptions and experiences of participants in these programs. It is argued that despite CSC's commitment to the ideal of reintegration and the development of community programs to facilitate the reintegration of offenders, the CSC has failed to adequately provide for the employment needs of released offenders through the development of CEAPS.

In its conclusion, this chapter suggests that more individual-level, qualitative research on the role and value of employment and training in the pre-institutional, institutional, and post-institutional experiences of offenders is needed to better understand the relationship between unemployment and crime, the effect of correctional strategies of work and training on the transition of offenders into the work force, and the role of post-release employment in the reintegration process.

The Relationship Between Unemployment and Crime

As illustrated in chapter one, correctional strategies of inmate work and training have been historically premised on the assumption that a significant, positive relationship exists between unemployment or economic idleness and criminality. Although many criminological theories--social control, strain, anomie, relative deprivation, and conflict--implicitly suggest that unemployment is a motivational and/or situational influence on crime, current correctional ideology is dominated by on a neo-classical, rational choice model that largely views criminal behaviour as a rationally calculated act by responsible individuals. Given this, the assumption that unemployment is positively associated with crime is more firmly rooted in the economic model of crime than any other model.

The economic model of crime first proposed by B.M. Fleischer (1963) and later developed by G.S. Becker (1968) (Gillespie, 1975:11) views crime as a rational economic choice of individuals. In general, it views individuals as rational actors who constantly weigh the relative costs and benefits of various legal and illegal market activities. The utilitarian argument is made that individuals will

choose those activities that maximize benefits and minimize costs at a particular point in time. Given this, the economic model argues that individuals who become unemployed for prolonged periods of time are more likely to engage in criminal activity, as the economic rewards from crime would outweigh or replace the rewards from legitimate employment, sporadic employment or welfare. Therefore, criminal behaviour is seen as a type of market activity or form of work that individuals rationally choose to engage in because of the relatively greater economic benefits that derive from it compared to legitimate employment (Thompson et al, 1981:9).

Although the economic model acknowledges that individual tastes and preferences differ, it does not attempt to account for the effect of these individual differences on criminal behaviour. As such, the economic model of crime does not differentiate between criminals and non-criminals on the basis of differences in motivation but rather on the basis of objective costs and benefits (Becker, 1968: cited in Gillespie, 1975:11).

> "An individuals propensity to engage in criminal activity is responsive to the objective gains and losses he perceives in legal as well as illegal activities. Although individuals differ in their tastes with respect to crime...these tastes do not generally produce an absolute subjective constraints on illegal activity even in 'normal' people (Gillespie, 1975:3).

As such, the economic model reduces all individual behaviour to an objective costs/benefits analysis, independent of individual differences in preferences, attitudes, perceptions, and opportunities. In simple terms, it assumes that all individuals are motivated to gain personal economic wealth, and therefore, will be equally influenced by objective economic costs and benefits. Yet, because this model attempts to explain legal and illegal market behaviour at the

individual level, weighing the costs and benefits of legal as compared to illegal behaviour implicitly involves more than determining which action will yield the greatest return; the costs and benefits of any action will be partly determined by individual differences in perceptions, attitudes, motivations, and opportunities. Individual differences are too diverse and esoteric to be taken for granted. Rather than attempting to explain differences in perceptions towards the costs and benefits of crime--the relative 'value' of crime and employment as perceived by individuals--the economic model simply assumes that crime is a rational choice between objective costs and benefits.

Individuals, however, do not make choices in a social or economic vacuum. In viewing individuals as rational actors who freely choose between legitimate employment and crime on the basis of a calculated analysis of the relative costs and benefits, the economic model assumes an ideal economic system of 'perfect competition' where all individuals have the same opportunities for employment and individual choices are not tempered by socio-economic conditions. While it may be true that some individuals choose not to work for a variety of reasons, it is too simplistic to suggest that individuals choose crime over legitimate employment because of perceived the benefits.

Rather, if the rational-choice view of crime is contextualized within differences in socio-economic conditions, it becomes clear that opportunities for employment are differentiated across socio-economic lines. In other words, not all individuals or groups of individuals have the same opportunities for employment or access to certain types of jobs. Therefore, when criminal behaviour is situated within socio-economic structures, crime becomes more than an economic

alternative to unemployment--it becomes a reaction to the limited opportunities for employment. In conditions of poverty, individual choice is relative to the limited range of options. As such, individuals may not simply choose crime over employment because it offers higher economic rewards, but rather because opportunities for employment are non-existent, or at best limited to the secondary labour market where employment opportunities ussually involve short-term, dead-end jobs that do not reward effort or provide training. In other words, crime may not only be rationally calculated economic alternative, but rather a 'survival' reaction to limited opportunites or as an alternative to a life of secondary employment. According to segmented labour market (SLM) theories, crime may not only be a response to unemployment but also a reaction to the nature of employment opportunities within the secondary labour market.

> "Although SLM theories do not fully elaborate the linkages between employment and crime, they do provide a rich description of labour market activities differentiated according to structural and institutional settings. In such a context, it can be seen that individuals may engage in crime not just because the competing economic rewards from legitimate employment are minimal, or even because opportunities for economic and occupational advancement are limited, but in part because the array of secondary employment roles available to them are themselves not distinctively different from "hustling" on the street or negotiating hostile welfare bureaucracies" (Thompson et al, 1981:67).

On an individual level, the economic model suggests that individuals freely choose between crime and legitimate employment, and that the decision to engage in criminal behaviour or legitimate employment automatically forecloses opportunities to participate in the other.

> "Because criminal activity requires time and may result in apprehension and punishment, the opportunity to obtain the

> benefits from legal activities is foreclosed by a decision to engage in criminal activity...(Gillespie, 1975:12).

While it may be generally true that time spent in legal or illegal activity removes some opportunity to engage in the other, it can not be assumed that crime and legitimate employment are mutually exclusive, that one is traded off for another. In so doing, the economic model excludes any possibility of a bi-directional, reciprocal or multi-directional relationship between unemployment and crime. Moreover, the focus of the model remains largely on street level crime--theft, robbery, and break and enter--where unemployment is viewed as a major criminogenic influence. In focusing on street level crime, the model does not acknowledge 'suite', corporate crimes or white collar crimes--price fixing, illegal trading practices, embezzlement, releasing unsafe products, environmental pollution, ignoring health and safety regulations--that are committed by individuals who are able to engage in these activities because of their economic position and level of employment (Box, 1987:34). For individuals with high-level employment, the model assumes that crime is very unlikely because of the high costs of loosing their job and economic benefits. However, even when the basic utilitarian motivation remains constant, it is clear that crime is not only a lower-class reaction to unemployment and poverty but also a viable and calculated risk for individuals who enjoy economic security and status through legitimate employment. For example, opportunities for certain types of white collar crime are only available through specific types of employment.

In sum, within the economic model of crime it is argued that individuals who are legitimately employed and have a invested interest in maintaining their job will refrain from crime because of the

relatively high costs of losing their job and the benefits derived from their economic status. For these individuals, criminal involvement carries too high a cost. Conversely, those that benefit from criminal activities and have no marketable skills or invested interests in legitimate employment will see no value or derive relatively little benefit from legitimate work. For the unskilled, unexperienced, undereducated, and unemployed, crime emerges as the best means of generating benefits. Based on this, the economic model argues that there is a positive relationship between unemployment and crime.

Now that the theoretical roots of correctional work and training policy have been briefly presented, the next section will provide a summary examination of the aggregate and individual level research on the unemployment-crime relationship.

Aggregate Level Research on Unemployment and Crime

Although decades of aggregate research have been conducted on the relationship between unemployment and crime, little consensus has emerged over the direction, significance and nature of the relationship. In fact, George Vold (1979:168) argues that, "Almost from the first studies... there has been disagreement in findings and debate about whether the conclusions drawn were justified." As a result of the often conflicting and contradictory results of aggregate research on the

unemployment-crime relationship, there has emerged a "consensus of doubt" about the direction and nature of the relationship (Chiricos, 1987).

Several literature reviews of studies focusing on the unemployment-crime relationship have been conducted by researchers to examine the nature of the relationship at the aggregate level. One of the first, and probably one of the most cited reviews, was undertaken by George Vold (1958). In a revised edition of Vold's original "Theoretical Criminology", Thomas Bernard (1979) has provided a much needed update on Vold's initial summary of research on economic conditions and crime. From his review of studies that attempted to measure the effects of economic conditions, and particularly unemployment, on the rate of crime, Vold (1979:179) draws the following conclusion.

> "In the objective data reviewed, assumptions involving either *positive* or *negative* relationships with economic conditions may be supported with some show of statistical significance. The obvious inference is that the general relations of economic conditions and criminality are so indefinite that no clear or definite conclusions can be drawn. Hence, there is a general tendency to accept the position that economic conditions represent only one of a large number of environmental circumstances. As such, this then becomes one factor in the "multiple factor" approach to the causation of crime."

Despite Vold's conclusions, subsequent reviews of studies on the unemployment-crime relationship have tended to favour the existence of a positive relationship, albeit a relationship whose strength and significance varies with the type of crime measured. In a summary review of research on the unemployment-crime relationship, R.W. Gillespie (1975) analyzed nineteen studies conducted primarily by economists between 1955 and 1975. From his review of studies comparing uniform crime rates, arrest rates or prison admission rates with rates of unemployment, Gillespie concluded that,

> "Statistical results of studies relating unemployment to crime show general, it not uniform, support of a positive correlation between these two variables... This variation in results makes any precise quantitative assessment of the strength of the relationship conjectural at this time; perhaps the strength can best be characterized as being neither trivial nor substantial, but modest. When specific crime rates were used rather than total rates, property crimes tended more frequently to show the predicted relationship with unemployment than did crimes of violence." (Gillespie, 1975:4)

In addition to finding a generally modest correlation between crime and unemployment rates, Gillespie found that "only in the use of state cross-section data was there a complete absence of a significant statistical relationship, and only among the studies using time series data was a consistently significant positive relationship reported" (Gillespie, 1975:40). Moreover, Gillespie (1975:10) suggests that sample data disaggregated by age and type of crime produces better insight into the determinants of crime than does the use of the total rate. While Gillespie suggests that the most important conclusion to be drawn from his review is that "sufficient empirical evidence exists to establish the economic model of crime as a new and potentially valuable approach to the analysis of crime and its control," he acknowledges that the lack of uniformity and justification of the 'taste' variables is an important theoretical weakness and a potential source of empirical instability in the estimates of the economic variables" (Gillespie, 1975:14 and 41).

In *"Unemployment and Crime: A Critique of Methodology"* , Grainger (1980) reviewed both aggregate and individual level studies. Although his review is not as extensive as the one conducted by Gillespie, Grainger identifies several methodological problems with the studies conducted to date on the unemployment-crime relationship. In particular, Grainger (1980:2-3) identifies pervasive methodological problems, such as the ecological fallacy, correlational coefficient

interpretation, serial correlation, and difficulties with the definition of the time lag. Given this, Grainger offers a condemning conclusion of aggregate level research on the unemployment-crime relationship and calls for the abandonment of this level of research all together.

> "The final conclusion of all aggregate research would have to be that no firm evidence has been found for either an associative or a causal relationship between unemployment and crime. The studies which have claimed a positive correlation between the variables were riddled with methodological deficiencies and theoretical weaknesses; those which were of a higher methodological quality showed no such relationship. The aggregate search for a connection between these two variables should cease; enough research effort has allready been expended in this area" (Grainger, 1980:2-3).

In a subsequent study, Long and Witte (1987) also reviewed sixteen studies which compared unemployment and crime rates. In similar tone to the conclusions drawn earlier by Gillespie, Long and White begin to extrapolate the conditional nature of the unemployment-crime relationship:

> "The findings of the studies using aggregate data imply that there is a positive, generally insignificant relationship between unemployment and criminal activity...[and] tends to be most strongly supported with respect to property crimes..." (Long and White, 1987:126).

To date, the most comprehensive review of research on the relationship between unemployment and crime has been conducted by Theodore Chiricos (1987) who reviewed the findings of 63 research studies that reported some measure of the unemployment crime relationship. In his review, Chiricos (1987:188) is concerned with refuting what he calls the "consensus of doubt" over the " strength, significance and even the direction of the unemployment-crime relationship (i.e., whether it is positive or negative)." According to Chiricos, although the previous reviews describe a

relationship that is more consistently positive than some accounts have allowed, their reports of the inconsistent strength and statistical significance of the unemployment-crime relationship have been easily integrated within the consensus of doubt (1987:191). In response to the "consensus of doubt", Chiricos sets out to examine the conditional nature of the link between unemployment and crime. While previous reviews recognized the conditional nature of the unemployment-crime relationship, Chiricos (1987:191) argues that they share several limitations which his review attempts to overcome.

1. None has dealt exclusively with crime rates, and their conclusions generally ignore the distinction between crime rates and other dependent variables such as arrest, etc.

2. None has examined more than 18 studies of employment and crime rates.

3. None has examined more than seven unemployment-crime studies with data from the 1970s--a period of rapidly increasing unemployment

4. None has done systematic secondary analysis with he results of the unemployment-crime research to show which crimes are most closely linked to unemployment and which methodological strategies produce which types of results.

In his attempt to address the limitations of previous research reviews, Chiricos (1987:192) presents the "percentage of positive and negative relationships reported by the 63 studies for each type of crime, as well as the percentages of significant/positive and significant/negative relationships for the same crimes." In his analysis, Chiricos(1987:192) found that,

> "...for all crimes combined, the unemployment-crime relationship is three times more likely to be positive than negative and more than three 15 times as likely to be significant/positive than significant/negative."

In an attempt to draw out the conditional nature of the unemployment-crime relationship, Chiricos compared different types of crimes and found that property crimes, and particularly burglary and larceny, were more likely than violent crimes to produce a positive-significant relationship. While assault was the only crime that produced results supporting both a positive and negative relationship, murder and assault revealed the lowest frequency of positive/significant findings (Chiricos, 1987:193). Moreover, Chiricos (1987:195) argues that the "likelihood of significant-positive associations *decreases* with *increases* in the level of aggregation." In other words, there were more significant-positive and significant results at the intra-city, city, county, and state levels than there is at the national level. This pattern was clearest when property crimes were analyzed. In sum, Chiricos argues that the nature of the unemployment-crime relationship is essentially positive and significant for property crimes at lower levels of aggregation. While crimes against the person generally showed a negative association, only two crimes--assault/pre-1970s and violent/national--showed a majority of negative association.

In conclusion, Chiricos argues that the consensus of doubt over the unemployment-crime relationship is premature and fails to capture the conditional nature of the relationship. According to Chiricos, the evidence favours a positive, frequently significant unemployment-crime relationship. Based on his conclusions, Chiricos suggests that "efforts to increase the availability and value of work can be expected to have some depressing effects on the value of property crime as an alternative. And, while the relationship between unemployment and crime rates is far from perfect, it is sufficient to put jobs back on the agenda for dealing with crime" (Chiricos, 1987:201).

While the economic model postulates that unemployment leads to criminal behaviour in individuals, most of the empirical research on the unemployment-crime relationship has been conducted at the aggregate level. As such, aggregate studies have difficulty explaining how aggregate data of criminality and unemployment are manifested on the individual level (Thompson et al, 1981:6). Nevertheless, from this brief review there appears to be sufficient evidence to support the presence of a positive, although conditional, association between unemployment and crime. However, it is also clear that the utility of aggregate level research has been exhausted and more individual level studies are needed to develop our understanding of the nature of the unemployment-crime relationship.

Individual-Level Research on Unemployment and Crime

While aggregate level research on the unemployment-crime relationship has a long history of producing debate and conflict over the direction and strength of the relationship, individual-level studies have been too few to resolve the conflict. Nevertheless, the few individual level studies that have been conducted on the unemployment-crime relationship have helped to clarify the nature of the relationship and expand our knowledge of the many possible associations between (un)employment and crime.

One type of individual-level study disaggregates crime and employment rates by age. These studies generally accepted that labour market problems, underemployment and crime are strongly related to age, and therefore, examined age-specific differences in employment and crime rates. The fact

that labour market and crime indicators are largely accepted to be strongly related to age suggests that aggregate analyses based on totals for all ages could lead to spurious results.

One of the first individual-level studies to dissaggregate offenders by age and crime was conducted by Glaser and Rice (1959), who examined unemployment and arrest rates for property crimes and violent offenses in three U.S. cities from 1936 to 1956. In particular, they were concerned with testing the hypotheses a) that juvenile crime was negatively related to employment rates, and b) that adult crime was positively related to unemployment rates. In testing these hypotheses, Glaser and Rice compared age-specific arrest rates with both the total and the age-specific male civilian unemployment rates. From their results, they argue that, "Despite large deficiencies of available data,... consistent support was presented for the hypothesis that adult crime rates vary directly with unemployment, particularly rates of property offenses by persons of 20 to 45 years of age. Less conclusive--but appreciable--evidence was presented for the hypothesis that juvenile crime rates vary with unemployment" (1959:685).

In another individual-level study disaggregated by age, Andersen and Steffensmeier (1989) use age-specific state-level data from 1977-1980 to examine the relationship between employment conditions and property-crime arrest rates of male juveniles and young adults. Rather than simply comparing employment rates with crime rates of young offenders, this study examines the effects of labour market marginality (low job availability and low job quality) on the rate of delinquency for juveniles and young adults. Andersen and Steffensmeier found that "availability of employment produces strong effects on juvenile arrest rates--full-time employment is associated with low arrest

rates, unemployment with high arrest rates. Low quality of employment (e.g., inadequate pay and hours) is associated with high arrest rates for young adults" (1989:107).

The second type of individual-level study on the unemployment-crime relationship simply describes common employment characteristics of offenders. These descriptive studies make the inference that common employment characteristics are directly related to the commission of crimes. In brief, the vast majority of these descriptive studies characterize offenders as having little education, a poor and sporadic work history, and very little job skills or work experience (McClintock, 1976; Glaser, 1964; Pownall, 1969; Taggart, 1972; CSC, 1986; Waller, 1979). In his study of borstal inmates, McClintock (1976:104)) found that 43% were unemployed at the time of arrest, and a further 43% were considered to be unskilled, with poor long-term employment potential. In a similar study, Waller (1974) examined a male group of released offenders and found that the majority of them had poor employment potential because they had arrived at the institution with no real skill. Prior to their incarceration, 80% held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

In a more qualitative type study, Sviridoff and Thompson (1983) interviewed 61 male adults released from Rikers Island, New York City to explore the various links between (un)employment and crime. Sviridoff and Thompson (1983:198) conclude that "a major part of the sample had only marginal work experience: 34 percent had never held a job for more than six months, and 19 percent had never held a job for more than three months... Of those who reported working some time, 43 percent had not worked at all in the year before arrest, and 28 percent had not worked in

over three years." At the time of arrest only 16 percent were employed. Moreover, although some reported a considerable work experience, it was found that most held low level, poorly paid jobs. In their conclusion, the authors argue that low-level unemployment and crime were not mutually exclusive; "some alternated between periods of employment and periods of crime. Others used income from crime as a supplement to income from employment. Still others used income from crime as an economic stake for drug sales or other illegitimate economic activity" (Sviridoff and Thompson, 1983:195).

Another individual-level study that challenges the belief in a unidirectional, mutually exclusive relationship between unemployment and crime is offered by Thornberry and Christenson (1984). These authors investigated the possibility of a reciprocal relationship between unemployment and crime by interviewing 567 subjects from the Philadelphia birth cohort of 1945 when they were 25 years old and by examining arrest histories of the subjects to the age of 30. According to the authors, the results of their study offer strong support for the argument that criminal involvement and unemployment mutually influence on another over time. Specifically, "unemployment has significant instantaneous effects on crime and crime has significant effects, primarily lagged effects, on unemployment" (1984:409). In conclusion, the authors state that "crime does not appear to be a simple product of unemployment; rather, these two variables appear to influence on another mutually over time" (1984:409).

One of the only descriptive studies of crime and employment patterns among federal offenders in Canada was conducted by the Regional Reception Assessment Centre at Matsqui Institution in

British Columbia. The report offers a comprehensive description of the 618 offenders assessed between April 1990 and July 1992. In particular, the report claims that of the 579 offenders for whom information was available 61% reported being unemployed at the time of the present offense. In total 67% of the offenders reported not having a history of stable employment. While 45% of those with poor employment histories were presently convicted of robbery and property crimes, 39% of those with a relatively steady work history were convicted of a sex offense. Moreover, 28% reported that their major source of income at the time of the present offense was crime. According to the authors of the report, this "indicates that the for some, even if employed, crime pays better" (Stoian, 1992:9).

In conclusion, while the individual-level studies reviewed can not be said to prove the existence of a causal relationship between unemployment and crime, they do provide us with invaluable information about the conditional nature of the relationship. While it was shown that the unemployment-crime relationship is conditional upon age and types of crime, the descriptive studies have shown us that most offenders are unemployed at the time of arrest and have an unstable or sporadic work history, few marketable skills, and little practical work experience outside the marginal or secondary labour market. Although individual-level studies have been successful in delineating the conditional nature of the unemployment-crime relationship, qualitative research on the work experiences, opportunites, and attitudes of offenders will enable us to develop a deeper understanding of the relationship from the perspective of offenders.

The Transition of Offenders into the Labour Market.

Given the conclusions from aggregate and individual-level studies, one can not dismiss the importance of correctional programming that attempts to address the employment and training needs of offenders. Indeed, because current correctional philosophy views the common employment characteristics of offenders--an unstable work history, poor work habits, and few marketable skills and low-level education--as being criminogenic influences, institutional programming places heavy emphasis on mandatory employment and active participation in vocational and educational training programs. As the current aim of correctional programming is the successful reintegration of offenders as law-abiding citizens, it is reasoned that offenders who acquire trade skills, work experience and industrious habits will have legitimate employment opportunities available to them upon release, which in turn will facilitate their successful reiuntegrtion back into society. In other words, it is assumed that correctional work and training strategies provide inmates with the necessary work habits, job skills and training to be successful in the competitive labour market, and thus provide them with the financial independence to live law abiding lives. The reintegrative value of offender employment and training strategies has been delineated by Jarvis (1978:169):

1. Successful living requires a secure economic base;
2. Most sentenced offenders do not have a trade or skill by which to earn a living;
3. If former offenders are returned to society with a trade or skill, they can earn a living and will not return to crime;
4. By training offenders in a skill, we will increase their opportunities for employment; and

5. Rehabilitation can be provided through a correctional program that includes vocational training.

While institutional employment and training programs continue to be vital components of the current correctional strategy of reintegration, operational and conceptual difficulties raise questions about the actual reintegrative value of these programs. The presumed relationship between correctional work and training programs and post-release employment is based on the policy implications inherent in the economic modle of crime.

The policy implications suggested by the economic model for controlling crime generally involve two options. First, crime can be controlled by increasing the 'cost of crime' through policies that increase the certainty and severity of punishment. Second, crime can be controlled through human development programs and policies to provide offenders with employment skills and training aimed at increasing the value and likelihood of securing legitimate employment once released. Current correctional policy is a mix of these two options. While the back-to justice, rational choice model emphasizes harsher deterrent policies that in effect increase the cost of crime, inmate work and training strategies reflect a 'human capital' or 'human development' approach that aims to increase the benefits and value of legitimate employment. According to the human capital approach, individuals who invest in themselves through education, skill development and training do so in order to maximize their lifelong benefits through legitimate employment. In other words, those who develop their human capital will more likely engage in legitimate employment because of the benefits they may receive, such as high pay, advancement, security, and prestige. However, this

assumes that offenders who are provided with employment skills will perceive value in pursuing legitimate employment, regardless of the types of employment opportunities available to them.

According to segmented labour market (SLM) theories, however, investment in human capital through education and training does not automatically translate into labour market rewards. The SLM approach suggests that the economy is divided into two labour markets, primary and secondary, and that some groups of workers are more exposed than others to various structural and institutional barriers to employment, such as sexual and racial discrimination and unequal access and returns from education (Thompson et al, 1981:60). Therefore, human development programs that aim to enhance the benefits and value of legitimate employment do not address the structural barriers that keep some groups of individuals in the secondary labour markets.

Although one of the major objectives of correctional work and vocational training programs is to enhance the benefits and value of post-release employment for released offenders, there is a substantial lack of evidence to support this belief, as very little research has been conducted to investigate the entry of released offenders into the Canadian labour market. In contrast to correctional strategies that claim to provide a bridge between institutional training and legitimate employment in the community, the available literature not only shows that few offenders released from prison are able to find and maintain meaningful employment, but that those involved in work and vocational training programs training do not have a significantly better chance of securing meaningful employment once released than those who did not receive any training (Waller, 1974; Pownall, 1969; Glaser, 1964; Taggart, 1972). In fact, Pownall (1972:99) presents data showing

that trainees are more likely to be unemployed than those involved in unskilled institutional maintenance work, and that only 20 percent were able to find work that was related to their institutional training or experience.

Furthermore, it is clear from the previous chapter that correctional work and training strategies have been repeatedly criticized for being ineffective in meeting the employment and training needs of offenders (Archambault 1938; Chunn 1981; Fauteux 1956; Ouimet 1969; MacGuigan, 1977; Battle 1990). Most recently, criticisms of work and training programs have been raised by Battle (1990:57), who found that in a 'self-reported' study of 167 conditionally released offenders, 83.4 percent did not participate in vocational training programs while incarcerated, and 90.5 percent of the offenders stated that they did not acquire job skills while incarcerated. In his report, Battle (1990:13) suggests that the training programs for offenders have been traditionally ineffective because the focus of these programs generally has been on the needs of the institution rather than on the needs of offenders, and few of the vocational training programs provide inmates with skill training and accreditation in highly marketable occupations. Clearly, the majority of federal inmates are not receiving the skills, training or work experience necessary to make the transition from prison into the work force. As such, the reintegrative value of work and vocational training programs is highly questionable.

Moreover, criticisms by segmented labour market theories and others suggest that inmates are simply trained for secondary labour market jobs which are poorly paid, unstable and require little skill. This ideal is supported by McCreary (1975) who presents findings from a survey of released

federal offenders. The survey revealed that more than one-half of the offenders had worked in unskilled or service jobs prior to commitment, and more than 40 percent returned to such jobs upon release. In similar tone, Ericson, Machon and Evans (1987:377) have criticized the exploitive use of convict labour; arguing that inmate training does not address the economic marginality of offenders.

> "At best, [offenders] are trained for jobs that will keep them at the margins of society economically. At worst, they are given the hope that they do have something to sell the labour market, only to have it dashed by the unavailability of meaningful employment."

In addition, there are factors intrinsic to the prison setting that may undermine the effectiveness of employment and training programs. First, as the post-release employment problems of many offenders are compounded by virtue of being removed form the real world of work and receiving little training that reflects changes in the demands of the labour market, it is commonly accepted that offenders released from prison are worse off in terms of finding and maintaining a job. Taggart (1972:14) succinctly argues this point:

> "[An inmate] suffers from the erosion of valuable skills, the loss of contacts and difficulties of finding and settling down in a job. These transitional problems are compounded by the mark of Cain that is placed on the ex-offender, reducing his chances of successfully reintegrating into the community and especially competing successfully in the labor market."

Second, many offenders may resent the fact that they are coerced into participating in institutional programs in order to secure institutional privileges, temporary absences or parole. Institutional authorities and the National Parole Board often place a lot of emphasis on inmates' involvement in correctional programs as an indication of their readiness for parole. Third, offenders may not see

any value in what the correctional programs have to offer. This may be especially true for offenders who are serving long-term sentences. Fourth, the prison 'sub-culture' is generally not supportive of offenders who participate in various programs to improve themselves. Fifth, offenders may view the instructors of institutional programs as 'keepers of the key', and subsequently, may be suspect, mistrustful and/or resistant towards them. Finally, because offenders are not generally consulted on their own employment, educational and training needs they may feel alienated from the programs and/or view them as not serving their needs.

Finally, even if employment and training programs indirectly or directly enhance the employability of released offenders, correctional work and training programs often assume that offenders will have the social and personal skills needed in order to secure and retain employment upon release. However, as stated by the Task Force on Community and Institutional Programs (1988:36) although some offenders have access to pre-release employment training programs, " offenders need to know more than how to get a job; they must know how to keep the job and how to manage daily living."

In conclusion, while correctional policy has often assumed that those who receive vocational and employment training while incarcerated are more likely to find and maintain employment upon release, the evidence from the available literature suggests that most inmates involved in work and training programs do not have a better chance of securing meaningful employment once released from prison. Regardless of the work and training received, researchers have shown that many offenders leave prison with no marketable skills, practical work experience, job skills, or confidence

to find and maintain employment (Waller, 1974; Pownall, 1969; Glaser, 1964; Taggart, 1972; Battle, 1990). Furthermore, others have shown that many of those who do make the transition into the work force return to 'marginal' types of employment in the 'secondary labour market'(Ericson, Machon and Evans, 1987; McCreary, 1975) In general, the literature on the transition of offenders into the labour force illustrates that:

1. Most offenders leave prison with no real opportunities for 'meaningful' employment;

2. Correctional strategies of inmate work and training do not provide offenders with the skills, experience, or attitudes to find and maintain post-release employment; and

3. Incarceration adds to the post-release employment problems of offenders.

Therefore, rather than guiding, directing and facilitating the transition of inmates into the labour market, inmate work and training strategies appear to have had little reintegrative value for released offenders trying to make the transition into the workforce.

Post-Release (Un)employment and the Reintegration of Offenders.

Inmate training and employment programs that aim to prepare offenders for reintegration rest on the questionable assumption that acquiring skills and training will provide offenders with employment opportunities upon release, which in turn will allow them to lead responsible, independent and law-abiding lives. When the evidence is examined, however, it is clear that very little research has been conducted on the employment patterns of offenders released from Canadian

prisons. Consequently, there is little available research on the relationship between post release unemployment and recidivism. Rather, much of the available research on the post-release employment of released offenders is limited to examining the employment status of those who re-offend.

While some researchers have argued that recidivism is significantly related to post-release employment problems (Glaser, 1964; Pownall, 1969; Evans, 1980; Lenihan, 1976), others have argued that unemployment is not associated with recidivism (Waller, 1974), or that, at best, post-release unemployment co-varies with recidivism (Wellford, 1972). Still other observers have argued that, "none of the studies that have attempted to deal with the problems of employment in relation to criminality have had marked success" (McClintock, 1976:75). Therefore, similar to the literature on relationship between unemployment and crime previously reviewed, research on the the relationship between unemployment and recidivism has produced equally unclear and contradictory results. In the end, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that the relationship between post-release employment and recidivism is a very complex relationship, affected by multiple variables (McClintock, 1976). In other words, post-release employment plays various roles in the reintegration process of offenders and is only one issue among many confronted by released offenders (McClintock, 1976; Waller, 1974; Vera Institute of Justice, 1977).

Although there is an absence of conclusive evidence on the role of employment in the reintegration process, the importance of employment to released offenders is illustrated in a recent study co-sponsored by Employment Immigration Canada and CSC. In this study, Battle (1990) interviewed

one hundred and sixty seven conditionally released Federal offenders in Alberta in order to identify what factors released offenders felt were most important for them in obtaining and retaining employment. Based on self-reports from released offenders, Battle (1990:127) argues that his findings "clearly indicate that respondents felt that obtaining and retaining work is necessary in order for them to make a satisfactory transition to the free community and avoid recidivism." According to the findings, the subjects felt that the three most important things they needed in order to stay out of jail were support (17.9%), work (16.4%) and self-esteem (15.5%). Although the offenders in the Battle report did not specify what kind of work they valued, they identified employment training (21.9%), self-esteem (14.7%) education (14%) as the three most important things they needed most in order to get a job. A large majority of the subjects (86.3%) also indicated that they would have been more successful in getting and keeping a job if they had been provided with a comprehensive employment training program (Battle, 1990:57).

The findings identified in the Battle report illustrate that, from the perspective of the offender, post-release employment plays a potentially significant role in the process of reintegration. According to Battle (1990:127), work generally contributes to positive mental health, to self-esteem, and to effective adjustment to environmental demands, as well as being an important source of self identity and self worth. More importantly, the Battle report indicated a gap in employment services for offenders both at the institutional and community level. In addition to making recommendations to address the quality and quantity of vocational and employment training in federal institutions, Battle (1990:133) also recommended that "employment programs that are currently serving released and former inmates in the free community be **modified** and **expanded (if necessary)** to make them

more **effective** in meeting the **employment needs of participants.**" In the end, some of the recommednations in the Battle report were implemented, and CSC sponsored the development of a community-based employment assistance program for released federal offenders, called Breaking Barriers.

While there may be a lack of conclusive evidence that post-release unemployment is causally related to recidivism, there appears to be enough evidence to suggest that post-release employment is perceived by many offenders as necessary to break free from the cycle of unemployment and crime and to successfully reintegrate into society. Therefore, the development of community-based employment assistance programs (CEAPS) is vital to address the employment needs of released offenders and to facilitate the transition of released offenders into society in general, and into the labour force specifically. However, despite CSC's emphasis on the development of community-based programs to facilitate the reintegration of offenders, the development of CEAPS has been neglected and overshadowed by institutional programming needs.

In *Our Story: Organizational Renewal in Federal Corrections* (Vantour, 1991:34), the CSC itself admits to directing almost all of its budget resources to the correctional institutions while paying scant attention to the needs of released offenders:

> "The history of the Correctional Service of Canada clearly demonstrated a focus on incarceration complemented by a number of program activities in the institutions. There was also too much emphasis on the surveillance and control of inmates rather than on ensuring that everything was done to secure a law-abiding transition from the penitentiaries to the community. The institutional side of the Service absorbed about 97% of all resources while being responsible for just 60% of the

> offenders...Only 3% of the overall budget was devoted to program activities that could better prevent the 40 percent of offenders on conditional release from turning to crime during the last and most vital part of their sentences."

The development of CEAPS has been undermined by the lack of financial will and evaluative research, and has been also hindered by a lack of understanding of the reintegration process itself. Before moving on to a discussion of CEAPS, it is first necessary to discuss the reintegration process itself.

Towards a Holistic View of Reintegration

Although the ideal of reintegration has dominated correctional thinking since the late 1960s, our understanding of the process of reintegration from the perspective of offenders has been inhibited by an overwhelming concern for statistically simple measurements. As the CSC has recently called for the reintegration of a "significantly larger number of offenders as law-abiding citizens..." (Solicitor General, Annual Report 1991-1992:46), and therefore, it is clear that the ideal of a successful reintegration is perceived and measured as law-abiding behaviour. While recidivism may be regarded as the ultimate and most publicly sensitive measure of reintegration, examining the process of reintegration according to the dichotomous measure of recidivism raises serious evaluative and conceptual difficulties, as it obscures the uniqueness of individual experiences, overlooks the myriad factors that influence released offenders to engage in unlawful behaviour, and consequently, reduces the process of reintegration to a single unrealistic measure that may not accurately reflect those factors considered important by released offenders to their post-prison

adjustment. Therefore, a full understanding of the reintegration process requires an examination of the subjective experiences and perceptions of released offenders.

In viewing reintegration from the perspective of released offenders, the question of 'success' becomes a 'self defined' measure based on subjective perceptions and experiences. In other words, success--in reference to reintegration--is a subjective experience that can not alone be measured by a standardized dichotomous criterion which is external to the social experiences and perceptions of the released offender. John Irwin (1970:204) has articulated the disparity between unrealistic measures of reintegration and the subjective reality of reintegration experienced by released offenders.

> "...from the standpoint of the felon a successful postprison life is more than merely staying out of prison. From the criminal ex-convict perspective it must contain other attributes, mainly it must be dignified. This is not generally understood by correctional people whose ideas on success are dominated by narrow and unrealistic conceptions of nonrecidivism and reformation."

In his examination of released felons, Irwin adeptly examines the "pains of re-entry" experienced by released offenders and identifies various levels of community adjustment on the basis of different types of criminal behaviour, commitment to employment and family, and drug and alcohol use. Irwin's classifications of reintegration clearly illustrates that the experiences of released offenders are not uniform and that released offenders experience a unique set of transitional circumstances involving various attachments to conventional social norms, work, and crime. While all released offenders may experience similar situations inherent in making the transition from the highly regimented, dependent world of prison to a life of freedom and independence, they may also face

individual barriers unique to their own social circumstance. The way in which released offenders manage the various 'transitions' will affect how they adjust to community living.

While our understanding of the reintegration process can be enhanced by examining the viewpoint and social experiences of the released offender, the concept of reintegration can also be examined as a form of relationship between the released offender and the community at large. It has been widely suggested that a truly comprehensive community corrections model, committed to the ideal of offender reintegration, is one that facilitates change in both the individual offender and the community (Byrne, 1989; Hylton, 1982; Lawrence, 1991). Therefore, strategies for reintegrating offenders must not only be concerned with providing released offenders with 'survival skills', but must also push for changes in community institutions and discriminatory attitudes which impede the reintegration of offenders. As Lawrence (1991:458) has argued:

> "Reintegration focuses on both the offender and the community, but it means more than just conforming to community standards. In addition to offender change, reintegration pushes for changes in the community institutions to provide opportunities for offenders, reducing alienation and discrimination, with the goal of involving them in community life and work."

Therefore according to this view, any discussion, evaluation or analysis of offender reintegration must incorporate the concept of 'community'. The concept of 'community', however, has exhibited such a diverse range of meanings in social science that some view it as being almost meaningless. In fact, as Leighton (1988:357) notes, over 100 distinct meanings of 'community' have been produced. Despite the vastness of the concept of 'community', Leighton (1988:356) suggests that, although the concept of 'community' has been employed in various ways by different disciplines, the ideal of

'community' has traditionally consisted of three elements: common locale, solidarity of normative sentiments and activities, and social interaction. In viewing 'community' in this way, Leighton (1988) advocates a social interaction approach or network approach to community corrections, in which it is important to examine social interactions as patterns of linkages between individuals within a spatial location. In short, Leighton (1988:359) conceptualizes 'community' "as a unit of social organization consisting of overlapping personal network communities represented by relatively enduring ties that routinely exhibit a high level of social interaction characterized by flows of resource."

Utilizing this view of community, Lawrence (1991) and Byrne (1989) emphasize the importance of 'advocacy' in community corrections. In particular, Lawrence (1991:457) argues that parole and probation officers need to act as 'resource advocates' for released offenders, "as long as there are barriers in the community standing in the way of rehabilitation and reintegration." In a similar tone, Byrne (1989:471) describes four key characteristics of a community-orientated approach to probation and parole supervision: service brokerage, advocacy for offenders and victims, triage and location in the community. The enhancement of community support and tolerance for released offenders is also seen as an important factor in a community-orientated approach to corrections.

In sum, the ideal of offender reintegration is similar to a algebraic expression, in which the value of offender change must be balanced with an equal concern for institutional and community-based services which aim to reestablish meaningful ties between the offender and the community at large. The ideal of 'community' advocated by Leighton (1988) implies that it is the nature and extent of

'interactions', 'linkages', 'ties' and 'networks' that offenders establish and maintain with others in the community that is crucial to their reintegration. As such, a 'coordinated integrated' approach to reintegration is required, in which community organizations and government agencies coordinate their efforts and resources towards the development and operation of institutional and community-based programs that not only provide services to released offenders, but also act as 'service brokers' and advocates for changes in community-offender relations and the development of opportunities for offenders to reintegrate into society. Amongst those community programs whose business it is to facilitate the reintegration of offenders--whether it is through employment, education, skill training, alcohol/drug counselling or family/personal counselling--service information/referrals must flow freely in order to ensure a 'coordinated community' approach.

Community-Based Employment Assistance Programs

Although the CSC has recently reaffirmed the importance of community programming for the successful reintegration of offenders, the use of CEAPS to facilitate the transition of released offenders into the labour force remains largely underdeveloped and underfunded. Currently, CEAPS are not widely available to released federal or provincial offenders in Canada, and where they are available, vary greatly in the nature and quality of the service provided. While program objectives and operational mandates may vary from program to program, CEAPS are rooted in the underlying ideal that a transition program from prison to the labour market is beneficial to offenders who wish to break the cycle of crime, reduce their dependency on social assistance, and increase their chances for full reintegration back into the community. Therefore, while the primary

aim of CEAPS is to assist offenders to secure and maintain meaningful employment, in more general terms, these programs are concerned with providing opportunities for all types offenders to live 'healthy' and law-abiding lives by supporting and assisting them in reintegrating back into the community and/or overcoming personal barriers that put them at risk. CEAPS attempt to achieve this aim by providing a variety of services related to employment training and community reintegration: job placement, vocational and educational counselling, 'job coaching', life-skills training, work-place relations, drug and alcohol counselling, family and interpersonal violence counselling, self-esteem, educational upgrading, technical training, etc.

Given the lack of available funding for community programming, the CSC relies heavily on community-based organizations, such as the John Howard Society, Elizabeth Fry Society and the Salvation Army, to provide reintegrative service to offenders serving out their sentence in the community. As a result, a 'community arena' has been created where CEAPS largely operate under the auspices of independent community agencies offering a variety of employment-related services. In Canada, CEAPS currently operate on three levels: 1) those directly coordinated by CSC for federal offenders on conditional release; 2) those operating under contract through community-based correctional organizations, such as the John Howard society and the Elizabeth Fry Society; and 3) those operating as private non-profit organizations under contract with CSC, Employment Immigration Canada (EIC) or other funding agencies. While a detailed examination of CEAPS operating at these three levels is beyond the scope of the present study, several of the main characteristics of these programs should be addressed.

First, those CEAPS which operate under the direct jurisdiction of CSC serve only those clients who are on conditional release. Many offenders who have completed their sentences are not eligible for the services offered, and are left to compete for entrance into one of the few available programs operated by community organizations. Although Canada Employment and Immigration Canada (CEIC) and CSC have co-sponsored CEAPS, such as the Job Placement Program (JPP) in British Columbia and the CSC supported "Breaking Barriers" program in Edmonton, Alberta, nation-wide employment programs for released offenders under the sponsorship of CSC and EIC remain undeveloped. For example, the Job Placement Program was created in 1975 by probation officers who recognized the need for specialized employment services. Originally, the Job Placement Program was funded by the outreach branch of CEIC, and in 1982 began receiving funding from CSC. Under this funding scheme, the Job Placement Program was mandated to provide employment services and job placements to both probationers and released federal offenders. However, in 1994 the Job Placement Program in British Columbia lost all of its CSC funding due to budget cuts and became solely funded by the newly created Human Resources Development Canada. In other words, although the JPP claims that it will not refuse to assist federal offenders, it is no longer mandated to offer employment services or placements to released federal offenders. In effect, the CSC has removed an integral community service to released federal offenders, a move which is in direct contrast to the goals and objectives of reintegration.

Those CEAPS operating under contract with community-based correctional organizations, such as the John Howard Society and the Elizabeth Fry Society, are not widely available and appear to be diminishing as the focus of community corrections has shifted focus to retribution,

community/victim restitution and various forms of intermediate sanctions (Benekos, 1990; Ericson, et al, 1987; Lawrence, 1991). It has been suggested by Lawrence (1991) and Benekos (1990) that community organizations originally concerned with providing services based on objectives of reintegration have become contractually tied to providing and operating intermediate sanctions and community restitutive programs based on objectives of retribution. While these writers are speaking to developments in the United States, recent emphasis in Canada on intermediate sanctions, such as intensive probation supervision, home arrest, electronic monitoring and community service orders, suggest that community-based corrections is firmly rooted in notions of retribution and restitution. As community-based organizations, such as the John Howard Society in Alberta, have become contractually tied to providing programs that are sanction-based and concerned with offender surveillance (Ericson, et al, 1987), it is unlikely that these organizations are able, or willing, to develop and provide specialized employment and skills training programs for released offenders.

Given this, it would seem that CEAPS operated by private individuals and non-profit organizations are in the best position to provide employment related services to released offenders. However, CEAPS operating at this level face various problems, including funding insecurities; operational mandates and screening processes determined by funding requirements; maintaining a high quality and quantity of services; recruiting and maintaining quality staff; and program accountability. While it appears that CEAPS at this level can serve to facilitate the reintegration of released offenders and provide them with the means to make restitution to their victims, ex-offenders are no longer considered to be "severely employment disadvantaged" or a priority group under recent changes

made to CEIC. With the creation of Human Resources and Development Canada, it appears that funding for employment and vocational training programs is being targeted for specific groups of individuals, such as special needs, women, youth, and those colllecting unemployment insurance who are in need of retraining.

The net effect of these changes is that non-profit CEAPS, previously sponsored through Canada Job Strategy, are losing their funding and are being closed. For example, two CEAPS operating in British Columbia--Alternatives in Action and jobSTART Pre-Employment training Program--have lost their funding from Canada Job Strategies. As a result, AIA was closed down in 1994, and JobSTART was forced to secure alternative sources of funding from Human Resources and Development. However, it appears that in securing funding for its program, jobSTART is obligated to make its services available to anyone seeking assistance rather than offer services specific and unique to the needs of released offenders. Given this, released offenders will be generally left to compete for access to the employment and vocational training programs that have flourished as a result of federal and provincial initiatives to create jobs and training opportunities for displaced workers.

With this current trend in employment training programs, the unique employment and training needs of released offenders are being ignored despite the potentially important role CEAPS can play in the reintegration process. As federal authorities remain hesitant to assume financial responsibility for the development of CEAPS for released offenders, the lack of post-release employment services to facilitate the transition of offenders into the work force will continue to

raise doubts about the reintegration policy of the CSC. While more research on the role and value of CEAPS for released offenders in Canada will undoubtedly be needed to determine the viability of developing these programs, evaluative studies of American CEAPS do provide some evidence of their success in improving the employment rate while decreasing the recidivism rate of released offenders.

Evaluative Research of Community-Based Employment Assistance Programs

While Canadian experimentation with CEAPS for released offenders has a scattered and inconsistent history, American CEAPS for released offenders flourished in response to the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1969 (McCreary, et al, 1975). In addition to the plethora of American CEAPS developed during the 1960s and 1970s, there was a corresponding surge of evaluative research conducted to determine the role these programs played in the reintegration process. While these evaluations focused on dichotomous quantitative measures, such as recidivism and job placement rates, they do provide direction and guidance for the development and assessment of Canadian CEAPS.

In a study of more than 250 CEAPS operating in the United States, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (1978) found that "program clients experience lower rates of recidivism than are commonly thought to occur for ex-offenders as a whole". For example, an average of 23% of the participants in five Model Ex-Offender Programs were estimated to have returned to prison, compared with a projected recidivism rate of 51% for all released offenders in the five participating states. The Ex-Offender Employability Project, H.I.R.E., operated through

the Correctional Service of Minnesota reported that over a nine month period clients in the program experienced lower recidivism rates (25.5%) than a control group of non-participating released offenders (36.3%). Despite the apparent success of these CEAPS, results from similar types of programs have not had as encouraging results (McClintock, 1976:125; Vera Institute of Justice, 1977).

Although there appears to be evidence that CEAPS for ex-offenders have a positive impact on the recidivism rates of program clients, the National Evaluation Program warned of the inherent problems with evaluations based on rates of recidivism. For example, some evaluations did not compare the recidivism rates of program participants with those of a control group. Similarly, comparisons of recidivism rates made between program participants and all offenders released in a particular state were flawed, as participants were not randomly assigned to the program. Comparative evaluations also relied upon unstable and unreliable national and/or state rates of recidivism collected by a variety of sources, including the police, prison administration, parole officers and court officials. Finally, difficulties in making comparative evaluations across programs were compounded by differences in the definitions of recidivism used, in the length of follow-up, and in data collection techniques used by various programs.

The NEP also analyzed the placement rates of several CEAPS and found that, "most existing analyses indicate that the majority of program clients are placed in jobs" (National Evaluation Program 1978:43). The results of one program specializing in job readiness training indicated that 68% of the clients gained employment. Similarly, the average placement rate over one year for five

Model Ex-Offender Programs was 51%. A job development and placement program in Denver claims that 71% of all clients obtained employment, during a 17 month period. The Illinois State Model Ex-Offender Program reported that of 3,432 clients, 28% were placed in jobs or training.

Although the results of these evaluations suggest that participants are generally successful in securing employment, they rarely compare placement rates with those of a control group participating in the program or with the placement rates of different programs. Problems in making comparisons across programs are paramount as each program may define, assess and collect placement data in different ways--"some programs may assess placement at the time of program completion, while others...analyze whether a job was obtained within a certain number of days..." National Evaluation Program, 1978). In addition to these differences, the definition of what constitutes a placement may also vary across programs.

Moreover, evaluations of overall placement rates rarely analyze differences in rates of placement for various groups of clients so as to determine the utility of certain services for different client groups (National Evaluation Program 191978:43). As such, analyses which provide insight into different rates of success for different groups of clients--operationalized according to gender, age, race, education, criminal history--can be used to identify high risk groups, and guide further research on the utility and nature of the services provided by CEAPS.

While past research on American CEAPS provide insights for conducting quantitative research on Canadian CEAPS, there has been no comprehensive qualitative research conducted to date in

Canada that attempts to determine the role and value of CEAPS in the reintegration process. Rather, bound by varying funding requirements, individual CEAPS operating in Canada tend to conduct annual 'program evaluations' which focus on rates of recidivism or overall rates of job placements for program clients as a measure of their its success. As such, many in-program evaluations address the concerns of funding agencies and CSC, as they tend to focus on external measures of success, such as program completion, job placements, job retention and recidivism. However, as CEAPS provide a variety of employment related services to individual offenders with varying social experiences and perceptions, it is necessary to balance measures of program outcome with qualitative measures focusing on the perceptions and experiences of those who participate in the program. The ideal of 'success' or 'effectiveness' can not be based solely on the rates of program completion, job placements or recidivism, but must be viewed from the perspective of the offender-participant and placed in context of his/her particular social experiences. Therefore, an approach that emphasizes the significance of offenders' social experiences and their perceptions of the value of work following release may not only provide insight into many of the general questions pertaining to criminal lifestyles and unemployment, but can also shed light upon the role and value of work in the lives of offenders and ex-offenders.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the underlying premises of current correctional strategies of inmate work and vocational training. In spite of the belief in the relationship between unemployment and crime, the evidence presented suggests that aggregate level research has produced conflicting and

contradictory findings. Individual-level studies, however, have begun to extrapolate the nature of the unemployment-crime relationship and describe the employment patterns of offenders. In sum, while these studies suggest an association between unemployment and crime, the literature indicates that the 'causal arrows' of the relationship may point in various directions, and subsequently the relationship may take on a variety of different forms. The insightful findings of individual-level research has prompted calls for the abandonment of aggregate level research in favour of more individual-level, qualitative research that focuse on offenders' experiences and attitudes of work.

The assumption that strategies of work and training prepare inmates to make a successful transition into the labour force is not supported by the research literature. Likewise, the evidence was also not very supportive of the related belief in the relationship between post-release unemployment and recidivism. While the relationship between post-release employment and recidivism may be inconclusive, there is evidence to suggest that offenders perceive and value post-release employment as necessary to successfully reintegrate back into society. Given this, it is suggested that more research is needed to determine the role and value of employment in the reintegration process by focusing on the the perceptions, attitudes, and experiences of released offenders.

In spite of recent commitments to the development of community programs to assist offenders in reintegrating, CSC has largely failed to provide CEAPS for released offenders. As such, there is currently a gap in post-release employment services for ex-offenders. In contrast, American experiment with CEAPS for released offenders have shown some success in placing individuals in

jobs and in reducing recidivism. Therefore, more research on Canadian CEAPS and the experience of offenders receiving these services will contribute to our understanding of the role and value of CEAPS in the reintegration of offenders into society generally, and into the labour force particularly.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The present study was designed to document the role and value of employment and training in the pre-institutional, institutional and post-institutional experiences of a sample of federal offenders who participated in a community-based employment assistance program (CEAP) between 1990-1994 in Vancouver, British Columbia. At the request of the CEAP to remain anonymous, the study simply refers to the Program when speaking of the CEAP from which the subjects were taken. The study takes a qualitative approach, focusing on the experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of the offenders in the sample over three distinct time periods. As such, it is **not** intended as an evaluation of the Program (CEAP) from which the sample was selected. Specifically, this study has attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. ***Pre-institutional:*** How do differences in experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of work affect the nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime?

2. ***Institutional:*** What reintegrative value does institutional work and training programs have in facilitating the transition of offenders from prison to the work force?

3. ***Post-institutional:*** What is the role and value of post-release employment in the reintegration process?

In answering these questions, it is hoped that this study will contribute to an understanding of the relationship between unemployment and crime, the effect of institutional work and training

programs on the transition of offenders into the labour force, and the role and value of employment and CEAPS in the reintegration process.

Subjects

The subjects for this study were federal offender-participants who graduated from a community-based employment assistance program in Vancouver, British Columbia during 1990-1994. While only those participants who graduated from the Program were included in the study, the availability of the participants significantly influenced the composition of the final sample. Due to the transient nature of the cohort, problems were encountered in locating a significant number of subjects for the project. Although the Program maintains follow-up records on the majority of its participants up to a six month period, it is difficult to maintain long-term follow-up data on program participants. Therefore, while program personnel were of assistance in locating and contacting the majority of the subjects for the sample, others were referred to the researcher by offenders who had agreed to participate. Also, several of the subjects were simply encountered on the street and agreed to participate in the study. Despite the difficulties of locating these subjects, from a total of 40 federal offender-participants, 22 subjects were contacted and included in the study. Every person contacted, except one, agreed to participate in the study. Standard ethical procedures were followed when interviewing the subjects. Participation in the study was strictly voluntary, offenders were guaranteed anonymity, they could choose not to answer any or all questions, and they could terminate the interview at any time.

The sample for the study consisted of 22 participants of which 68.2% were male and 31.8% were female. The ages of the subjects ranged from 26 to 60 years of age, with a mean age of 38 years. Moreover, 60% of the sample was 38 years old or younger. The sample had a mean educational grade level of 8.77, yet 72.7% of the entire sample reported having completed their grade 12 equivalency at the time of the interview. Moreover, 22.7% of the sample have had some post-secondary education and 40.9% held a trade certification. One half of the sample is no longer involved with the Correctional Service of Canada, and almost 30% were on parole at the time of the interview. While 50% of the sample have been incarcerated in federal, provincial and juvenile institutions, 36.4% have been incarcerated in a federal institution. The average number of times those in the sample have been incarcerated is 9.2, and the number of years those in the sample have been incarcerated range from less than one year to 32 years. The average number of years the sample has been incarcerated as adults is 8.8. Approximately two thirds of the sample have been incarcerated for assault, property offenses, and/or drug offenses.

Despite the obvious differences between those in the sample, all subjects shared the experience of participating in, and graduating from, the same employment assistance program. As such it is important to briefly describe the Program from which the sample was taken. Although the Program may have changed its structure and operation during the four years that the subjects attended, its basic principles and goals have changed little.

Program Description

The Program was originally conceived from the HELP programs which began operating in Toronto in 1979. HELP originated as a employment creation/placement program which was run by ex-offenders for ex-offenders. While ex-offenders have been involved in the operation and management of American CEAPS since the 1970s, HELP was the first employment placement program in Canada to be initiated, developed and operated by ex-offenders. Help's unparalleled success in placing released offenders in jobs resulted in its expansion to youth diversion services and a transitional residential house where released offenders were provided with work and training while making the transition back into the community. It was due to the success of HELP that Alternatives in Action was created as a job placement program for offenders, which in turn led to the development of the Program. In an attempt to address the needs of those offenders who were not job ready, the Program was proposed, developed and operated by a group of ex-offenders who saw the need and value of employment training for ex-offenders who did not have the necessary skills to secure and maintain meaningful employment. The Program has been in operation since 1990 under the sponsorship of the Vancouver Eastside Educational Enrichment Society (V.E.E.E.S.) and continues to be solely funded by Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS), a branch of the newly created Ministry of Human Resources and Development. However, as of January 1997, funding for the Program will come from the provincial ministry of Skills Training and Labour. With this change in funding, the Program will not be mandated to target released offenders but will be required to provide services to anyone seeking assistance.

While the primary function of the Program is to offer pre-employment training to released offenders, the aim of the Program is to assist ex-offenders in obtaining and maintaining meaningful employment. In pursuing this aim, the Program offers a 10 week pre-employment training program which provides referral and advocacy services, employment readiness, life skills and educational upgrading workshops, computer literacy training, first aid training, personal and vocational counselling, job placements, and follow-up support. To be eligible for the Program, individuals must have a criminal record; be over 19 years of age; have a minimum grade 8 education; and must be seeking help for any drug or alcohol addiction. Due to changes in funding criteria, however, the Program has no longer been designated only for ex-offenders. While others in need of pre-employment training can access the Program's services, the Program continues to target ex-offenders for acceptance.

Although the Program does not have a single organizational rationale, it is premised on the underlying idea that a transition program from prison to the labour market is beneficial to offenders who wish to break the cycle of crime, reduce their dependency on social assistance and increase their chances for full reintegration back into the community. Therefore, while the primary aim of the Program is to assist offenders to secure and maintain meaningful employment, in more general terms, it is concerned with providing opportunities for all types offenders to live 'healthy' and law-abiding lives by supporting and assisting them in reintegrating back into the community and/or overcoming personal barriers that put them at risk.

Procedure

Data for the study were gathered through interviews with the offender sample covering three distinct time periods: Pre-Institutional, Institutional and Post-Institutional. The Pre-Institutional time period specifically covered the period prior to the most recent incarceration, but also included cumulative information on time periods when a subject was between incarcerations. Where a subject had only been incarcerated once or there was a long period between the last two incarcerations, he/she was asked to refer to a one year period before the last incarceration. The institutional data were collected on all the periods of time served at a federal institution. The Post-Institutional section covered the period from the time of subjects' last release to the time of the interview, including the time spent in the Program. Information on the Post-program experience of the sample was also collected and varied with the date that the subject completed the Program.

The interview schedule used in this study was pilot tested with several offenders not included in the sample. In the end, the interview schedule consisted of opened, closed, and evaluative questions and was organized into three sections to reflect the three time periods covered in the interview[3]. The interviews with the participants generally lasted from one to three hours in length. Only one individual incarcerated at the British Columbia Correctional Centre for Women did not complete the entire interview. In addition to conducting interviews with those in the sample, interviews were also conducted with CSC officials, CORCAN representatives, and those in charge of the Regional Reception Assessment Centre at Matsqui Correctional Institution. These interviews provided information on current trends in institutional programming, new directions in CORCAN, and on

[3] See appendix 3 for the interview schedule used in the study.

the demographics of current federal offenders. To supplement the data collected through interviews with the subjects, information on the operation of the CEAP was also gathered.

The role of employment and training in the three time periods was determined by those questions in the interview schedule that dealt specifically with employment status, employment/training patterns, job history/experience, skills and employability. The value of employment and training was determined through open ended questions designed to elicit how the participants perceived the value of employment and training at different stages in their lives; how they viewed employment and training in relation to their criminality, institutionalization and reintegration.

Strengths and Limitations of the Method

The approach taken in this study was mediated by the researcher's previous experience working as an employment counsellor with the CEAP from which the offenders in the study were selected. In part, this experience contributed to the methodological approach and analysis used in the study, as the researcher developed an appreciation and a concern for the employment difficulties experienced by the offenders in the Program. The previous experience of the researcher working with the CEAP and several of the offenders in the sample greatly helped to establish a trustful environment in which to conduct interviews. Subsequently, this greatly contributed to the researcher's ability to collect in depth information on their experiences, attitudes, and perceptions. The researcher's previous knowledge of some of the offenders also provided a background to identify any discrepancies between the information given in interviews and prior knowledge of certain

offenders. Having previous knowledge of many of the offenders in the sample allowed the researcher to quickly establish a comfortable and trusting environment, which added a degree of validity and authenticity to the information collected.

The approach taken in this study has a number of other strengths. First, by focusing on the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of offenders, this study assumes a qualitative approach to the issues of employment, crime and reintegration that breaks with standardized, positivistic approaches to measuring pre-prison, prison and post-prison experience on the basis of questionable criteria, such as unemployment and recidivism rates. The history of correctional reform has shown that correctional policy is drafted and programs are implemented, often without much concern for the experiences and views of offenders. Rather than assuming to understand the needs of offenders, this study proceeds from the position that the perceptions, attitudes, and experiences of offenders can be a rich source of information unavailable in much of the criminological literature on the relationship between unemployment and crime, institutional programming, and community reintegration. Second, in examining the employment experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of those in the sample, this study addresses the gap in Canadian research on the relationship between unemployment and crime, on the transition of released offenders from prison to the work force, and on the role of CEAPS in the reintegration process. No such study has been conducted to date in Canada. Third, the results will have significant implications for the development of institutional and community-based programs designed to facilitate the reintegration of released offenders into the labour market. Finally, while there are bound to be differences in the experiences, attitudes, and

perceptions of those in the sample, the study was careful to highlight the main themes that emerged from the data, while acknowledging the most obvious differences in the responses.

There are also several limitations to the method of the current study. First, the availability of the participants significantly influenced the final sample. As the offenders in the study frequently moved residences, it was difficult to locate a substantial number of subjects for the study. Although the Program assisted in locating the majority of the subjects, it generally does not maintain follow-up records on the majority of its participants past a six month period from the time of graduation. Second, while the study involved a follow-up of Program participants, the length of the follow-up period was different for the subjects from each of the four years that they graduated from the Program. In other words, there were four distinct follow-up periods relative to the four years in which the subjects graduated from the Program. In addition, while some subjects had been out of prison for years, others had only recently been released, and still others had been reincarcerated. As such, any comparisons between these groups of offenders will be affected by these differences. Third, as the study involved an examination of the employment history and attitudes of those in the study, it relied heavily on the ability of the offenders in the study to recall their work/training experiences and how they perceived them at different periods in their lives. While some of those in the sample had difficulty remembering details of past work experiences, almost all of the sample had no problems identifying how they viewed or perceived their experiences during the three time periods. Finally, it is possible that my previous involvement with several offenders in the sample and with the CEAP may have influenced some of the offenders to respond to questions about the Program in a favourable way. Any negative effects of this possible interviewer bias could have been

avoided by utlizing other individuals to conduct the interviews and\or interviewing offenders from several different CEAPS.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Introduction

As previously mentioned, this study was designed to examine the role and value of employment in the lives of federal offenders prior to incarceration, while incarcerated and once released from prison. Generally speaking, the findings on the role and value of employment are illustrated through a combination of descriptive data and quotations reflecting the experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of the offenders in the study. The findings in this chapter will provide the basis to draw conclusions on the relationship between employment and crime, the effect of institutional work and training strategies on the transition of offenders into the labour force, and the role and value of post-release employment in the reintegration process.

The Role and Value of Pre-Institutional Employment Experiences

Similar to the individual-level studies on the employment-crime relationship reviewed in Chapter Two, findings on the pre-institutional work experiences of the offenders in the sample suggest that the majority were 'marginal' participants in the labour force. That is, the findings indicate that the vast majority of the offenders did not hold legitimate employment at the time they committed their last offence, had a minimal work history, possessed few marketable skills, lacked practical work experience, and were confined to unskilled labour jobs. More specifically, it was found that while 63.6% of the sample was not working prior to their last incarceration, 22.7% held a part-time job

and 13.6% held full-time employment. As reflected in the following comments, it is clear that most offenders in the sample had no significant work history or experience prior to being incarcerated for their most recent offense:[4]

> "I never worked, really worked. I've had one real job other than what I'm doing now... and other than that I have been involved in crime one way or another."
>
> "I didn't have a regular work history at any time in my life. I worked for two months, three times in my life."
>
> "My first time I went to jail, I was 17 when I went to Oakalla. Before that I'm not sure I ever had a job, and the couple jobs that I did have, well, it was just short term, you know maybe a week here swamping furniture. I never worked really. I can always remember saying that I didn't wanna work because I wasn't gonna conform...I have no work history, none to speak of at all."
>
> "I ended up gettin' locked up at 11 in a detention centre, and let out at 16. Then jail from when I was 17 'till now. I've only been on the street seven and a half years, so I haven't really worked. I only had time to just go out and party. So, I never really did work. I couldn't keep a job; I didn't know how to live out there, I still don't."

It was also found that the number of jobs held by those in the sample one year prior to being last incarcerated was exceptionally low. Although 36.4% of the sample held between one and three jobs a year prior to being last incarcerated, almost half of the sample (40.9%) had never held a job. Given low rate of labour force participation and the lack of employable skills amongst the sample, it is not surprising to find that many offenders in the sample had little confidence in their ability to find employment. On an ascending scale of employability from 1 to 10, more than one-third (36.4%) rated themselves at the lowest end of the scale and 59.1% rated themselves 5 or less on

[4] Although most offenders in the study never held legitimate employment, the criminal activity of many offenders was structured and perceived as a form of work by the offenders.

the scale. The average employability rating given by offenders in the sample during the pre-institutional period was 4.8.

While the majority of the sample did not have the skills or work experience to qualify for jobs in the 'primary labour market', it was clear that many were relegated marginal labour that included short-term, low-paying, 'dead-end' jobs requiring little skill and education and offering little reward or incentive. In fact, 84.6% of those who did work during this period reported that they were employed as unskilled labourers. As the following quotations illustrate, the 'marginal' type of employment held by offenders in the sample held little value to them, as it required little skill and offered little reward:

> "The only value of shitty jobs was having a little bit of a pay cheque every couple of weeks. They had no value at all. They were worthless kinds of jobs that give you no beneficial training or experience."
>
> "I never had the job that I wanted, so I never really intended on keeping it."
>
> "I never felt that any of the jobs I had were even leading to anywhere. I think I would have kept some of them if I worked at something I wanted to do."

Given that many offenders did not value the prospect of marginal labour, a significant number of offenders (63.6%) stated that their inability to find 'meaningful' work influenced their criminality. As one offender suggested, the prospect of being relegated to meaningless work made crime more of an attractive option:

> "I can still remember being down and having no money and saying I wanted a job. I wanted a job, but then I knew damn well that I would never get a decent job because I had the skills of a third world labourer... I had no qualifications to get a decent job. And so

> I just didn't work and I just continued on in drug and alcohol abuse and the cycle in and out of jail."

Another stated:

> "I think that if I was working and if I was bringing in a good pay cheque I could have went straight quite easily, it would have taken me away from what I was doing. If I'm working, then I'm out working everyday. I'm not doing the other things."

When those in the sample were asked the number of crimes they committed while unemployed, 68.2% claimed that all their crimes were committed while they were unemployed. This finding becomes all the more significant given that the average number of crimes committed by offenders in the sample as adults was 61, and 45.5% of the sample claimed to have committed over 100 crimes as adults. This suggests that a large amount of crime was committed by the offenders while unemployed, most of which went undetected.

While these findings strongly suggest that unemployment co-varies with the criminal patterns of those in the sample, the nature of this relationship is further revealed through the value of work and crime as perceived by offenders in the sample. While 68.2% of the sample believed that their attitude towards work influenced their criminal lifestyles, there are clear differences in attitudes, perceptions and experiences of those in the sample that suggest the relationship between unemployment and crime takes on various forms. As such, four groups of offenders from the sample have been identified to highlight the differences in experiences, attitudes and perceptions that illustrate the dynamic nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime and highlight the various forms it may take. The groups of offenders identified in the study were not

intended to be mutually exclusive or all encompassing, and as some offenders have spent many years involved in crime and experienced changes in attitudes towards work and crime, they may have been included in more than one group.

Although more than half of the sample reported to have valued the ideal of work during this period, the largest group of offenders (45%) in the sample admitted to living a lifestyle that involved chronic unemployment and a consistent pattern of crime on the street. While many of those in this group acknowledged that they were exposed to a strong work ethic during their upbringing, the majority of the offenders in this group never seriously considered or valued legitimate employment as an alternative to doing crime. Rather, many rejected a 'legitimate work ethic' in favour of a 'criminal work ethic' either because they did not have the skills, experience or support to find work or they wanted more than they could obtain through marginal employment[5]. Therefore, although some offenders rejected a legitimate work ethic, crime was not necessarily an alternative to legitimate employment; in many cases crime was the only available option or form of 'work' for those living in impoverished conditions on the street. As the following comments suggest, crime was a rational choice made in particular social contexts by some individuals who were either unemployable or saw no value in pursuing the types of marginal labour available to them:

> "I never really valued work, which I think amazes most people because I come from a family that has worked hard all their life... I don't think that I ever thought about work... Deep in my heart I

[5] The use of the terms 'legitimate work ethic' and 'criminal work ethic' is used to illustrate that many offenders view crime as a form of work requiring many of the same characteristics of legitimate work ethic and providing many of the same benefits.

> knew that work was the right way because of my upbringing, but it was a choice I made not to do it that way for me."
>
> "I didn't even think about employment. It was just something I didn't think about. I just never thought about going out and getting a job; it would interfere with what I was doing... I guess at the time, I couldn't never see myself doing it [work] day in and day out, everyday the same thing. It just never appealed to me."
>
> "It [work] was a pay cheque, that's all. That was all the value it was. I could do better out hustling than I could at work."

Given the little return or benefit offered by 'marginal' employment, the findings indicate that many offenders in this group chose a criminal lifestyle over legitimate employment because they believed it would provide them with higher returns to meet their lifestyle needs. As reflected in the views of several offenders, crime was viewed as a rational alternative to legitimate employment because it provided them with more money than they could ever hope to make in a legitimate job:

> "I thought, "Why the hell should I work forty hours a week for X amount of dollars", when I could go out and get that plus in a couple hours or less than that. I could make more pushing stuff in an afternoon, than I could in a work week..."
>
> "As it stood, [selling drugs] was the one opportunity I had the chance of making a large scale amount of cash without an overhead, without me having to put a lot of it out on taxes... Some nights I was making three thousands dollars [selling drugs]. I couldn't make that on a job."
>
> "I felt that I didn't need a job. I had everything I needed, so a job wasn't a necessity in my life, it wasn't a need in my life. I could go along doing whatever the hell I wanted to do because I had the money to do it."
>
> "I find that employers want more from me than I'm willing to give them. And then I find myself back into criminal activity, or I quit as soon as a get paid. And that has a lot to do with slaving my ass off for two weeks for the amount of money I could make in a day or so selling drugs or scamming."

> "I never had it in my mind at the time that I was going to be robbing or getting things in an illegal way. It just happened. It either happened because I was partying and broke, and I would go out and do something... It was the thing to do at that time; when I was broke I needed money, plus I started living that lifestyle."

Rather than strictly being a rational economic alternative to marginal employment, however, crime was often perceived by offenders in this group as providing them with a flamboyant criminal lifestyle, including a sense of self identity, and acceptance and status among their peers. As such, many offenders were careful to state that they chose crime over employment not only for the money and the standard of living it provided, but also for the lifestyle it involved. This is illustrated in the following comments:

> "I was working at 16. I quit the job to sell drugs because it was more money, and the lifestyle was more flamboyant, more chics, the glamour type thing."

> "I just wanted the fast life, the flashy life. I wanted the big Cadillac, the diamonds, the gold, the jewellery, which I had at one point and I lost... When I wanted it I got it and crime was the way to get it..."

> "I grew up wanting the life of crime from T.V.. It was better, it was fast, it was fun. It didn't show you all the bullshit. T.V. was mostly mine... so it was all around me... I wanted more than I had, I always wanted more than I had, and I wasn't going to get it by sitting around being a good girl, it wasn't going to happen. Once I got into it, a lot of things that kept me into it was acceptance. I never really felt acceptance anywhere [else]."

> "I knew I had to work to look good, you know, and crime was a sideline. But then I thought no, this is the line I want to be in, so I quit work... I seen guys with nice cars and this and that, and I wanted that too. So if that's what you got to do to get it, so then I guess that's what I'll do. So that's what I did."

> "I never thought about [work]. I was employed, self employed. I took it that this is what I do, a trafficker and a bandit... I thought it was my role in life to be a criminal. I had no interest in work."

In rejecting the ideal of a legitimate work ethic, several offenders came to view work as something that the less adept, creative and resourceful are forced to do:

> "I thought people who worked were saps. I would talk to people who worked [and] just got their pay cheque, paid out all their bills and had nothing to show for what they did. I would say, "Shit I collect a welfare cheque and plus go rob people, and I got more to show for my month than you did." So that didn't make a lot of sense to me..."

> "Employment was for squares, square johns. You know there are the smart guys, the hot shots don't have a job; they can hustle. You got to have smarts and people get a lot more respect inside if they operate on that level."

> "I was in a position where I'm sitting at home and I'm making incredible amounts of money without physical effort. So you start looking at people who are getting up working 9 to 5, you're condemning them and calling them a slave to society. This just you sitting back in this little clouded world that you have. So for the first while, you know I'm believing, "ah, suckers, off they go, I'm making good bucks, I don't care.""

Several others also viewed work negatively as something that involves a loss of individual freedom or control:

> "These guys that are stuck in a job...they got married at a young age, kids, and then the mortgage. They've got to work. It's like a slave syndrome... they are locked into this job. They're not free at all. That's the way I view it. Freedom is something valued very highly, after you have been incarcerated. Being dependent and reliant upon a job takes away from your sense of freedom."

In many cases, it was obvious that commitment to a criminal work ethic included many of the characteristics of a legitimate work ethic. For some, crime was viewed and operated as a business that required skill, commitment, time, social contacts, organization, and effort in order to be

economically gainful. This appears to be most true for crimes, such as drug solicitation, hustling, theft, fraud and robbery:

> "I was thinking of this [selling drugs] as a form of work, a line of work...I saw the potential for selling drugs and making money. This overshadowed or clouded all my other judgements, and I perceived it as my new line of business, my field of work. So I went into selling drugs full-time...All of a sudden it became a full-time job. I mean you're out there like 18 hours a day selling this stuff... Then I started to reaffirm in myself like a work ethic value. I turned my drug sales into a company work program. I would go out and hire people to stand on the corner and sell dope or go through the building to sell dope. I became a manager and we structured it like a company...It's like a salesman, you become an on-the-road salesman. I'm out contacting new clients, but I'm dealing in a market where people are looking for it..."

The findings of this study further revealed a smaller group of offenders (27%) that alternated between crime and employment. Although legitimate employment was generally valued over doing crime, those in this group usually engaged in crime when they were unemployed. For this group of offenders, employment provided a routine away from the streets and an alternative to a criminal lifestyle:

> "I can tell you with a fair bit of confidence that I have never been pinched while I had a steady job. So whenever I ever a had a half decent job, I basically wasn't doing anything else. So, when I wasn't working is when I've got pinched".

> "When I was working there was no problem, and then when I wasn't working there was too much time. If I had too much time, I would sort of like busy myself with something else, whatever excites me. But when I was working that would be it; I was not even thinking about crime... When I was working I didn't have time to think about anything criminal."

> "The purpose of employment is money and [to] give me something to do so that I'm not going to start thinking about doing things that

> I shouldn't be doing. In other words, it helps me keep out of trouble. [Work] helps you to start thinking more in terms of constructive avenues to pursue and a lot less about destructive avenues that you may end up pursuing."

In contrast to those who perceived little value in legitimate employment, those in this group of offenders acknowledged the value of a legitimate work ethic in their lives as that which provided them with a sense of belonging, worthiness and independence:

> "It [work] was a saviour. A good person, a real person has a job. You know, you hear all that. You're nothing unless you have a job."

> "It [work] gives you a sense of identity and belonging in the community."
> "Employment was big thing. I valued it quit a bit. I wanted to work. I was tired of not working... The value that work had to me was so that people wouldn't call me a bum. The money was sort of secondary to me. It was the way that people perceive you, whether you're a bum or not that more or less [influenced] the value work had for me."

> "It [work] makes you feel like you were putting your time to some good use...it makes you feel better about yourself."

> "When these people are coming through and talking about work, because most of my clients are working people, you get a feeling that you lost something, be it a work ethic or just a comraderie with fellow workers or what not, there's something there that you've lost. I lost the work ethic value in myself... you got so much time on your hands, you're just sitting around the house, you're selling dope. Ya, you're making money but you're bored. There are challenges in it, but it is not the same as working as a gardener. I prefer that over anything else because it had a sense of accomplishment. This starts to niggle on you for awhile... but all along it's like something's nagging at you, a work ethic is nagging at you. I was brought up middle class in Scotland, and everybody worked all their life. It was something that my father maintained, that you got to get out and go to work to earn money, come back support your family and pay the bills. So I was putting pressure on myself because I wasn't working."

A third, and smaller, group of offenders (22%) in the study reported that they engaged in crime and legitimate employment simultaneously. In most of these cases, offenders had a strong commitment to legitimate employment and work ethic, but perceived crime as a means to obtain additional money and/or be accepted by their peers:

> "I never even thought of crime when I was working, the only thing I was doing was having fun at work. During working time it was a different scene, a different environment, but after work was another story. My kind of friends were not the guys that went home to their wives."

> "At the time if I needed more money than I was making I would probably go make it another way. Maybe keep the job or maybe not keep the job."

For one offender, work was perceived as providing a possible target for crime when he needed additional money or became unemployed:

> "When I was working I was consciously scoping what I was going to do next. When I was working in a service station I'd learn the ins and outs of where they'd put the money at night and keep it in the back of my mind, so if I wasn't working I knew where to go to get the money."

While the findings presented above speak to the majority of offenders in the study who were involved in street crime (property offenses, drug related offenses and robbery, and assault), a small group of offenders (11%) incarcerated for sexual assault and/or homicide claimed that there was no relationship between their criminal behaviour and their employment experiences. This finding supports the aggregate research on the unemployment-crime relationship previously reviewed that found the relationship to be most significant for property offenses and least significant for crimes of violence. As such it is not surprising to have found that both individuals incarcerated for crimes of

violence (homicide and sexual assault) appeared to be strongly committed to legitimate employment and reported rather consistent work experiences. As one offender indicates, his employment experiences had nothing to do with his offence:

> "[The offense] had nothing to do with the work related thing at all. It was one of those things that happened, and it happened. There is no one thing that I can point to from the work and life situation, nothing matched at all."

Other factors that were found to influence the nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime are related to alcohol and drug abuse. In several cases, the use of drugs and alcohol had a great influence on the cycle of unemployment and crime:

> "I had no qualifications to get a decent job. And so I just didn't work and I just continued on in drug and alcohol abuse and the cycle in and out of jail."

> "When I was unemployed it was all because of the booze and drugs. I spent years down on the skid drinking..."

Not only did a drug or alcohol addiction preclude individuals from employment, but it also required large amounts of money to maintain. Legitimate employment obviously could not support an addiction that cost anywhere from $100 to $1000 per day. Therefore, crime, and specifically dealing drugs, became the primary means to support an expensive drug and\or alcohol addiction:

> "In my adult life, because of [using] drugs, I couldn't make enough money working. I thought the way I want to live, I'm going to have to steal or traffic."

In summary, the findings of the pre-institutional work experiences of the sample support previous studies which found offenders to be part of the marginal labour force. The vast majority of

offenders in the study had little formal education, few employable skills, a minimal or sporadic work history, and little practical work experience prior to their last incarceration. While the type of employment held by the majority of offenders in the sample required little skill or education, it usually offered low pay, little training and benefits, and no job security. As such, it is really not surprising to have found that many offenders in the sample had no interest and perceived little value in legitimate employment. In many cases, it appears that a commitment to a criminal work ethic became a rational alternative to 'marginal employment' and/or chronic unemployment.

While the pre-institutional data appear to suggest a strong association between unemployment and criminal involvement, the findings indicate that the relationship between (un)employment and crime assumes various forms, as indicated by differences in the experiences, attitudes and perceptions of the offenders in the sample. The largest group of offenders perceived no value in the types of legitimate employment available to them, and generally turned to crime to realize their financial needs and/or liberate themselves from a life of poverty, and/or access a lifestyle unburdened by the conventions of social norms and work. This finding suggests that the criminal activity of these offenders was not simply a result of being unemployed but rather a rational alternative to the particular social and economic contexts--poverty, marginal employment, unemployability, and the attraction\value of a criminal lifestyle. The strong commitment to a criminal work ethic indicated by offenders in this group appeared to be strengthened by the fact that crime provided them with a flamboyant lifestyle, self-esteem, acceptance, status, and financial security. Moreover, as a successful criminal lifestyle required time, effort, planning, and skills, it often precluded them from

securing or maintaining legitimate employment. The findings from this group of offenders suggest that the relationship between unemployment and crime is largely circular or bi-directional.

A second group of offenders in the study alternated between legitimate employment and crime. In contrast to the first group who demonstrated no interest in legitimate employment, offenders in this group generally valued the ideal of a legitimate work ethic in their lives. As employment was generally valued over crime, this group of offenders indicated that they would only become involved in crime when they were unemployed. This finding suggests a uni-directional, mutually exclusive relationship between (un)employment and crime.

A third group of offenders identified in the study were regularly involved in crime and employment simultaneously. While most of those in this group valued legitimate employment and were committed to the ideal of a legitimate work ethic, situational factors, such as drug use, a lack of money, and peer association, were sufficient to motivate some to engage in crime. In addition, some offenders indicated that their position of employment afforded them opportunities for committing crimes that otherwise were not available. The findings from this group of offenders suggest that crime and employment are not mutually exclusive, and that employment may actually provide unique opportunities for criminality.

Finally, there appears to be no relationship between unemployment and crime for a small group of offenders incarcerated for homicide or sexual assault. Although both of these offenders were employed at the time they committed their crimes, their offenses appear to be more a result of

situational and personal factors unique to each individual than a reflection of their employment status or attitudes towards work.

Among other significant findings relating to the pre-institutional experiences and attitudes of the offenders, some viewed their criminality as a form of 'employment' that required the same commitment, effort, time and skills as many legitimate forms of employment. In viewing crime as a form of business or employment, employment and crime becomes the same thing. As such, it may not be that unemployment in the legitimate world of work results in crime but rather the availability of 'criminal' employment opportunities perpetuates involvement in crime.

Lastly, alcohol and drug abuse also appears to influence the unemployment-crime relationship; alcohol and drug abuse not only precluded some from securing and maintaining employment, but also usually required and/or led to involvement in crime, such as dealing drugs, property offenses, and assaults.

The Role and Value of Institutional Work and Training Experiences

While previous studies have criticized the effectiveness of correctional work and training strategies for providing a relatively low number of inmates with highly marketable skills and practical work experience, few scholars have examined the value of institutional work and training programs to the inmates themselves and the effect these programs have on the transition of offenders from prison to the community work force. The present study queried offenders in the sample about the

value of their institutional work and training experiences and the role these played in securing post-release employment. For the purposes of presenting these findings, institutional work and training programs include any program in which an offender is considered to be employed by the institution according to the correctional guidelines. This includes, but is not limited to, employment with CORCAN, technical or food services and skills training in vocational education programs, educational up-grading programs or personal development programs.

Findings on the institutional work and training experiences of the offenders in the sample indicate that 81.8% had received either some type of educational and/or employment while incarcerated in a federal penitentiary. Specifically, 77.3% were involved in personal development courses, 68.2% of the sample received educational upgrading, 36.4% received vocational educational training, 13.6% were employed by CORCAN, and 13.6 5 received post-secondary education. In terms of institutional employment, it was found that 95.5% of the sample had been employed in institutional maintenance jobs, 77.3% had been employed in educational programs (upgrading, personal development, vocational training), 36.4% had been employed with industrial production, and 27.35% had been employed in agricultural programs. As previously mentioned, offenders are deemed to be employed if they are actively involved in a variety of institutional programs as set out in their correctional plan.

While these findings reflect the fact that most offenders received several types of training and held many types of employment while incarcerated in federal penitentiaries, it is clear that some

offenders spent years in prison without participating in any correctional work or training programs:

> "When I went in for the murder, my mind was at a point where, like I went in, who gives a damn about school, about work or anything like that. I'm here for the rest of my life, I ain't getting out, so why should I do anything. That mind space was like that for a long time, so I didn't do anything for about 7 years."

Despite the high rate of inmate involvement in correctional programs, the majority of the sample perceived work and training programs to be of little value. To gain a sense of how offenders in the sample perceived the value of the institutional work and training, they were asked to rate the training they received while incarcerated. While 40.9% of the sample viewed the training they received in prison as being less than satisfactory, 31.8% rated the training they received as being very poor. Only 27.3% of sample rated the training they received as very good.

Although the majority of offenders in the sample had participated in institutional employment and training programs, their responses indicate that inmate work and training programs were not highly valued for enhancing their post-release employability. More specifically, the majority of the sample (59.1%) felt that they did not acquire any useful work experience, skills or attitudes while incarcerated. Furthermore, 72.7% of the sample claimed that the employment and training they received in prison was not at all helpful in securing or maintaining employment once they were released. The views of two offenders illustrate how institutional work and training experiences did not necessarily translate into skills that ensure post-release employment:

> "I got certificates in everything they got to offer in a women's jail. I've taken 'em all, all your drug and alcohol programs, all the cognitive life skills. I've got certificates up my yin-yang, but they don't get you a job."

> "I do very well maintaining a job while I'm in prison, but as soon as I leave it's not there."

Despite the negative perception of institutional work and training programs held by offenders in the study, it was found that the educational upgrading and personal development programs, such as Alcohol Anonymous (A.A), Narcotics Anonymous (N.A.) and Cognitive Life Skills, were viewed by most offenders as preparing them to secure and maintain employment upon release. While 54.5% of the sample viewed upgrading as helping them in this way, 59.1% of the sample believed that the personal development programs helped most to prepare them for employment. While education is generally viewed as enhancing one's employability, the views of one offender succinctly illustrates the value of education in promoting changes in his self perception and behaviour:

> "I believe that through education is change... in that you start to see things differently, maybe look at yourself differently, look at the world differently and things like that. The only negative to that is that the environment is you got the guys thinking [sic]... that you're a waterhead because your going to school...I got a third of my degree done (B.A. at SFU) and now I'm out and will hopefully finish the rest of it... The teachers were the closest things to human beings I came across in there."

Although many offenders appeared to value the Cognitive Life Skills program, other offenders criticized the Program for being coercive and taught by correctional officers. One offender acknowledged the negative perceptions he developed towards authority and the cognitive life skills program:

> "In jail they teach cognitive life skills... You're forced into it basically as a program for your rehabilitation package. At that time they have Corrections officers teaching this program. After I got through with Kent, I had developed an attitude that you're all

> pieces of shit, you all stay out there and prisoners are in here--It doesn't matter what you say or how you try to teach this program, you're all full of shit. Where as I would take.. people that have broken the law, that have done their time, that are "rehabilitated", that can go back into the prison system and effectively teach this program... to where ex-offenders can get back into corrections and work on a contract basis with Corrections... because we are more effective in dealing with them [prisoners]."

Those offenders in the study who were employed in industrial production shops operated by CORCAN claimed that they did not receive any valuable training or marketable skills. This is indicated in the views of several offenders:

> "As to formal training, they put you on a machine or put you wherever if you got experience. At the end of it you get your hours and stuff, but still there's really no formal training... To me its just to replace all the furniture or whatever within the system."

Another offender commented:

> "... I see them trying to force these programs down their throats as part of the rehabilitation program rather than educating and retraining. Even from what I see through CORCAN, they're not so much in a training mode, as in they take someone and show them how to do three welds on a desk and they have that person sit and do three welds on a desk everyday for however long they're there. They don't advance it any... whatever fits their purpose and needs is all they concern themselves with, not with how they can better the inmate and how they can better train them."

As such, CORCAN was generally perceived by the offenders as serving the production and maintenance needs of the institution rather than the training needs of the inmates. This view is evident in the following comments:

> "Basically the institution got cleaned by us through this course [building maintenance]... I felt that we were just being used by the institution."

> "I didn't get nothing out of it [CORCAN]. I was told to drill holes in the metal, that was when they were making mail boxes. I was doing a certain piece that went on the mail box. It was like a production line, doing the same thing everyday. I didn't really get nothing out of it."

In addition, one offender criticized the general lack of program continuity and availability between different correctional institutions. In his particular case, the unavailability of a particular correctional program at a lower security institution delayed his transfer until he completed the program in which he was enrolled:

> "The one bad thing about it though is that as soon as you get a transfer no two institutions have the same programs. There's no continuity. You may come up as a candidate for transfer to a lower security, they may say without any knowledge to you, oh look he's in this program let's not move him, and then you got to wait for another bloody year or so".

In comparing correctional programs available in federal institutions for men and women, the female offenders in the sample expressed their dissatisfaction with the correctional programs offered in the two federal institutions for women. In general, female offenders viewed the correctional system as serving the needs of male inmates at the expense of the needs of female offenders. As the following quotes indicate, female offenders felt that they had access to fewer correctional programs than were available to male inmates:

> "Prison is set up for men, and they don't know how to deal with women because they never have, so they lock the door... Then we get out with nothing, less than we had before we went in. Less respect for men because the only man you see is the one charging in the door because they only call them for backup and stuff. They have nothing to teach us. Like, you walk into a men's prison and there's thousands of programs going from autobody and up. You walk into this jail, there's floral... the canine program and all the drug and alcohol, self esteem programs.."

> "In P4W the only thing you could do was work in the laundry washing clothes. They had this telemarketing thing in P4W for charities or you could go to school... but the thing is because it is not a men's prison you had to do everything by correspondence..."
>
> "They have more men in one prison than they have women [in prison] across Canada, so they forget about you..."

Female offenders in the study also criticized the value and quality of the correctional programs available to them:

> "They [programs] don't teach you nothing; they teach you how to survive like animals inside a concrete wall."
>
> "The thing is more women are committing more crimes because there is no jobs... A lot of girls come in for theft. They're only doing 30 days, but they're stealing to feed their kids... They're caught stealing Pampers and shit, you know, and you're locking them up. What are you going to teach them?"
>
> "I didn't learn shit in P4W but how to be angry. Everything I learned I learned in Kentucky (FCI Lexington, USA)... Down there they have civilians that come in, they're not from corrections, that run certain aspects of the penitentiary... I learned quite a bit down there... I wanted to learn. I wanted to get something out of this period of incarceration... and I did, I got quite a bit out of it."
>
> In Lex (USA) you could get a college degree if you wanted to. They had a college professor who came in every week and talked to everybody... He would bring in what the women wanted to take and they had instructors come in. They offered women something. Up here they don't offer them nothing, they really don't..."

Only the canine training program at the British Columbia Correctional Centre for Women (B.C.C.W.) was viewed by most of the women in the study as a valuable correctional program as it gave them a sense of responsibility, freedom of movement, and self worth.

> "They [B.C.C.W] have the canine corrections program, the only jail in Canada that has it. I spent most of my time there; I loved it, to die for."

> "The best job at B.C.C.W. is the canine [program] because trust, because you're working without guards, you're working outside, you're setting your own schedule, you're responsible for another living thing... It gives you a lot of self-worth."

Despite the widely held perception that institutional work and training programs were not effective in preparing offenders in the sample for post-institutional work, the programs were valued for other unintended purposes. Approximately one third of the sample viewed their involvement in work and training programs as necessary to secure institutional privileges, temporary absences and/or parole:

> "I wanted to show the [administration] I could keep a job for parole and stuff like that. It was for me too, that I can keep a job... to prove to myself that I can keep a job."

> "Well at the time, the only purpose it served for me was that it was going to look good to the Parole Board...."

> "To me it was just keeping busy. Working to keep my time go by fast and doing something. That would look good on my T.As. Never had problems getting T.As. in the last two years."

Other offenders viewed institutional work and training programs specifically, and incarceration generally, as an opportunity to hone their skills of crime:

> "First time I was in the penitentiary, I got a job in the print shop... with the intention of being a counterfeiter."

> "The only jobs I took in the joint were soft, poshy types jobs with easy access to pursue my hobby, which was drugs."

> "The education you get in prison in Canada, from what I observed, is how to do crime better."

There were also offenders in the sample who sought particular jobs in prison in order to gain status and respect amongst the other inmates and prison administration.

> "I always tried for the best, highest paying job..., which is kind of a strange thing because on the street I wouldn't try for these [jobs]. You see inside it's a status thing... When I was in the purchasing department...we would get tobacco and things like that and smuggle them in. The whole thing is a game, beating the system. If your in a position like that where you can get contraband in, then the other inmates admire that and show respect. Respect is a big thing in there [prison]. If you loose face in there, everybody walks all over you and your treated like a piece of shit... In order to avoid becoming remotely [identified] with those types on the low rung, I'd do every thing I could to get on the higher level hierarchy. This was another incentive to do well in a job type, inmate setting."

As previously noted, one of the primary objectives of correctional work and training strategies is to instill in offenders the value of a legitimate work ethic. While the findings above suggest that incarceration reaffirmed a 'criminal work ethic' in some offenders, the routine and responsibility of institutional work reaffirmed or developed a legitimate work ethic in other offenders. These offenders report that work and training programs gave them a sense of accomplishment, self-esteem, and direction.

> "It reestablished in me a like a work ethic. Even though I was just getting up and going to the kitchen, basically after my first two weeks in the kitchen, I ran the kitchen... other than that I would've sat around the jail and maybe become involved in the crime element that stays in jail."

> "It [institutional work] makes me feel good, I feel like I have a reason...Like in jail, you're a nothing, you're longer anything, when you're bad you're nothing... Inside that's the only way you can be something. You can either continue to walk around with an attitude that I'm a nothing, and time drags on forever, or you work and become something."

> "It makes you feel like you were putting your time to some good use, and when you would pass some of these different things it would make you feel better about yourself."

Although it was not specifically mentioned, the ideal that correctional programs are only as valuable as the offenders make them was evident in the comments of several offenders:

> "It's like any other training. It's kind of an individual thing and you get out of it what you want. If you go into for a stall, then it won't do you any good. The fundamentals are there for you if you choose to take advantage of them. It's a question of being motivate to get into it for the right reasons and with the right kind of attitude. If you do that, I would say they are satisfactory or possibly good."

In summary, correctional work and training programs appear not to have addressed the economic marginality of offenders or alter their attitudes towards legitimate employment, as the vast majority of offenders in the sample who participated in institutional work and training programs reported that they did not gain any employable skills or valuable work experience while incarcerated. Correctional work programs, such as institutional maintenance and CORCAN, were largely viewed as serving the maintenance and production needs of the institution rather than the training needs of the inmates. Most offenders in the sample, however, perceived the personal development and educational upgrading programs as preparing them for employment once released from prison. While some offenders valued institutional work and training as an opportunity to learn and develop a work ethic, overall correctional programs were valued as much for other reasons: institutional privileges, honing criminal skills, passing the time, and status and prestige within the institution. According to the views of the female offenders in the sample, the work and training programs that were available to them in prison did not meet the needs of women and paled in comparison to the quality and quantity of correctional programs available to men in prison. The effect of correctional work and training programs on the transition of offenders into the community work force is examined in the following section.

The Role and Value of Post-Institutional Work and Training Experiences

Collecting data on the role and value of post-institutional employment for the sample was complicated by the fact that many offenders in the study had been released from prison several times. In fact, it was found that 50% of the sample had been released from prison seven or more times. Prior to their last release, offenders in the study reported that staying out of prison was not something they particularly valued or something they thought would last very long before they were reincarcerated. As the following comments indicate, many offenders in the study remained in a cycle of unemployment and crime that lasted, in some cases, for many years:

> "Staying out for a period of time, I always thought I'd go back. It was just a matter of time."
>
> "I got out and went right back to what I always did."
>
> "I mean you always tell yourself that it's going to be different right... you're not going to go back and do the same things that you did that got you in there, but if there is no change there is no change so the same thing has to happen again."

However, when data were examined on the period following the offenders last release from prison, it was found that staying out of prison was important to 86.4% of the offenders in the sample. It was further revealed that the vast majority of offenders perceived post-release employment as a necessary catalyst to changing their criminal lifestyles. In essence, these offenders thought that work would help them to break out of the cycle of unemployment and crime:

> "I realized that, hey, if I'm ever going to get out of this system, out of this vicious circle, then I'm going to have to get out there and go the square john route, otherwise I 'm just going to be doing the same thing as the last 25 years."

> "It [work] would've gave me an opportunity to change my life around, I mean maybe I try working and try life as a working stiff and it's not as bad as I thought it was and you get that pay cheque and there is something about making an honest buck. Not having to worry about the cops kicking in my door in the middle of the night, I could sleep easy. Maybe get a couple bucks in the bank account, meet a girl and I don't have to lie to her about what I do for a living and stuff like that. I would like to start a little family and do all that stuff I used to see people do right... work could've been an avenue to go straight."
>
> "To me work was stability, something I needed. It helped towards my staying straight, it helped towards my finances, and it even helped in my relationship. It was pretty important to get a job."

Many offenders in the study believed post-release employment would give them the stability, structure and routine needed to successfully make the adjustment to living in the community:

> "Our life is so structured in there [the system], that you need some type of structure to survive. I feel that's the problem with a lot of people who are institutionalized; they can't make it on the street because they don't have that structure."
>
> "Having a job, whether I like the job or not, the routine of knowing I have to get up a certain time, brush my teeth, be at the bus stop, and do this and do this, that's what keeps my life in order. Without that my life becomes unmanageable."
>
> "It would've been good if I had stepped right out into a job. If you step out into a job you are automatically doing what you were doing inside. You have a job when you're in there anyway, so it just keeps you in a routine. So you're used to it already, so it's not like you're changing a big thing in your life or anything, it's just now your getting paid for it [work]."

Several offenders, however, suggested that one needs time to become adjusted to living in the community before taking on the responsibility, demands, and stresses of securing and maintaining employment:

> "The last thing you want to do is get out the gates and go to work the next day. There is a period of adjustment, because there is a big adjustment in terms of the way you think, the way you conduct yourself. You need some time to adjust. It takes awhile. It's like an ongoing process, but I mean you don't want to really do anything for the first few weeks."

In other cases, offenders claimed that before employment became an option in their lives, they needed to control their addiction and isolate themselves from their peers:

> "I thought that before employment...I'm going to have to stop associating with criminals and really get into N.A. and straighten out my head."

In contrast to the pre-institutional and institutional period, during which the majority of offenders in the sample perceived little value in legitimate work, the attitudes of the sample towards work drastically changed upon their last release from prison. Through a gradual process, involving years of criminal involvement, many of the offenders came to reject the values associated with a criminal lifestyle and adopted attitudes favouring a legitimate work ethic. As the following quotes illustrate, many offenders in the study began to reject a criminal lifestyle because they could no longer identify with some of the attitudes and values it entailed:

> "I took all my life, I've been a taker, I've never been a giver. So now, it's time to turn it around a bit..."

> "I don't want anything to do with the system again... the further away I am from anybody that's done time, the happier I am.

> "Crime, I didn't feel too good about it. I knew when I was doing it that I didn't feel good about it. I figured out there's other ways of surviving without doing what I was doing.

> "What hit me was I started making friends, and a lot of people started talking. A friend of mine says, "my girlfriend got raped the

other day, a friend got B&E'd", and you know there's a little guilt there because I kind of contributed to this kind of world... "

In loosening their ties to a criminal lifestyle, many offenders developed attitudes favouring a legitimate work ethic. As the following quotes indicate, several offenders came to perceive employment as an opportunity to contribute to society, to be self sufficient, and to develop a sense of self worth and respect:

"[Work gave me] a feeling of being productive, giving back. Okay before when I said I was a parasite I felt that I was just feeding on society, just taking what I could... If I could get a job working with people, if I could get a job where I could help and give something back, besides monetary, that would be rewarding."

"I guess there's something to conforming as long as it's not something I'm conforming to that I don't agree with. I don't agree with being a workaholic, but contributing... But there is worth to it [work] whereas before I thought it was just for saps. It's self-fulling."

"Now it's the way of life, it's the way society works. If you want to be part of society, you got to contribute something; there's no free rides. I think you got to contribute at the level your best able to do so. There is such a thing as being underemployed as well as unemployed. It's not just the idea of contributing, that's part of the rules. If you want to go somewhere in this society, it's directly proportional to what you put in. What you get out of it, is directly proportional to what you put in... I didn't realize all the challenges... I don't look at it as a game anymore, It's a challenge and I got a feeling of self satisfaction, and excitement too..."

While many offenders perceived crime as the primary means to meet their material and lifestyle needs in the pre-institutional period, the majority of offenders valued post-release employment as a way for them to gain financial independence:

"Work is a fulfilling means to my goals. It offers me a little security in knowing that I can go out, I can earn money, I can hold down a

> job as I'm working towards my schooling or the betterment of my family. I don't have to feel threatened in not knowing how I'm going to get money, how I'm going to live. I know that I can work. It's out there for me if I want it... Work is a very important step I'm standing on in heading towards my [career] goal [as a youth worker]."
>
> "It [work] pays the rent. I can buy stuff without having to go score to get it. I don't have to go to the pawn shop. I have a bank account, things I never had. I have something I can look at. I can walk in here and know this is mine, it's not rented, it's not borrowed, it's not stolen. You value yourself and feel worthy of yourself like you accomplished something."
>
> "I wanted to be self supporting... I wanted to do something legitimate... I figured I'll do something productive that I'm interested in..."

Other offenders in the study also perceived post-release employment as a source of freedom and self satisfaction:

> "[Work] is a means to an end, satisfaction, being happy with myself, doing things for other people."
>
> "Now, it is being occupied with a pursuit that is worthwhile, the sense of accomplishment. It is not totally material, it is a sense of self-worth. Performing a task, meeting a deadline and doing well. It is a sense of accomplishment."

Other offenders clearly valued work as an opportunity that would allow them to assume some financial responsibility for their families and to reestablish themselves within the family dynamic:

> "I just wanted to get established, get working, get my life going with my family again. That's what I was working on basically when I got out."
>
> "Because I come from a working class family and I was always brought up to believe that the most successful families are where the father or husband is the worker and provider. You're not

> always fulfilled by every job that you do, but you have a sense of fulfilment when you can take that pay cheque back and support the needs of your family. It's a fulfilment within myself that I look at that ethic to fulfil the person what I am and how I have grown up... it goes along to show my own self-worth. That, yes I can work, I can provide a family, I can provide an environment for my kids to grow up comfortably in."
>
> "I needed an income, a job. Just a lot of stability in my life with my wife and kids. Knowing that they're stable, they got a roof over their heads, they got food to eat was always important. If we didn't have that, then it would really play with my head."

In a more general sense, it was the presence of family support that gave some offenders in the study the support they needed to reintegrate back into society and the incentive to break the cycle of crime:

> "My family kept my head together and it was something to look forward to. I knew that when I got out I wouldn't be alone."
>
> "I found that people seemed to be uncomfortable. I would genuinely try to be friendly and sociable. There is something there that intimidates them. Maybe they got glimpses of tatoos or scars. Whatever it is, it's like a hurdle to overcome. If not for the support that I had, I wouldn't have been able to overcome this on my own. I really feel for guys coming out who don't have the family and that kind of support."

While the change in attitude towards employment and crime for the majority of offenders is clear, the source of these changes is less so. Although the ideal of post-release employment was perceived by the majority of offenders in the study as a catalyst for changing their lifestyle and 'going straight', a change away from a criminal lifestyle/work ethic was gradual for the majority of offenders and was clearly more influenced by a maturation process than by the effect of correctional work and training programs. This was evident for offenders who, after returning to prison several times, decided that they wanted a change in lifestyle. At this point, correctional

programs and post-release employment became catalysts for the change in attitudes and perceptions of some offenders. However, it is the maturation process that appears to be the strongest influence for some to reject a criminal lifestyle and to accept the values associated with a legitimate work ethic. The role of the maturation process in moving one away from a criminal lifestyle was described by several offenders:

> "I reached that point, 38 or 39, when your just sick and tired of the joint, sick of the whole thing. By this time, you're about twice the age of the average age in there... I didn't relate to the rest of mainstream population."

> "I don't have the needs that I had when I was younger. A lot of those needs I have satisfied and thrown away. Basically they were material needs. Now in my life I want more emotional stability than material stability. I want to be happy and contented with myself, which I am now. And I think this is... why it is so easy for me to go to work, it's so easy for me to have a job."

> "I've heard it said before, and I don't know if it applies to me, but maybe just sort of the maturation, you know as you get older and maybe you just don't want to play the game no more; it's full of punks. I really don't like the people. If they could make a jail there, an it's just me I might go. Its like being around pathological liars all day and bull shitters, nobody's real."

> "Once you've learned something, you can't unlearn it. I've learned something... all my life being able to say, I'm stoned, it doesn't matter, nobody expects nothing. Now I have expectations of myself. I'm not getting any younger, the street's getting harder, things have changed."

> "When I hit the 30s, you start thinking a little more in terms of lifestyle. You are not quite as reckless... I started feeling a sense of my own mortality... I started thinking more about what I was doing and backed off on a few things that I would not have at an earlier age."

> "The difference as an adult, is that I clued into possessions and property value,. Before when I was a juvenile I'd think that If I can get it its mine, if I can take it, it belongs to me. Then [As an adult] it soaked to me that it is somebody's possession that they took time

> to plan for, save for and work for, then they got it. That's how you get it, not the easy way. So that's sort of opened my eyes to the other side of the taking. Rather than just me having, somebody was actually loosing that. [This] took me away form property crimes.

Part of the maturation process also involved a re-newed sense of self-responsibility for some offenders, as illustrated in the following comments:

> "Now I'm in charge, I can do it my way, which might not be the right way. It's up to me to either fail or succeed, and I can't blame anybody else."

> "I hated authority type people. I hated the police for awhile because I blamed them because I was incarcerated. I felt they were picking on me, I didn't realize that it was my fault..."

Although the attitudinal change towards work and crime experienced by some offenders seemed to be closely tied to a process of maturation, a work ethic developed by some while in prison also appears to have been at least somewhat responsible for a change in their attitudes towards work and crime once released. This is illustrated in the following comment:

> "I really do realize now that I have to be employed. I learned that from jail, because if I wasn't employed in jail, I'd be crazier than I am now... It's going to be my saviour."

Moreover, some offenders indicated that being incarcerated and having their freedom taken away affected some change in their attitudes towards work and crime:

> "I made a lot of changes, did a lot of growth when I went back the last time, and realized that I don't want to be one of them."

> "Now I don't want that, and I don't want to go back to jail; that's not my life. I learned a lot in the last little bit of time when I was there... That it's nowhere, nothing... I just really do want a job. Where I want to go with that, I don't know."

A few offenders, however, claimed that their change in attitude towards work and a criminal lifestyle was not the result of being incarcerated or having been subjected to correctional programming:

> "A job was never something that I thought about. That would take up too much time. And now I'm at a point where the more work I get the happier I am... I really don't know what made that change happen and I don't believe it was jail."

Despite the fact that many offenders in the study expressed value for post-release employment, findings indicate that correctional programs did little to prepare inmates for post-release employment or to improve their post-release employability. As previously mentioned, the majority of offenders (72.7%) in the study claimed that the institutional work and training they received while incarcerated did not help them secure employment once they were released. More specifically, it was found that only 22.7% of the total sample secured work within one month of release and 36.4% found work within eight months of being released. While the rate of post-release employment did not take into account the small number of offenders who went directly into the CEAP from prison or who spent less than a month on the street before attending the CEAP, it is clear that the majority of offenders in the study either remained unemployed or part of the marginal labour force upon their last release from prison.

The minority of offenders who did secure employment once released from prison, remained largely in the marginal labour force. It was found that 71.4% of the offenders did not feel more qualified to do jobs that were different from the jobs they held prior to incarceration. As the following comments suggest, many offenders in the study returned to the marginal labour force of unskilled, low-paying, 'dead-end jobs':

> "I went to work on different jobs,.. a lot of it was just seasonal work or just didn't last long. Like when they did the Alex Fraser bridge, I was doing a lot of the work on the hills doing all the weeding and planting of shrubs and things like that. Then once the job was done, you were looking again. So I wasn't getting anything that was lasting or that had any kind of future in it."

> "Many days laying on the couch with nothing to do but watch television, you want to do something, right. It's just I knew I wasn't qualified do to nothing other than sweep McDonald's parking lot, which I wouldn't do. I mean I was a guy who couldn't afford to be too prideful, yet I was."

Furthermore, the low rate of post-release employment among the offenders in the study appeared to be exacerbated by the fact that opportunities for work were very limited for individuals with few skills, no work experience, and a history of incarceration.

In addition to the high unemployment rate among the offenders in the study, it was further revealed that the majority of the offenders were not actively looking for work upon their last release from prison. Although 77.3% of the sample stated that they wanted to work once released, 59.1% were not actively looking for work upon being last released from prison. While it is common to interpret the low rate of post-release employment and active job searching as a problem of motivation or attitude, the findings of the study indicate that the effects from being incarcerated precluded many of the offenders in the study from securing post-release employment.

The findings indicate that being incarcerated had detrimental effects on the skill development, post-release employability, work attitudes, and self esteem of the offenders in the study. Given that 51.9% of the offenders in the study reported they did not acquire any skills while incarcerated that

would help them to secure and maintain employment once released, it is not surprising that 61.9% of the offenders in the study felt unprepared to find and maintain a job once they were last released. As an indication of the employment readiness of the offenders in the study upon being last released, it was found that 50% did not know how to find a job, 71.4% did not know how to write a resume, 42.9% did not know how to communicate with employers, 52.4% didn't know if they were bondable, and 61.9% didn't know what kind of job they wanted. Furthermore, offenders in the study were also asked what they felt they needed to secure and maintain employment upon their last release from prison. The findings revealed that 85% needed some type of support with their job search, 75% felt they needed more education and improved self-esteem, 70% felt they needed job training, 65% needed job search skills, 50% needed knowledge of the local job market, and 45% felt they needed to improve their communication skills.

Given these findings, it is clear that correctional programming did little to address the marginality or employment needs of offenders in the study. Therefore, because the offenders in the study had few employable skills, little support in finding a job, low confidence, and little knowledge of basic job finding techniques, many were precluded from securing post-release employment.

As several offenders noted, their lack of employable skills precluded them from securing employment in the competitive labour market:

> "On the outside it's a different story, 'cause it is a lot more competitive out here; everybody wants to work but there aren't that many jobs. Inside not all that many people want to work. If you show a little incentive, you will get it. Out here for every job you see in the paper there are 500 applicants. You've got to have the background, you've got to have the skill sets, you have to be really fully qualified to even have a hope of getting a position."

> "I got to get more training, more sophisticated types of skill sets in order to obtain the type of employment that I feel is equitable both for my age and my interests."

> "I'd say I needed a job, I needed some opportunity, but I wasn't qualified. So I would need some kind of training...You gotta have something to offer and I didn't have nothing to offer, other than labouring. Sure I'm young enough that I could labour, but you don't want to do that forever..."

> "I had no skills I felt I could use to get into any type of job. At my age you can't take really hard labour jobs and you can't start at the top, so it seems like a hopeless ideal, actually unattainable idea."

In general, making the transition from prison to living in the community entailed problems that precluded the idea of securing and maintaining employment. As the experiences of some offenders indicate, the pains of re-entry negatively affected their ability to secure and maintain employment:

> "I couldn't identify, couldn't relate, I was no good on interpersonal relations. Number one, I couldn't communicate--want to talk about the penitentiary? I was out of step, out of step with reality, with the prices of things... People are different, they talk differently... First time I went into the cafe in Vernon, I went and got a steak. $15 they charged me, I thought the son-of-a-bitch knows I got out of the joint. I took the silverware up and I was looking for a bucket to throw it in. Like in the joint there's a soapy water bucket you throw your silverware in. I was waiting for doors to open. oh ya, I was really fucked up."

> "Culture shock. It took me a week to walk from the front door to the curb. It is unbelievable... I couldn't take a bus. I lived for a year and a half with all women. The first time I seen a man, you know it was like; what do they want. I had to learn that people were out there to help me... I had to see past that everything in life was a scam. Learn to trust."

The comments of one offenders, suggests that the norms and values he learned in prison became his biggest obstacle to leading a 'straight' life involving legitimate employment:

> "I became actually a member of this, well I'll call it the prison subculture. Entirely different norms and mores than regular society.

> This is what I think, in my case, was the main readjustment problem. This was putting aside the prison subculture values and readapting, reintegrating back into society, because you learn to despise normal social values.... you learn to really detest, despise mainstream society."

Additionally, some of the offenders in the study related that their criminal record caused problems when it came to looking for work. While it is commonly accepted that a criminal record limits employment opportunities, the majority of the sample believed that they were never not hired for a job or lost a job due to their criminal record. However, several offenders experienced difficulties, apprehensions and uncertainties about searching for a job with a criminal record:

> "[If] you tell them the truth, I just got out of the penitentiary, that scares them off. But I figured, well, if don't tell them and they find out they will never call you..."
>
> "Jesus, I don't want to tell 'em I just got out of the joint, but I've done so much fucking time it's hard to hide. And at that time I believed that it showed... So I felt kinda inferior."
>
> "I just know that walking in to get employed and ask someone to hire you because you just got out of jail. You can't just dump that on them, and you don't wanna hide it in case it comes up. It's not that easy."
>
> "You don't know whether people are going to accept you, give you a job and try you out or take advantage of you and stick you in this low-income labour force because you're a convict and you don't deserve any better."
>
> "When you come out and you don't have a job to go to, you are scared that your criminal record is going to hold you back from getting jobs."
>
> "My record screws me up... It's limited a lot of positions; people don't want you working with cash... They [the CEAP] tried to teach me that my criminal record doesn't matter, bull shit. that's the only thing that really bothers me...My record and the amount of time I served in jail makes a difference; reality outside of jail is

> totally different. No. No one has to give me a job and I'm not likely to get a job when there's 20 other people applying."

For other offenders, the effects of institutionalization appear to have had a negative influence on their attitudes towards post-release employment. As one offender makes clear, the authority that accompanies most types of employment is a difficult thing to accept once you have been imprisoned:

> "You learn really to detest all types and forms of authority. You're judged not only initially in the court case by the judge, prosecutor and even your own lawyer, but your judged by guards, your judged by other inmates, your judged by your probation officer, your judged by society after you get out. So any types of authority or people who set themselves up as authority figures just sets the trigger, hits the buttons... This is what a job is... The whole structure is regimented... I didn't want to get locked into that, I wanted to be my own boss, pull my own weight, do what I want, when I want, how I want, where I want."

> "All the other times I was out on parole and probation I had someone over me telling me well you got to do this , you got to do that. That really irritated me. Subconsciously, I went contrary to every suggestion or instruction that was given to me by these authority figures. So I was just programmed to self destruct, I think, right from the beginning 'cause I always had a problem with that [authority]."

Other offenders suggested that low self esteem acquired through years of incarceration prevented them from believing they could obtain employment once released. For these offenders, the ideal of post-release employment was not perceived as an option:

> "Work was beyond fathoms for me. If I found work when I got out, in the back of my mind I was wondering how long it would last. I would already be putting myself down before I even got the job. So why bother thinking about it. It's one more thing I didn't have to worry about when I came out."

> "Once you're released from jail, you're not working for the same people. A lot of the times you're too scared to go find the work you can do, because of fear of failure. So actually you shot yourself down before you started."
>
> "The biggest thing is try to reintegrate, you're trying to play catch up. From the age of sixteen I was in and out. Here I am forty. Guys my age... got kids, good jobs, they own their own homes, they got two cars. Basically here I am, I've got about as much material things as one of their kids. So that's really low self-esteem."

The low level of self esteem felt by the sample in general is reflected in the finding that the average employability rating given by those in the sample during the post-institutional period did not change significantly from the pre-institutional period. Whereas the average employability rating during the pre-institutional period was 4.8, the average rating during the post-institutional period was 4.6. However, while fewer offenders rated themselves at the lowest end of the scale in the post-institutional period compared with the pre-institutional period (14.3% compared with 36.4%), the percentage of offenders who rated themselves 5 or less on the scale increased to 81%. This finding suggests that incarceration negatively affected the self perceived employability of those in the study.

The findings of the post-institutional experiences of the offenders in the study indicate that most perceived work as a catalyst to help them break away from a criminal lifestyle. As such, the criminal work ethic prevalent in the majority of offenders prior to their last incarceration appears to have been replaced with values and attitudes favouring a legitimate work ethic. This change in attitude, however, seems to have been the result of a maturation process rather than the effects of institutional work and training programs. While post-release employment was clearly only one

issue among many faced by released offenders, employment was perceived and valued by those in the sample as a catalyst to changing their criminal lifestyle.

While many offenders came to perceive the value of a legitimate work ethic, it is clear that only a few actually obtained employment or looked for work once released from prison. It was found that the effects of being incarcerated precluded many offenders in the study from securing post-release employment. Given that many of the offenders in the study emerged from prison with few employable skills, low self-esteem, little knowledge of job searching techniques, no sense of direction, prison values, and no support adjusting to community living, the low rate of post-release employment is understandable.

Community-Based Employment Assistance Program Experience

While previous research on American CEAPS indicates that released offenders who participate in these programs have a higher rate of employment and a lower rate of recidivism, there has been a paucity of Canadian research on the role and value of CEAPS in the post-release experiences of federal offenders. Therefore, data on the program experiences of the offenders in the study were collected to examine its value to the offenders and the role it played in their transition into the work force. As previously mentioned, however, the present study was not designed as an evaluation of the CEAP from which the sample was selected.

Given the findings presented above, it is clear that few offenders in the study had significant work experience prior to coming into the Program. It was found that 45.5% of the sample did not hold any job, 27.3% held only one job, and 13.6% held five jobs from the time they were last released to the time they entered the Program. Although some offenders in the study were excluded from working because they were either on a temporary absence or they went into the program shortly after being released, it is clear that the vast majority lacked any substantial work experience or employable skills prior to entering the Program.

While it was found that the vast majority of offenders valued the ideal of employment in their lives prior to attending the Program, the findings suggest offenders had various reasons for coming to the Program. Most offenders stated that they were at a standstill in their lives and needed motivation and direction, encouragement and support, and skills to find meaningful employment:

> "I was at a standstill, I lost a lot of my motivation. I just thought about going there because they were dealing with people who have been in prison. That was a good thing for me. Plus learning different skills which I thought would help and just to get myself motivated."

> "Number one, I thought, well, I'll be able to learn to write a resume. Maybe it'll give me a few skills, communication skills and so forth. Get me back into the workforce... To better enable me to present myself, face life on life's terms so to speak..."

> "At the time, I didn't know what the hell to do with my life. I was a chronic alcoholic on a sober attitude then. I really didn't know where I was gonna go and what to do. I had the smarts I thought, I had a lot of things, but I just needed something or somebody to help me out of my space..."

> "I went along at first to jobSTART just looking at it as a pay cheque, "Hey this'll look good for me on my record, my P.O. will back off, there'll be no problems". I thought about that and for the first couple of weeks I sat in that classroom with the intention that I

> got my G.E.D. I don't need nothing, these people aren't teaching me anything, they're not telling me anything. I'll just sit back and collect a pay cheque for 13 weeks and look good. As I got into the course and started talking with them I found that there are things in here that can help me. There are options here for me to look at, to decide upon for myself as to which way I want to go. And just the support mechanism they had there, between the instructors and the students was enough to confirm my belief that, number one there are people out there who care about you... and are willing to try to help you for no gain for themselves."
>
> "I was doing nothing, life was passing me by. This could be an opportunity... Well, one line that stuck out to me was that anyone here can get a job, but if you're interested in getting a career we could point you in that direction. I didn't want just a job."

As mentioned previously, although the Program does not have a single organizational rationale, it is premised on the underlying idea that a transition program from prison to the labour market is beneficial to offenders who wish to break the cycle of crime, reduce their dependency on social assistance and increase their chances for full reintegration back into the community. Therefore, while the primary aim of the Program is to assist offenders to secure and maintain meaningful employment, in more general terms, it is concerned with providing opportunities for all types offenders to live 'healthy' and law-abiding lives by supporting and assisting them in reintegrating back into the community and/or overcoming personal barriers that put them at risk.

Given this, offenders in the study were asked how the Program benefitted them. Although the majority of offenders in the study did not receive employment immediately after completing the Program, all of them indicated that the Program benefitted them in several ways. Although it was not always clearly articulated, several offenders indicated that the support and assistance of the

Program helped them to break away from the cycle of crime that they were accustomed to and gave them the feeling of belonging in society:

> "It opened the door to the difference between jail and the outside, to a degree...Going to jobSTART in one sense was still keeping me in the category of a criminal. On another hand it showed me that the teachers there genuinely cared about me because I was a criminal. It gave me a lot of self-esteem. They showed me I can do it, they really made me feel smart... It gave me a reason, I felt important, I felt part of society."

> "There was a sense of doing something worthwhile, legitimate with a goal in mind... Here's a place I looked forward to going every morning. I wasn't just wandering around the street looking for a job. That wouldn't have lasted, I wouldn't have founded a job or a job I liked, and I would have probably ended up back drinking or using...

> "It did help me deal with [making the transition from prison to the community]. First thing, after going into the community I was afraid that people would turn me down... and I was afraid that I would never be able to fit to any community again because of after what I heard from Father's side and my Mother's side that I was not allowed in any of those communities anymore. Because of the crime I committed, I'm not allowed to go home again."

Several offenders reported that the Program gave them self-confidence, direction and motivation to look for work:

> "Well, I'm not working, but at the time I left there feeling better about myself, better about finding work...more confident and motivated."

> "I guess it made me feel better about myself in some ways. Better equipped to communicate with people. I just felt better... It was encouraging anyways; when I walked out of there I thought, well, should I not decide to drug counsel, I'll probably be able to do some other things."

> "My expectations were fulfilled. It gave me an idea of what to do again and it sort of gave me the self-confidence I lost."

> "It broadened my outlook and gave me self assurance that I could do something if I put my mind to it. Getting down into a pattern and focusing on what you're doing."

Other offenders indicated that the Program reaffirmed the value of a legitimate work ethic and gave them the skills to secure and maintain a job that had value to them:

> "Reaffirmed my work ethic, my need for fulfilment through work. It better informed me as to everything that surrounds the labour force, as to what commitments from you are needed in the labour force, what commitment you need from your employer, from your support groups, from your friends around you... It gave me more than I actually anticipated that I would leave with"

> "It gave me work skills, how to look for a job..."

> "I found out that there is a lot more involved in looking for a job, and not just any job, target the type of work you think you want, than just looking in the paper. I learned that you got to learn to deal with people, you've got to learn to deal with people you don't like, you've got to learn to control your emotions, look at it in a professional manner,

Still other offenders acknowledged the benefit of the long-term support offered through the Program:

> "I know it made me feel very important, and it's always there for me. They have never closed the door on someone. I still go there to use the computer, I still go there to use the phones, I still go there just because it's there..."

The idea of having a group of released offenders congregating and interacting a in one place may be seen by some as perpetuating criminal attitudes. However, according to the views of several offenders, being around other people who were in similar situations provided a safe, comfortable and supportive environment:

"It was important that I found a place where I felt that I fitted in well, because I could identify with the other participants.

"You feel so ostracized when you get out, when you're trying to reintegrate back in after doing lots of time. You feel really at a loss. If you're associating with your peers so to speak, people you can relate with, people that have been there, you got that sense of belonging. Also, I found it an incentive to do well... The big thing for me was [being around] my own types of people, we're all in this together, we're all trying to make a go of it, through employment and other ways."

"It's like a little community, you can relate to just about everybody in there. It's being able to relate...This is safe if you give it the opportunity...Being able to walk into a program where people are here that you can relate to makes it a safer environment..."

"The one basic thing I got out of the Program was everybody kind of understood...it's like you guys were like the kids I grew up with. They didn't care that I had done crime, it didn't matter. I felt like I can still go somewhere, do something. That's what you guys made me realize, that I still had the capabilities to do something with my life."

To gain a sense of the potential benefit of the Program as perceived by the offenders in the study, they were asked whether they would recommend the Program to other offenders released from prison. It was found that the vast majority would recommended the Program to offenders released from prison because, in general, they believed that it would provide offenders who are serious about finding work and staying 'straight' with the skills, confidence, direction and incentive to be successful:

"Especially when they first got out of prison, I think it would be great for them... When you need the skills to go out and find a job, JobSTART would be great for showing people the way to go about it, especially if you've been in for a long period of time...It should definitely be one of the first things that you should do; when you get out you should get right at it before you're doing other things."

> "Definitely, 'cause of what it can do to a person in terms of self image, self confidence, job skills, identifying where you're good at.. sort of put you back in place..."

> "[Because] number one, it is a support group for them out on the street to show them that they're not alone and there are people out there to help you. Number two, for their educational upgrading... computer training and being able to decide what career it is that they want and what steps they need to take."

> "Ya. I think it's good 'cause when a guy gets out he's lost. It'll give you direction and [help] you find your niche in what you want to do."

A few offenders believed that the Program should be mandatory for offenders released from prison, as the following quote illustrates:

> "It should be a mandatory thing, that way you're not left hanging at the half-way house going out looking for a job. This is structured program that you can enter people into and it gives that little padding surrounding that they can feel comfortable and not stressed out.... I'd say that it would at least work for 75% of the people that take it with an open mind as to using it as a tool to effectively help yourself.

Other offenders, however, were careful to point out that a Program such as this would only be beneficial to offenders who are serious about changing their lives around:

> "[The Program would benefit] a person who's made a conscious decision that they want to change or are going to make an honest effort at it. If you're quite comfortable leading the lifestyle that you're leading, don't bother."

> "...you would have guys in there just fucking around, not taking it seriously, and for the ones who do want to take it seriously it would be a disruption..."

One offender suggested that a mandatory Program may be perceived by released offenders as an additional sentence:

> "It would help them (ex-offenders) if they're serious about staying straight, and if they could get into it right away instead of after they have already been on the street and got down to the bottom. You don't want to force anybody into having to go there, because then it's just another sentence."

While the Program was successful in giving released offenders the support, confidence, stability, skills, and assistance to change their lives around, it is clear that the Program was only moderately successful in facilitating the transition of offenders into the work force. In fact, the only criticisms directed at the Program were related to the fact that it did not provide employment for some once they graduated:

> "I don't think it has anything to do with jobSTART that I'm not working, but it hasn't helped me get work. I helped with some skills and some other things but it hasn't really helped to this point. It might later on when I have to maybe use them [skills] in a job."

The post-program data revealed that only 27.3% of offenders in the study had secured employment at the end of the Program. In the long term, it was found that 54.5% of the offenders found work within one year leaving the Program--while 40.9% of the sample found work within 6 months from leaving the Program, 13.6% found work 7 to 12 months after they left the Program and 31.8% have never worked since leaving the Program. In almost all cases, however, the offenders received job placements which provided them with valuable work experience. Although it appears that a large number of offenders remained unemployed after attending the Program, when the 31.8% figure is compared to the 45.5% of offenders who had never worked prior to coming to the Program, it is clear that the Program at least somewhat successful in assisting offenders to make

the transition into the workforce. Overall, it was found that since leaving the Program, 63.6% of the offenders in the study have spent less than 25% of their time in full-time or pat-time employment. At the time of the interviews, 66.7% of the sample remained unemployed, with 14.3% employed full-time, 19.0% employed part-time, and 35.7% enrolled in various educational training courses. In regards to the recidivism rate of the offenders in the study, it was found that while 31.8% admitted to committing crimes since leaving the Program, only 14.3% have been officially charged.

Offender Profiles

Up to this point, no attempt has been made to present detailed data on each individual offender. Rather, the data has been presented to identify common themes and issues among the work experiences and attitudes of the offenders in the study. To gain a better understanding of some of the issues and themes highlighted in the findings, however, case studies of of a male and female offender from the study are presented. While these 'vignettes' or profiles are not intended to be representative of the entire sample, they do illustrate the changing role and value of employment and crime in the lives of two individual offenders. Profiling the work experiences and attitudes of individual offenders reminds us that, while some offenders share similar experiences and attitudes, all the offenders in the study are unique individuals with particular life histories. In the least, it reminds us that there are 'real' people behind the data presented and that this study is more than an intellectual exercise.

Profile A: Bonnie

Bonnie is a 33 year old woman, who was re-incarcerated in the British Columbia Correctional Centre for Women (B.C.C.W.) in 1995. Over the last 22 years, Bonnie has spent only 7 years living outside of institutions. At the age of 11, Bonnie was declared a ward of the state and placed in a Youth Detention Centre until the age of 16. Having no place to go when she was released from YDC, Bonnie went downtown, where she felt safe and comfortable, and started selling drugs. Bonnie was incarcerated for her first time at the age of 17, and would be reincarcerated many times after this. As Bonnie indicates in her own words, she turned to crime immediately after being released from YDC:

> "When I was 11 till the time I was 16 I didn't have any charges, they just locked me up because I was a ward of the government, I was too hard to handle. Once I turned 16 I started to do major jobs because I started meeting up with people. "

It seems that, from this point on, Bonnie turned to the street and became fully involved in a life of crime, involving drug dealing, break and enters, assaults, and thefts and developed a drug and alcohol dependency. When Bonnie wasn't incarcerated, she was living on the streets of Vancouver, involved in a cycle of criminal activity, drug and alcohol abuse, and unemployment. In general, Bonnie would always return to the street when she was released because that was the only place where she felt like she fit in; where she felt confident, safe, and accepted amongst her peers:

> "By the time I get out and I meet people I'm all freaked out. That's why I always go downtown where I feel like people know me and I trust them. People I don't know they can pick it up, your anger that you've been in... I feel like everybody's looking at me, I don't know how to act, things changed towards me, the way people see me. I get closed in where I can't even speak... I have to drink to be myself."

Generally speaking, Bonnie didn't care much about staying out of prison when she was released. Over time, Bonnie began to feel more comfortable, safe, in control and respected in the familiar environment of prison than she did in society where the only place she felt that she belonged was on the downtown streets of Vancouver. After years of incarceration, Bonnie became institutionalized to a point where she didn't really know how to function in society or feel like she fit in.

As a youth Bonnie indicated that she understood the value of work, but lost all that value when she was incarcerated because she didn't care anymore. Although Bonnie thought that work would help her to live a 'normal' life--away from the streets, crime and drugs--, she claims that she couldn't 'stick it out' and would always go back to dealing on the streets. In essence, having a grade 7 education and no work experience gave Bonnie little confidence to look for work and few opportunities to find work. As such, in the seven years that Bonnie spent on the street she never really had a job, but relied on crime to make a living, supply her addictions, and give her status and acceptance amongst her peers. It can not be said that Bonnie's inability to secure work caused her criminality, as it was more of the lifestyle that she led and her inability to deal with her feelings of anger, frustration, and confusion when released that led to situations where the only familiar options available to her were crime, drugs or suicide. Although it is not clear how many times Bonnie attempted suicide, it is clear that suicide was an option Bonnie considered and attempted several times.

Over the years that Bonnie has been incarcerated, she has spent most of her time working in the kitchen, upgrading her education, and attending drug and alcohol therapy. At one point Bonnie attended an employment preparation program called, Breaking Barriers. However, according to Bonnie, work in the institution was a way to keep busy, to make the time go by fast, and to secure institutional privileges, such as temporary absences.

In January 1991, Bonnie started attending the CEAP because she believed that it would help her to straighten her life out, get away from the streets, and secure a job. While attending the program, Bonnie appeared to be successfully dealing with her alcohol and drug dependency, and showed signs of gaining more confidence and control over her life. Bonnie successfully completed the Program and graduated in April of 1991. According to Bonnie, this was the first thing she successfully completed while on the street:

> "It made me feel good, getting to school being the first one all the time. It made me feel like I was part of society, that I was doing something that society was doing. It made me believe in myself, that I could actually do it if I stuck to it."

Prior to leaving the Program, Bonnie had secured employment with a landscaping company and was set to start work immediately after graduating. This was the first time in her life that Bonnie had held steady employment. But after working as a landscaper for five weeks, Bonnie quit her job because she did not feel safe or comfortable working for her employer any longer.

> "When I was working out in Coquitlam, gettin' up in Richmond at 4:30 a.m., getting to the bus, taking the bus to Coquitlam. He wasn't paying me properly, he was drinking, he was being obnoxious...but he said, "You're one of the best workers I ever had." "

Shortly after this, Bonnie secured another landscaping job but lost it several days later when she ran away from the job because she felt that she couldn't deal with having the employer criticize or possibly fire her:

> "Well, the one job he [the employer] was kinda mean. I wrecked the mower and got scared and ran all the way down to the beach. I was going to run into the water and drown myself; I was so scared... I thought he would freak out on me. I wasn't ready for it, so I ran away crying."

Feeling like she once again failed and had no place to go, Bonnie returned to the streets. Six months after leaving the Program, Bonnie was rearrested on an assault charge and was incarcerated once again. When Bonnie was last released from prison in 1994, she enrolled herself in the Native Education Centre to upgrade her education and continued with her drug and alcohol counselling. After a couple of weeks, however, Bonnie dropped out of school and began drinking again as she was being pressured and threatened by people she knew from the street:

> "I could've did okay if I was going to school, but people were scared of me, people wouldn't let me do what I want to do, people would see me walking to school with my books, trying to stay straight. They would intimidate me, get me angry. And then I was so mad and scared I'd just go get my money and go drinking."

Shortly after she dropped out of school, Bonnie was confronted by a barrage of personal traumas, which led her to try to kill herself and effectively put her on the path back to the prison:

> "I just got fed up, fed with screwing up in school. I couldn't even do that right. Then I found out that my mother got shot in T.O., and then I found out my bother has AIDS, and then I seen [a friend] get killed in front of the Balmoral, and then I seen my uncle overdose on Wall Street... And then I tried to kill myself, that didn't succeed. They only put me in the hospital. Tried again, they put me back in the hospital."

A short while later, Bonnie was reincarcerated after stabbing a man she suspected of stalking and harassing her:

> "I didn't care [about going back to prison], I knew what I done was wrong. I had walked up to the cops and gave them my knife, and I said, "I stabbed him." They say, "Why". I said, "Because you guys won't listen to me, none of you listen to me. I tell ya man there's a stalker following me, I give you his name and you tell me to go take a hike and go home or your going in the drunk tank, and I 'm the one who ends up in the drunk tank. The guy's still around, coming up to my place smashing my window, breaking in, leaving me letters. Still doesn't matter man; it's just fucked... Not only that, he was from Riverview and he killed his own family in North Vancouver. I didn't know that.... Every night I would go home to my place, I'd think he'd come flying through the window and kill me, you know. I went drinking, I found him and I stabbed him for making me go through everything I was going through. I just had enough. I just had enough."

It is clear, that has Bonnie identified with a criminal lifestyle for much of her life. Employment has never played a significant role in her life, as she has had very little opportunity to develop work skills or gain legitimate work experience outside of institutions. While many factors initially led Bonnie to become involved in crime, years of incarceration since the age of 11 effectively excluded Bonnie from securing employment, breaking out of the cycle of crime and successfully reintegrating back into society. In essence, incarceration simply perpetuated her cycle of crime, unemployment, and self-abuse. However, while Bonnie attended the Program it appeared that she was capable of breaking out of this cycle, and for a short while after leaving the Program, she took control over her life and found the confidence to live away the streets. Although Bonnie perceives value in employment, opportunities for securing employment are indeed very limited for Bonnie. Further, it seems that post-release employment has added to Bonnie's transitional problems rather

than ease them. Bonnie's post-release success depends more on gaining support in the community than it does on whether or not she secures employment.

Profile B: Dan

Dan is a 45 year old man who has no current involvement with corrections. Dan has been has spent 16.5 years in prison as an adult for criminal offenses relating to drug use and drug solicitation, such as trafficking, weapons charges, break and entering, assaults with a deadly weapon.

As a youth, Dan worked at various jobs until the age of 16, at which time he quit his job to sell drugs on the street. This would be the last legitimate job Dan would hold for the next 25 years. According to Dan, he was attracted to the flamboyant, risky, high status, and adventurous lifestyle of hustling drugs on the street. In short, he fully adopted a criminal lifestyle and identified with the values if the drug-subculture. As Dan became more involved in this drug culture, he came to view legitimate employment as something 'square johns' did because they did not have the smarts or the courage to hustle in order to make a living. Dan perceived employment as limiting his freedom and forcing him into a lifestyle that he did not identify with:

> "These guys that are stuck in a job. I'm just thinking of the guys I went to school with, they got married at a young age, kids, and then the mortgage. They've got to work. It's like a slave syndrome... they are locked into this job... They're not free at all. That's the way I view it. Freedom is something valued very highly, after you have been incarcerated."

In short, legitimate employment had no value or meaning to Dan. When Dan was released from prison, he would not even consider looking for legitimate work. At times, he might have thought

about getting a legitimate job once he got out of prison, but the thought of having to start working right at the bottom of the employment ladder was unacceptable and made hustling more of a realistic and rewarding option. Through hustling drugs on the street, Dan fully embraced a criminal lifestyle and the values of the drug subculture. In the process, however, Dan also developed a drug addiction that stayed with him for many years. His addiction essentially required him to continue hustling drugs in order to have them readily available or to make enough money to buy them. In short, involvement in the drug sub-culture made crime a necessity in Dan's life.

While Dan's first experiences of being incarcerated merely reaffirmed his street values, subsequent incarcerations simply strengthened his ties to the prison subculture:

> "This is where I became involved with the subculture. Like on the street selling drugs is one thing, you hear a few terms. You don't really know what they mean until you actually go into an institution and start shaking the time. You learn pretty fast, you have to or otherwise you don't last...I became actually a member of this, well I'll call it the prison subculture. Entirely different norms and mores than regular society."

After serving a few sentences, Dan claims that he fully embraced the prison subculture and resented anything that resembled authority in his life. The violence and anger that this entailed gave him more status and respect amongst his peers. By the time Dan did his first federal sentence he believed that he was simply playing out the role that he identified with. When he was released from prison Dan knew that he would be back out on the streets living out his role as a hustler.

Although Dan worked in virtually all aspects of the prison, he most valued those positions that furnished him with the opportunity to beat the system and/or gain respect and status amongst other

inmates. As such, Dan tried to secure those positions that gave him the opportunity to exchange services or favours with other inmates. In regards to institutional training, Dan viewed his training in the print shop as an opportunity to develop his skills as a counterfeiter.

Although Dan acknowledges that he would work hard in the institution because it gave hem a sense of self-satisfaction, it is clear that he valued institutional work and training for reasons other than they were intended. The only institutional programs that Dan valued was the educational upgrading. In the end, completing his grade 12 equivalency opened opportunities for Dan that otherwise would not have been available.

After being incarcerated for many years, Dan reached a point, at the age of 38, where he was "sick and tired of the joint."

> "I reached that point, 38 or 39, when your just sick and tired of the joint, sick of the whole thing. By this time, you're about twice the age of the average age in there... I didn't relate to the rest of mainstream population."

Around thirty years of age, Dan realized that he couldn't continue hustling forever. He began to think of his own mortality, his age, and the high risks involved in a continuing with a criminal lifestyle.

> "I realized that, hey, if I'm ever going to get out of this system, out of this vicious circle, then I'm going to have to get out there and go the square john route, otherwise I 'm just going to be doing the same thing as the last 25 years."

effects of being incarcerated for 16.5 years, however, created many problems for Dan when he attempted to move away from a criminal lifestyle. Most importantly, Dan felt that he had to develop a new self-identity and accept the values of society that he long ago rejected.

> "I talked in the jargon, the prison lingo.. it takes a long time to get out of that space, that mind set, that lifestyle. Also the resentment towards the square john mentality. I came realize that I'm going to have to actually transgress this subculture barrier if I want to make a go of it on the outside, otherwise it's back in, there's no halfway."

In trying to turn his life around, Dan realized that this would mean working for a living. However, given that he had not held a legitimate job in 25 years, the ideal of securing a job seemed impossible.

> "The biggest thing is try to reintegrate, you're trying to play catch up. From the age of sixteen I was in and out. Here I am forty. Guys my age... got kids, good jobs, they own their own homes, they got two cars. Basically here I am, I've got about as much material things as one of their kids. So that's really low self-esteem. I had no skills I felt I could use to get into any type of job. At that age you can't take really hard labour jobs and you can't start at the top, so it seems like a hopeless ideal, actually unattainable idea."

Whereas before Dan perceived did not perceive any value in legitimate employment, when he was last released from prison in 1988, he viewed employment as necessary to avoid going back to prison. He viewed employment was a worthwhile pursuit in and of itself; apart from the material rewards he believed that it could provide him with a sense of self-worth. However, when he started looking for work he was confronted by many problems he did not know how to deal with. With practically no experience or skills, Dan knew that he would have to be retrained for an occupation that was suitable for his age and interests. This was the motivation Dan needed to apply to the

CEAP. Dan started attending the Program in April 1990 and successfully graduated from the Program in August 1990. Dan believes that the Program gave him the structure, confidence, sense of belonging, and incentive he needed to stay out of prison and make the transition into the work force.

Although his expectation of securing a management position dropped after he graduated from the Program, Dan went on to attend more specific business training programs. Dan graduated from Compu-College School of Business, followed by a one year marketing management program at BCIT. Ten months after completing the Program, Dan secured a contract position as a teaching assistant with Compu College, Currently, Dan attends Vancouver Community College's computer training program and teaches computer skills at the Carnegie learning Centre.

This brief summary of Dan's experiences clearly illustrates the drastic changes in his attitudes towards legitimate employment. In light of these changes, it is clear that Dan's view of work was at least partially responsible for his unemployment and criminal lifestyle. Despite having spent many years in prison participating in numerous work and training programs, Dan's decision to change his life around was more influenced by a maturation process than by the effects of institutional programming. Ironically, the effects of being institutionalized and exposed to the prison sub-culture created many problems for Dan when he decided to go 'straight' and find a legitimate job. Today, Dan has achieved a level of success that he thought he would never obtain, and work has become the most important thing in his life:

> "Now it's [work] the way of life, it's the way society works. If you want to be part of society, you got to contribute something; there's

no free rides. I think you got to contribute at the level your best able to do so. There is such a thing as being underemployed as well as unemployed. It's not just the idea of contributing, that's part of the rules. If you want to go somewhere in this society, it's directly proportional to what you put in. What you get out of it, is directly proportional to what you put in... I didn't realize all the challenges... I don't look at it as a game anymore, It's a challenge and I got a feeling of self satisfaction, and excitement too-- Actually the relief of being away from the system. I don't want anything to do with the system again... the further away I am from anybody that's done time, the happier I am."

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Since the opening of Canada's first federal penitentiary in 1835, programs of inmate labour and training have remained central strategies of the correctional agenda. Although the nature of these strategies has changed over time as a consequence of 'reforms' in correctional philosophy--punishment and reformation, rehabilitation, and reintegration, these strategies have, historically, been premised on a belief in the disciplinary and reformative value of instilling a legitimate work ethic in offenders through institutional labour and training that provides them with the work skills necessary to pursue and secure legitimate and industrious employment once released. However, while correctional reforms have resulted in some positive changes in the nature of inmate work and training strategies, rarely have these strategies met their intended goals. Throughout correctional history, inmate work and training strategies have failed to provide inmates with practical work skills, meaningful work experiences, useful vocational training or a value for legitimate work.

Despite their failure, all correctional strategies of inmate work and training have remained conceptually rooted, to varying degrees, in the following three premises:

1. That there is a positive relationship between economic idleness or unemployment and criminality based on the economic model of crime.

2. That correctional strategies of work and training provide inmates with the necessary work habits, job skills, and training to be successful in the competitive labour market once released from prison.

3. That post-release employment is necessary for the successful reintegration of inmates back into society as law-abiding citizens, and that the community has a responsibility to provide services to released offenders to facilitate their reintegration.

A review of the researched literature surrounding each of these premises indicated a general lack of empirical support and theoretical clarity. Although the economic model of crime suggests that a significant, positive, uni-directional, mutually exclusive relationship exists between unemployment and crime, aggregate research on the relationship between unemployment and crime clearly revealed a 'consensus of doubt' over the nature, significance, and direction of the relationship. However, most current reviews of studies focusing on the unemployment-crime relationship suggest there is enough evidence to at least claim an association between unemployment and property-crime rates at the aggregate level. The association between unemployment and crime is further supported by individual level studies that found most offenders to be unemployed at the time of their last arrest. In addition, individual level studies have also illustrated what many take for granted--that offenders generally lack any significant work experience, have few basic pre-employment and work skills, and are undereducated.

While the combination of aggregate and individual level studies support an association between unemployment and crime, more importantly, they indicate that the relationship between unemployment and crime may not be simply uni-directional and mutually exclusive as suggested by the economic model of crime. Although these studies have begun to delineate the conditional nature of this relationship, no examination of the relationship from the perspective of the offender has been conducted. As such, this study has attempted to examine the form and nature of this

relationship by focusing on the experiences, values, attitudes, and perceptions of offenders prior to being last incarcerated.

In a review of the literature surrounding the second premise, it was found that institutional work and vocational training strategies are ideologically derived from the economic model of crime. While these correctional strategies are based on a human development model of correctional intervention suggested by the economic model, they have been long criticized for serving the maintenance and production needs of the institution rather than providing offenders with adequate work experiences, training, skills, and values necessary to secure and maintain employment once released from prison. Moreover, while the effects of being institutionalized generally place many offenders in a worse position to find employment once released, several factors intrinsic to the prison environment itself may function to limit the effectiveness of institutional work and training programs. As such, the reintegrative value of correctional work and training strategies is highly questionable, and can not be taken for granted. As very little Canadian research has been conducted on the perceptions and attitudes of offenders towards institutional work and training programs, and the effect these programs have on the transition of offenders into the work force, this study has attempted to investigate the reintegrative value of correctional work and training programs by examining the post-release work experiences, attitudes and perceptions of offenders.

With respect to the third premise, the published literature does not lend unequivocal support to the ideal that post-release unemployment is causally related to recidivism. It was argued that the 'relationship' between unemployment and recidivism is as complex and varied as the relationship

between unemployment and crime, and therefore, can not be simply conceptualized as a unidirectional and mutually exclusive relationship. Rather, it is clear that the reintegration process is an interplay of various personal and structural factors that will largely determine the role and value of employment in the reintegration process.

Nevertheless, the Battle report (1990) illustrates that post-release employment is perceived by released offenders as necessary to help them break free from the cycle of crime and unemployment and to successfully reintegrate back into society. However, Battle also found that many offenders lacked basic employment skills (employment training, self-esteem, and education) and faced many barriers to employment after they were released from prison. These findings suggest that CEAPS, in providing pre-employment, educational, and vocational counselling services to released offenders, can play an important role in facilitating the successful reintegration of offenders into the labour market and into society generally. Additionally, there is substantial evidence from American CEAPS that offenders who participate in these programs experience lower rates of recidivism and higher rates of employment. However, despite the potential role and value of CEAPS, the unique employment needs of Canadian offenders are being largely excluded from community initiatives that provide more employment and skills training to disadvantaged groups. In fact, due to current changes in funding arrangements between the provincial and federal governments, CEAPS which were originally designed to serve the needs of released offenders are being closed and/or targeting other disadvantaged groups in order to secure funding. In light of this, it is imperative that Canadian research be conducted on the post-release employment patterns of offenders and the role

and value of Canadian CEAPS in the reintegration of released offenders into the labour force specifically, and into society more generally.

Given the gaps and limitations of the literature reviewed, this study has examined the role and value of employment in the pre-institutional, institutional, and post-institutional experiences of a group of federal offenders. As such, the study was designed to contribute to an understanding of the relationship between unemployment and crime, the reintegrative value of institutional work and training strategies, and the role and value of post-release employment in the successful reintegration of released offenders, Specifically, this study has attempted to answer the following questions.

1. ***Pre-institutional:*** How are differences in work patterns and attitudes reflected in the nature of the relationship between unemployment and crime?

2. ***Institutional*** What reintegrative value does institutional work and training programs have in facilitating the transition of offenders from prison to the work force?

3. ***Post-institutional*** What is the role and value of post-release employment in the reintegration process?

The remainder of this chapter will highlight the theoretical, policy and research implications suggested by the findings of the study.

Theoretical Implications

The findings from the pre-institutional period raise a number of important theoretical implications for understanding the relationship between unemployment and crime. While the economic model of crime may be sufficient to explain a uni-directional, mutually exclusive relationship between unemployment and crime, it does not account for the dynamic nature of the relationship or the effect of 'limited opportunities' on the relationship . In presuming that all behaviour can be reduced to an objective cost/benefit analyses, the economic model of crime is unable to appreciate the importance of the subjective state of offenders and the effect that differences in experiences, opportunites, attitudes, and perceptions have on the nature and form of the relationship.

As revealed in this study the relationship between unemployment and crime is not as simple as purported by the economic model of crime, but rather is an extremely complex relationship affected by an interplay of various individual and structural factors. The nature and form of the relationship can be understood by examining differences in attitudes, experiences and perceptions of offenders. As such, the relationship appears to be not so much dependent upon the employment factor as it is on the value of work and access to meaningful work opportunities. It has been found that while the lack of opportunites for meaningful employment led some to choose a criminal lifestyle, others were clearly involved in both crime and legitimate employment at the sme time. Still, the relationship may be mutually inclusive where employment creates criminal opportunities and involvement in crime excludes opportunities for legitimate work. Finally, there are indeed cases where no relationship exists between the employment experiences, attitudes and perceptions and criminal behaviour of some individuals.

Given that the unemployment-crime relationship appears to be most influenced by limited access to 'meaningful' employment opportunities, the economic model of crime does not adequately explain this relationship. Rather an integration of strain theory, as developed by Robert Merton (1938) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960), and a political-economic analysis of differential opportunity structures is better suited to account for the complex unemployment-crime relationship than the economic model of crime. According to Merton (1938), western culture is characterized by a daunting concern for accumulating wealth and power. However, while society regards the accumulation of wealth as the ultimate cultural goal of social living and maintains that this goal is accessible by all persons, legitimate opportunities to achieve the culturally prescribed goals of society are unequally distributed accross social classes. In other words, Merton saw the social structure itself as creating the disparity between culturally defined goals and legitimate means for achieving this goal. Individuals who are 'blocked' from achieving the culturally prescribed goals of society through legitiamte means (legitimate employment, diligence, a strong work ethic and hard work) experience anomie--frustration or thwarted aspirations. There are various ways individuals can respond to anomie depending on his/her attitude and commitment towards cultural goals and the legitimate means of achieving them. According to Merton's theory, if individuals have a strong commitment to the goals of society but do not have the opportunities to obtain these goals legitimately, then they will innovate other 'deviant' means by which to acquire the goals. Additionally, if individuals have a strong commitment to both the goals of society and the legal means of obtaining these but have no real opportunities to achieve success, then individuals may simply retreat into some form of addiction and 'drop out' of the social game.

While Merton was not concerned with identiftying the structural sources of the disparity between culturally defined goals and legitimate means of achieving them, Cloward and Ohiln (1960) expanded on Mertons argument and included an analysis of social system and class. In addressing how opportunities for achieving cultural goals are distributed in our social system, Cloward and Ohlin (1960:119) argued that, "democratic society is characterized by a limited and inequitably distributed supply of gioods anss services. Consequently, they suggested that the social system itself gives rise to crime, and therefore, crime is not so much an attribute of individuals but rather a response to a social system structured on the basis of differential access to legitimate opportunities.

From the responses and experiences of the offenders in the study, it is clear that, while most were objectively motivated by the goal to acquire wealth, the availability and quality of legitimate opportunities to achieve this wealth greatly influenced their criminality. As many did not view employment as a possible option or value marginal employment as a way to achieve their goals, crime for these individuals was not simply a *rational choice* based on a cost/benefit analysis but rather a *rational response* to a life of limited opportunity, involving chronic unemployment, marginal employment or welfare dependency. For many offenders, a criminal lifestyle not only provide them with the means to achieve a relative degree of wealth but also with the status, respect, prestige and social acceptance that all of us hope to achieve through legitimate means.

Conversely, there were individuals in the study who valued and were committed to both culturally prescribed goals and legitimate means to achieve these goals. While employment was generally valued as the 'correct' way to make a living, some would turn to crime when they became

unemployed in order to maintain a certain standard of living. Still others, while being committed to the ideal of work, simultaneously engaged in both work and crime because a strong commitment to the goal of wealth created a need to supplement legitimate earnings with the proceeds from 'street crime'. As this suggests, the relationship between unemployment and crime is not mutually exclusive, and employment itself may create opportunities for crime. While this study has largely dealt with ndividuals involved in street crime, it must be acknowledged that opportunities for 'white collar' or 'suite' crimes are also creatd through higher-level employment. An expanded version of strain theory would suggest that opportunities for crime are also differentially disrtibuted across social classes.

Others in the study who were involved into a cycle of crime and alcohol/drug dependency can simply be seen as dropping out of mainstream life altogether. While they may value the ideal of legitimate work as the 'correct' means to earn a living, they have abandoned all hope of finding work and turned to drugs and alcohol to escape what they could not obtain.

Furthermore, given that many offenders perceived their criminality as a form of work requiring skills, time, commitment, and planning, there is a need to move away from the notion that all criminals are lazy, undisciplined and lack the intelligence to get a 'real job'. In this study, it was found that many of the offenders interviewed were insightful and aware of their motivations and actions, and rationally chose a life of crime over a life of chronic unemployment, marginal employment or welfare. In short, crime gave them a relative degree of wealth, status, acceptance, self worth, and prestige that was otherwise unavailable to them through legitimate employment.

In sum, the findings of this study suggest that the rationale choice premise inherent in the economic model of crime needs to be contextualized in the lives of the offenders, where individual opportunity and choice are influenced by the availability and quality of legitimate opportunities. As such, the popular ideal that criminal behaviour is based simply on a rational, economic choice needs to be abandoned, so that individual choice is placed in the context of available opportunities for 'criminal' and 'non-criminal' work. As strain theory suggessts, crime is more of a rational individual response to structural economic constraints (i.e. unemployment), than it is a simple rational, economic choice of individuals. However, while this model adds some conceptual clarity to the findings of this study, it does not adequately specify the structural sources of differential opportunities.

Although strain theory correctly suggests that the class structure of our social system gives rise to differential opportunities for 'success', it does not expand its argument to discuss where the particular class structure of our social system originates. To address this question, we must turn to a Marxist analysis of the capitalist political economy, for it is the inherent contradiction in capitalism that gives rise to our class based social system , and thus the disparity bewteen cultural goals and lgitimate means. S. Pfohl (1985:234) Succcintly makes this point:

> "Capitalism presents a contradictory message to those who labour under its economic constraints. On the one hand, it promises a free market of opportunity in which those who work hard can rise as far as their abilities permit. At the same time, capitalism systematically limits access to decisons affecting the alocation and distribution of economic resources to those who control what Marx referred to as *the means of production.*"

In other words, the disparity between socially prescribed goals and access to opportunities to achieve these goals is inherent in the very nature of the capitalist political economy. As capitalism is driven by the need to produce as much surplus value or profit from the labour of workers at the least possible cost, there is an inherent class division in our social sytem, which is manifested in a conflict between those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour: capital vs. labour. In short, the structure and function of capitalism perpetuates class divisions on the basis of unequal distribution of resources, wealth and opportunites. In the end, the stratified social system provides less opportunities for those in the lower classes or underclasses to achieve the cultural goals of success, and therefore, they are generally more prone to engage in criminality to achieve these goals.

The same theoretical constructs can be used to understand the role and value of employment in reintegration process. In other words, differences in attitudes and value of work combined with available opportunities for meaningful work can largely be used to understand the relative role and value of employment the reintegration of offenders. Although many offenders in the study viewed post-release employment as necessary to help them avoid further criminal involvement, it is clear that opportunities for work are limited for many offenders. However, while work may facilitate the reintegration of some offenders, others may successfully reintegrate without being employed, and still others may only feel ready for employment when they have dealt with other issues associated with reintegrating back into society. In the end, the relationship between unemployment and recidivism is equally complex and as varied as the relationship between unemployment and crime. In sum, the role and value of employment in the reintegration process are determined by the

subjective attitudes and perceptions of offenders and the structural factors of capitalism affecting the availability of employment opportunities.

Policy and Program Implications

The findings from the study suggest that correctional philosophy of inmate work and training is based on questionable premises. The findings revealed that not only is the relationship between unemployment and crime/recidivism a complex interrelationship of various subjective and structural factors, but also that correctional strategies of work and training have done very little to provide inmates with the skills needed to make the transition into the work force. In short, the goal of reintegration underlying correctional philosophy of work and training is not being achieved through current strategies of work and training. While this may be the result of correctional philosophy of inmate work and training being based on dubious assumptions, it may also be a reflection of the larger contradiction inherent in the *Control and Assistance* model currently dominating correctional philosophy. Regardless of the reasons, it is clear that the premises upon which correctional philosophy of inmate work and training are based need to be revised.

1. The relationship between unemployment and crime is affected by differences in offenders' experiences, attitudes, perceptions, and opportunities of work.

2. In order to prepare offenders to make the transition in to the work force, correctional strategies of inmate work and training must focus on maintaining links between individual offenders and the outside work force and provide pre-employment skills training and meaningful work experience that reflect the interest and needs of offenders, as well as the demands of the labour force.

3. The role of employment in the reintegration process is influenced by offenders' experiences, attitudes, and opportunities for work. The transition of offenders into the work force can be facilitated through CEAPS which address the unique employment and training needs of released offenders and create meaningful employment and training opportunities for offenders in the community.

Generally speaking, if the goal of correctional philosophy is to prepare inmates for release into the community at the earliest point in their sentences that poses the least risk to society, then correctional strategies of work and training must try to maintain or create links between the labour market and individual offenders while they are incarcerated and to provide for community-based employment services that assist offenders with making the transition into the labour market once they are released. As suggested by the findings of this study, however, prisons can not be expected to work miracles, as most offenders only experienced a change in attitude and a willingness to 'go straight' and secure legitimate employment after they underwent a process of 'maturation, a change that years of correctional programming did not achieve. Nevertheless, correctional authorities can not simply throw up their hands and wait for this change to occur 'naturally'; they must take a proactive approach to corrections and place jobs and training back on the correctional agenda.

The findings from the study raise some important considerations for correctional policy and program development both at the institutional and community levels. While the economic model of crime posits that human development programs are needed in prisons to address the employment and training needs of offenders, the findings from the study clearly indicate that current institutional work and vocational training programs did little to provide the offenders in the study with the work skills and attitudes necessary to enhance their chances for securing meaningful work once they are

released. These findings suggest that correctional policy and programming must address two issues: First, how to provide inmates with real marketable skills and meaningful work experiences that will qualify them for more than marginal employment once released; and second, how to give inmates some sense of value for legitimate work and training.

In addressing the first question, the findings suggest that continuing emphasis should be placed on correctional programming in ABE and personal development, as these programs were valued most by the offenders for preparing them to make the transition into the workforce. However, given that offenders generally left prison with no pre-employment skills, it is necessary to develop a pre-employment training component in coordination with the ABE and personal development programs, so that all inmates leaving prison will have some basic skills and knowledge to assist them in finding and keeping a job. A pre-employment program should provide career and educational counselling, information on community-based employment assistance programs, and training in basic pre-employment skills--employment search techniques, resume writing, work relations, interview skills, and interpersonal relations. Within the pre-employment program, there should also be a component that addresses the negative perceptions of work held by offenders. A pre-employment training program could be easily integrated into the ABE curriculum or personal development programs. Alternatively, a separate pre-employment training program could be developed and offered to inmates who are near the end of their sentence. Finally, as the offenders indicated in this study that institutional programs instructed by correctional personnel were less credible and incited more resistance from the inmates, the delivery of these programs could be offered by existing CEAPS under contract with CSC.

While the combination of ABE, personal development, and pre-employment programming will indeed enhance the chances of inmates making a successful transition into the workforce, these programs do not offer employable skills or vocational training. As the majority of offenders indicated that they did not receive any marketable skills, training or experience, employment and vocational training programs need to turn outwards and establish links between individual offenders and the real labour market. While proposals for restructuring vocational education and work programs may result in a more integrated approach to work and training in prison, it is unclear whether this will provide inmates with more 'meaningful' opportunities to develop and apply their work skills and vocational training in prison. Rather, it seems that the longer one is incarcerated, the less employable he/she will be upon release. Therefore, it is imperative that those inmates who pose little threat to society retain links with the labour force through individual employment contracts with private and public employers. This will not only give willing inmates practical work skills and training, invaluable work experience, a sense of self worth and confidence, and an income to contribute to the costs of their incarceration, but also a better chance at making a smooth transition back into society once their sentences are expired. Individual labour contracts will also provide a bridge between the community, labour force and the prisons, ensuring that all three are working in equal partnership towards the successful reintegration of offenders. These individual labour contracts could be coordinated through the pre-employment training program, while a forum of community, labour and correctional members would be responsible for their implementation.

With regard to the second question, given that the offenders in the study valued work and training programs as a means to secure institutional privileges and hone their criminal skills, it is imperative to develop correctional programming that has more meaning and value to the inmates. Fundamentally, institutional programs must be designed to serve the needs and interests of the inmates if they are to be valued by them, and subsequently, have any effective reintegrative value. In order to achieve this, it is critical that inmates be consulted and included in the development of correctional programming. It is only through direct consultation with the inmates that correctional programs of work and training will be valued by inmates and have a long-term postive effect on their attitudes towards legitimate employment. However, because most inmates in the study experienced a positive change in attitude towards legitimate employment as a result of a 'maturation process' rather than institutional programming, it is very difficult to suggest that correctional programming in and of itself can affect a postive change in offenders attitudes towards legitiamte employment and crime. Moreover, it is rather unrealistic to expect inmates to develop a sense of value for legitimate employment when the only types of jobs generally available to them are located in the marginal labour market. In general, any effort to instill a positive attitude towards legitimate employment in offenders will be countered by the harsh reality that offenders have few opportunites to access today's labour market. Given these limitations, correctional programming can not really be expected to produce drastic changes in offenders attitudes towards legitimate employment. However, it also can not afford to wait for offenders to come to this attitudinal change on their own. It seems that an integration of correctional programs may best be able to facilitate a change in attidtude towards legitimate employment and crime by creating links

between inmates and the 'real' work force and by reinforcing the ideal of legitimate work as a valueable and noble pursuit.

One possible direction for enhancing the value of correctional programming to offenders includes developing a scheme that allows for the development of industrial shops and service industries owned and operated by the inmates themselves. Whether new industries are developed for competition on the private market or CORCAN is restructured, inmates, labour representatives and correctional authorities should share in its development, management and operation. While the recent changes to CORCAN may facilitate the development of new prison industries and competition on the open market, any new developments in prison industries must make room for the needs, interests, and input of offenders. Fundamentally, this scheme may help to alleviate the continuing problem of prison industries and work programs serving the production and maintenance needs of the institution rather than the employment and training needs of the inmates. We can look to the USA for an example of the benefits of these schemes, where inmates share in the operation and management of production and service industries.

While such a scheme will undoubtedly require access to the private market, subsidized costs for production needs, and a cost-shared agreement between the institution and the inmates, it has the potential to give inmates a personal and financial stake in their own labour. If inmates are given some real responsibility and control over their lives in prison, they may develop a value for the work they do and sense of pride in their accomplishments that they can transfer into the outside labour force. Under this scheme, inmates could be paid an equivalent wage to the private sector,

which would allow them to help defray the costs of the institutions and develop a personal stake in their work, productivity, and training. Furthermore, if inmates are given more control over the operation of prison industries, then it is imperative that they also be given the right to develop some form of collective bargaining structure to negotiate their needs. Moreover, the use of non-correctional staff to deliver as many correctional programs as possible may give the programs a degree of credibility and create a trustful environment where inmates feel comfortable coming and they do not do feel they are 'selling out' or 'sucking up'.

Finally, there is a need to develop more work and training programs in federal prisons for women that address their unique employment and training needs. In the least, program opportunites for work and training need to be developed in federal prisons for women, so that they have access to a wide variety of quality training programs equal to those available in federal prisons for men. Even though women make up a small minority of the federal inmates in Canada, the correctional strategy of developing programs that prepare inmates for reintegration should be equally applied to all inmates in federal prisons without prejudice. Given that women, generally, face greater barriers to employment than men, it is imperative that CSC focuses some of its attention on the employment and training needs of female offenders.

In sum, individual work contracts, inmate-operated industries, and pre-employment training programs have the potential for providing inmates with real skills and experiences, ties to the labour market, value for the work that they do, and a sense of self-worth and confidence. In combined effect, these initiatives may assist offenders to make a successful transition into the

labour market specifically, and into society generally. Conversely, there is a need to avoid the development of 'chain gangs' or work gangs" as Alberta and Ontario have recently proposed, which provide offenders with meaningless work and offers no real skill or training. Rather than developing work programs to punish offenders, correctional programming must ensure that everything is done to help, encourage and prepare offenders to live successfully in the community.

Within the last few years, the promise of alleviating the high rates of unemployment among displaced and underemployed workers has been at the forefront of both federal and provincial politics. Indeed, the federal Liberals recently came to power on a program of job creation and retraining, while the provinces have been given more power to develop new initiatives to retrain workers and reduce dependency on welfare and UIC. However, while there are many community-based employment initiatives for training workers and creating employment that target specific groups of individuals--youth, women, natives, special needs--most of these initiatives and opportunities have excluded released offenders.

The implications for community programming are reflected in the findings that, although most offenders perceived and valued employment as necessary to break the cycle of crime and successfully reintegrate into society, they required support and basic skills to find and maintain a job. As offenders released from prison are faced with a barrage of employment barriers, that are often compounded by being incarcerated, the need for CEAPS cannot be overstated. As suggested by the responses of the offenders in the study, CEAPS can play a very important role in the reintegration of offenders by providing not only the skills to secure employment, but in more

general terms, the confidence and support to turn their lives around and break out of the cycle of crime. As such, the findings imply that CEAPS should not be evaluated solely on the basis of employment or recidivism rates, but in more general terms on the effect its services have on the confidence, self-image, and change in attitude of offenders. It also appears that the further CEAPS are situated from the 'correctional world' of the offenders, the better it will be received and able to offer a safe and comfortable place for offenders. In facilitating the reintegration of offenders, CEAPS should also act as service brokers for released offenders and advocates for change in the community. Rather than imposing a moral stigma on offenders who have paid their dues to society, it is necessary to convince community members, private industries, and public institutions to create employment and training opportunities for released offenders. Through a coordinated, integrated approach, CEAPS have the potential for addressing the employment and training needs of released offenders by creating meaningful opportunities in the community, by supporting released offenders with their transition into the workforce, and by acting as service brokers and advoctes for released offenders. However, it appears that if the lines of financial responsibility spill over into a debate about provincial and federal jurisdiction, then employment services for released offenders will likely remain undeveloped and unaddressed.

While it is necessary to develop CEAPS in order to address the post-release employment needs of released offenders, it is also necessary that these these policy and program implications are developed within a context of larger changes to the political economy. Only through structural social reforms that address the unequal distribution of opportunites and resources accross classes can these policy and program implications have any long-term effect on the crime and employment

rates of offedenders. In short, social reform and a redistribution of opportunites and resources is needed to ensure that those in the marginal labour force have equal access to opportunites for obtaining the goals of our society.

Directions for Future Research

The findings of this study strongly indicate the need for evaluative research on the effectiveness of correctional programming in preparing offenders for entrance into the workforce. This would involve studying the effect of various correctional programs on the post-release employment success of released offenders overtime. Such studies may compare the post-release employment experiences of groups of released offenders who participated in various correctional programs.

Furthermore, research or a needs-assessment should be conducted on federal inmates in order to determine their pre-employment needs and develop a pre-employment curriculum within the prison. Research into curriculum development and implementation could be done through interviews and assessments with inmates. A survey of current CEAPS and local labour market demands will be useful to determine what services are being offered and what skills are in demand. Research will also be needed to determine the feasibility of integrating a pre-employment training program within the federal prisons and/or contracting out the delivery of the pre-employment program to an existing CEAP. Finally, research is needed to determine the feasibility of developing alternative production and service industries within prison that are operated and managed for competition on the private market.

At the level of the community, research is needed to determine the availability, nature, and effectiveness of employment related services to released offenders. Most importantly, research on the Breaking Barriers Program is necessary to determine the role it plays in the transition of offenders into the work force, However, research must move away from rigid measurements of program success, such as rates of unemployment or recidivism, and focus on the employment experiences and perceptions of individuals involved in the program. This kind of research will help to identify the employment and training needs of released offenders and the types of programs that are needed to address them. A comparison of the post-release employment patterns of a group of program participants with a control group of released offenders may also provide more evaluative information on the impact of CEAPS on the lives of released offenders.

Research will also be necessary to examine the level of community support for the development of individualized work and training contracts with public and private businesses. This may involve a survey of public and private industries to determine if they would be willing to enter into labour contracts with CSC. A feasibility study would also have to be conducted to determine how this program would best operate with minimal cost and risk to the taxpayer.

If understanding how offenders view themselves and the world in which they live can help us to better understand the personal and social factors that motivate and influence individuals to engage in criminal activitiy, then the need for qualitative studies concerned with examining the attitudes, perceptions, views, and experiences of offenders is of paramount importance to future criminological research. This study has revealed that offenders can be valuable sources of

information and knowledge when trying to understand the relationship between employment and crime, the value of institutional work and training programs, and the role of employment in the reintegration process.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Employment Needs Indicators

Case Needs - Principle Components - Indicators

EMPLOYMENT

Ability

- Less Than Grade 8
- Less than Grade 10
- No High School Diploma
- Learning Difficulty
- Learning Disability
- Physical Impairment
- Memory Problems
- Concentration Problems
- Reading Problem
- Writing Problem
- Numeracy Problem
- Comprehension Problem
- No Skill Area/Trade/Profession
- Dissatisfied W/ Skill/Trade/Profession
- Physical Problems

Work Records

- No Employment History
- Unemployed At Arrest
- Unemployed 90% or More
- Unemployed 50% or More
- Unstable Job History
- Poor Punctuality
- Attendance, Poor
- Difficulties Meeting Workload Requirements
- Low Initiative
- Quit Without Other Jobs
- Laid Off
- Fired

Rewards

- Inadequate Salary
- No Benefits
- Jobs Lack Security

Co-Worker Relations

Negative Co-Worker Relations

Supervisory Relations

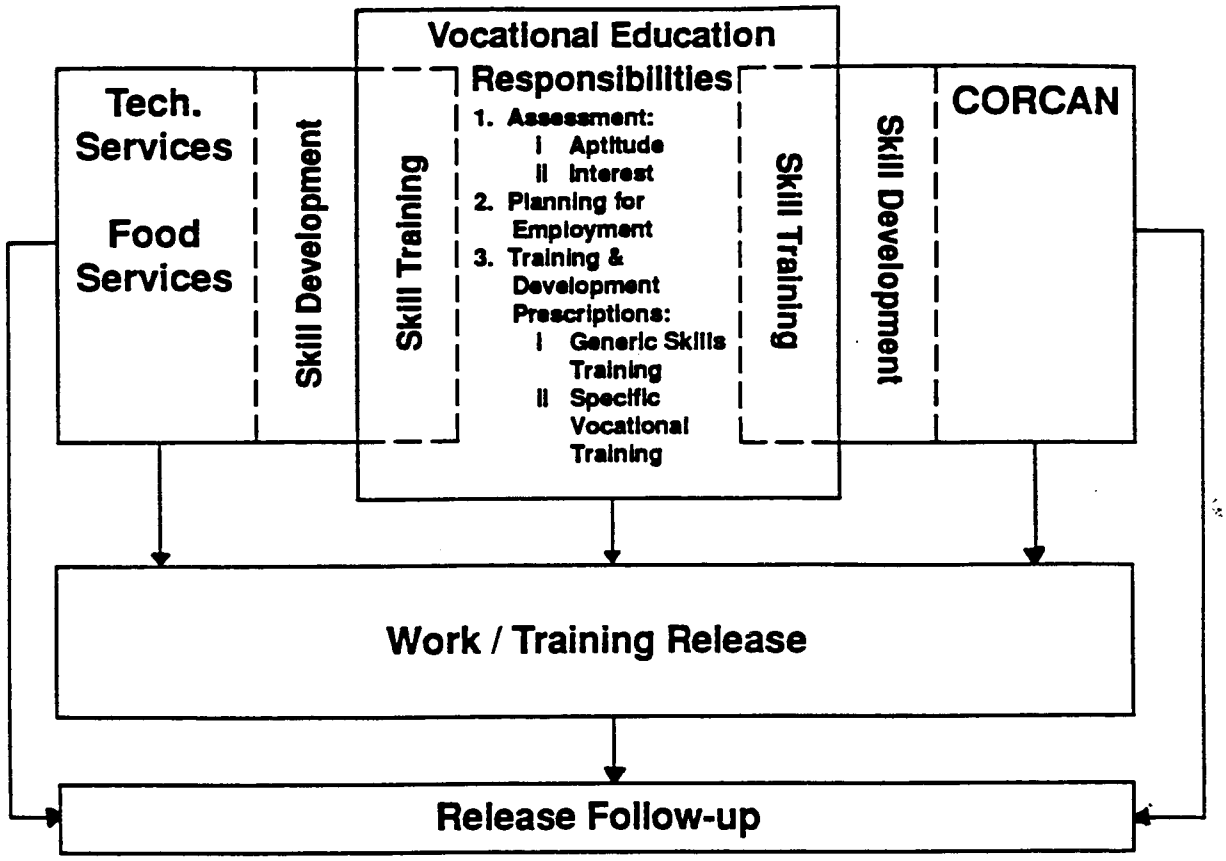
Negative Relations With Supervisors

Interventions

Prior Vocational Assessments
Participation in Employment Programs
Completion of Occupational Development Programs

APPENDIX 2: Model for Reprofiling Work and Vocational Education Programs

Development of Employment Skills*



This model details the process of preparing an individual for sustained, meaningful employment.

Definitions:

- ***Employment Skills:*** *The combination of skills attitudes and behaviours required to get, keep and progress on a job.*
- ***Assessment:*** *The use of standardized instruments of recognized validity to identify the skills aptitudes and interests of offenders for counselling and program planning purposes.*
- ***Planning for Employment:*** *Application of assessment data to the development of realistic and achievable employment objectives as a component of the offender's educational plan, which includes ongoing monitoring of the individual offender's progress.*
- ***Training and Development Prescription:*** *Identification of a sequential and time-framed program involvement consistent with the established career plans. This prescription may include pre-employment and/or specific vocational training and/or directed work placement consistent with the offender's Correctional Plan.*
- ***Generic Skills Training:*** *Those fundamental pre-employment/entry-level job skills and attitudes necessary to secure and maintain employment, etc., as outlined in CD 720 sections 24 and 25.*
- ***Specific Vocational Training:*** *Specialized, Provincially accredited or certified technical training as per section 1 of CD 720.*
- ***Skill Training:*** *The acquisition of skills and knowledge through formal instruction based on a structured curriculum.*
- ***Skill Development:*** *The application and practice of acquired skills and knowledge under supervision.*

APPENDIX 3: Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interviewee,

The purpose of this interview questionnaire is to gather information on your pre-prison, prison and post-prison experiences, particularly as they relate to employment and training. I am interested in information on your work and training experiences, your thoughts and fellings, and the role have played prior to being incarceertaed, while incarcerated and upon re-entry back into society. As I am interested in determining your feelings and perceptions of your experiences, it is most important that you try to respond as honestly and completely as you can. Keep in mind there are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

Personal Information:

1) Name/Participant #: _____

2) Age: _____

3) Gender: Male ___ Female ___

4) Ethnic Origin:
Caucasian_____ Native _____
Metis _____ East Indian _____
Hispanic _____ Other _____

5) What was the last grade level you completed in school?

6) Do you have any post-secondary education?
Yes ___
No ___

7) Are you certified in any Vocational/Technical Trade?
Yes ___
No ___

8) What is your current correctional status?
on probation ___
on parole (Day or Full) ___
corrections ___
pending charges ___
mandatory supervision ___
no involvement with corrections ___

Pre-Institutional Experience

1) What was your work history prior to being last incarcerated as a youth/adult? Discuss the value of work and crime in your life.

2) Prior to the last time you were incarcerated for a criminal offense

a) Were you working
Full time ___
Part time ___
Not working ___

b) How many different jobs did you hold?
None __
1-3 __
4-6 __
7-10 __
>10 __

c) What types of jobs did you work and how long did they last?

d) What was your primary source of income?

e) Was employment something you valued?

Yes ___
No ___

f) Did you regularly experience problems finding a job? If yes, then why?

Yes __
No ___

Low Motivation __
Low Self-Esteem __
Lack of necessary job skills __
Lack of job search skills ___
Lack of education
Communication problems __
Other __

g) Did you regularly experience problems keeping a job? If yes, then why?

Yes __
No ___

Conflicts with employer and other co-workers __
Motivation __
Self esteem __
Lack of necessary job skills __
Alcohol/drug abuse
Communication problems __
Other __

3) What was your attitude towards work prior to being incarcerated? How did you view work? What value did it have for you at this time?

4) What was it that made you satisfied/unsatisfied witht the work you did?

5) Prior to being incarcerated what was the most important thing you looked for in a job?

Security __	Pay __	Responsibility __	Creativity __
Training __	Advancement __	Challenge __	Independence __
flexibility __	Other _____		

6) Prior to being incarcerated were many of your friends working?

Yes __
No __

7) Do you feel that your attitude/view towards work influenced your criminal activity? Why?

Yes __
No __

8) Do you think that your ability to find and keep meaningful work influenced your criminality? Why?

Yes __
No __

9) Prior to being last incarcerated, to what extent do you feel you were employable?

1 10
Not Very Very

Institutional Experience

1) What is the total number of offences you have committed

As a youth? _____
As an adult? _____

a) How many of these offences were you convicted and sentenced for?

b) How many of these offences did you commit while you were unemployed ?

2) What is the total number of months and/or years that you have been incarcerated;

As a youth? _____
As an adult? _____

3) What types of offences have you served time for?

4) How old were you when you were first;

a) Charged with an offence _____
b) Incarcerated _____

5) Where have you been incarcerated?

Federal institution ___
Provincial institution ___
Juvenile institution ____

6) What is the longest period of time you were incarcerated?

7) What is the shortest period of time you were incarcerated?

8) What is the total number of times you have been incarcerated?

9) In your opinion what are the main reasons why you committed crime?

10) Which of the following do you think influenced you to commit criminal offense(s).

a) Low self esteem ___
b) Problems at school ___
c) Problems with parents ___
d) Problems with friends ___
e) Drugs and/or alcohol ___
f) Work failure ___
g) Needed money ___
h) Unable to secure and maintain employment ___
i) Hanging around with the wrong crowd ___
j) Other _____

11) If you have been incarcerated more than once, what factors led to you being incarcerated again?

Lack of support _____
Loneliness _____
Problems with friends _____
Other _____
Substance abuse _____
Problems with family _____
Lack of work _____

12) Did you receive any vocational, employment or educational training while incarcerated?
Yes ___
No ___

13) What type of training or education did you receive?

14) What type of employment did you hold in prison?

15) What programs were you involved with?

16) Did you acquire employment or job skills while incarcerated?
Yes ___
No ___

17) If yes, then what are these skills?

a) _____
b) _____
c) _____

18) What value did this training and/or employment serve to you while incarcerated?

19) How would you rate the vocational/employment training you received while incarcerated?

Very Good ___
Good ___
Satisfactory ___
Fair ___
Very Poor ___

20) What were your release/parole plans?

21) Was employment an important factor in your release plans?
Yes ___
No ___

22) If employment was part of your release plans, then what types of instruction did you recieve to help you find a keep a job once you were released?

23) Did you have a job waiting for you once you were released?
Yes ___
No ___

24) How do you think a job would have helped you to make the transition from prison to the community?

Post-Institutional Experience

1) When were you last released from prison?

2) What were the most important things you wanted to do once you were released?

a)_____
b)_____
c)_____

3) Were you able to carry out the release/parole plans you made while incarcerated? Why? Why not?
Yes ___
No ___

4) When you were released did you require social assistance/welfare? How long did you stay on welfare?
Yes ___
No ___

5) Where did you live once you were released?

6) What types of problems did you experience once you were released?

7) Did you receive any type of support for these problems?
Yes ___
No ___

8) Was staying out of prison important to you?

Yes ___
No ___

9) What did you think you needed most to make the transition from prison to community living?
What were the most important things you needed in order to stay out of jail?

10) At the time of your release, did you want to get a job? What value did work have for you at this time?

Yes ___
No ___

11) How long did it take to find work?

12) What were you looking for in a job at this time?

Security __	Pay __	Responsibility __	Creativity __
Training __	Advancement __	Challenge __	Independence __
flexibility __	Other _____		

13) Did you receive any assistance in your job search?

Yes ___
No ___

14) What problems did you encounter when you were trying to find work?

Low motivation ___
Lack of job search skills ___
Communication with employers and co-workers ___
Low self esteem ___
Criminal record ___
Lack of work skills/experience __
Others

15) What problems did you encounter once you actually started working?

Low motivation ___
Attitude ___
Conflict with employers and co-workers ___
Adjustment to the routine ___
Substance abuse __
Others

16) To what extent on the scale below do you consider yourself to have been employable at the time of your release?

1 _____ 10
Not Very Very

17) Was the employment or training you received in prison helpful in securing and maintaining employment?

Extremely ___
Very ___
Somewhat ___
Not very ___
Not at all ___

18) What institutional programs do you feel most prepared you to find and keep a job?

19) In your opinion, were you ever not hired for a job because of your criminal record?
Yes ___
No ___

20) Have you ever lost a job because of your criminal record?
Yes ___
No ___

21) At the time of your release did you feel adequately prepared to get a job?
Yes ___
No ___

22) When you were released did you know:

a) How to look for a job? ___
b) How to complete an application form? ___
c) How to write a resume? ___
d) How to communicate with employers? ___
e) If you were bondable? ___
f) What type of job you wanted? ___
g) None of the above? ___

23) Once you were released did you feel any more qualified to do jobs that were different than the jobs you held before you were incarcerated?
Yes ___
No ___

24) When you were released what did you think you needed most in order to get and keep a job?
Education ___
Job Training ___
job skills ___
Communication skills ___
Self confidence ___
Assertiveness ___
job search skills ___
interviewing skills ___
Encouragement ___
Support ___
Computer skills ___
Knowledge of the job market ___

Program Experience

1) Have you attended a employment and skills training program since your release? Which ones?

Yes ___
No ___

2) What were your reaseons for doing this?

3) How many different jobs did you hold from the time you were released to the time of this training?

4) What were your expectations upon entering the training program (s)?

5) Which of the following components of the training were most beneficial to you.

Career/vocational counselling ___
Educational upgrading ___
Personal counselling ___
Job search skills ___
Communication skills ___
First aid ___
Computer skills ___
Personal development/Lifeskills ___
Assertiveness training ___
Networking ___
Other ___

6) In general, what would you say the training program (s) did for you?

7) Was there anything the training program(s) did not do for you?

8) Did you obtain a job at the end of the training?

Yes ___
No ___

9) Did you go on to attend a vocational/educational training program once you completed this training?

Yes ___
No ___

10) If yes, then what type of training did you receive?

11) Would you recommend to other offenders who are released from prison that they attend an employment and skills training program? Why?

Yes ___
No ___

Post-Program Experience

1) What were your goals and expectations after you completed this training?

2) What barriers or problems have you faced since leaving the Program.
Employment? Family/relationships? Emotionally? Alcohol/drugs? Living Situation?

3) How long was it after completing this training did you gain employment?

4) What type of jobs have you held since completing your training and how long did they last?

a)_____
b)_____
c)_____

5) Since completing this traning, what percentage of the time have you been employed parttime or fulltime?

less than 25% __
25% to 40% __
45% to 60% __
65% to 80% __
85% to 100% __

6) Since completing your training, what percentage of the time have you been involved in a training or educational program?

less than 25% __
25% to 40% __
45% to 60% __
65% to 80% __
85% to 100% __

7) When did you last work?

8) Have you been satisfied with the types of jobs you have obtained? Why?

Yes ___
No ___

9) At this point in your life what is the most important thing you look for in a job?

Security___	Pay ___	Responsibility ___
Training ___	Advancement ___	Other ___
Challenge ___	Independence ___	Flexibility ___

10) What is your current employment and/or educational status?

_____ employed full time?
_____ employed part time?
_____ full-time student?
_____ part-time student?
_____ unemployed?
_____ receiving vocational or technical training?

11) What is your current living situtaion? How has this changed over the time you have been released?

12) If you are *not* working what do you attribute this to?

Lack of motivation ___	Low self-esteem ___
Communication problems ___	Lack of work skills/training ___
Conflicts at work ___	Family problems ___
Other__	Substance abuse ___

13) If you are currently unemployed, do you want to find a job?

Yes ___
No ___

14) What value does work and/or training have for you at this point in your life?

15) Do you feel that you now have the necessary skills and abilities to find and keep a job?

Yes ___
No ___

16) If no, then what do you think you need in order to find and maintain employment?

Motivation___	job search skills ___
support ___	education ___
computer skills ___	knowledge of the job market ___
On the job training ___	self confidence ___
communication skills ___	alochol and drug counselling ___
assertiveness ___	other ___

17) To what extent on the scale below do feel your are employable.

1 10

Employable Unemployable

18) Do you feel the employment and skills training program(s) has helped you to make the transition into the workforce? How?

Yes ___
No ___

19) Can you suggest any specific types of training or support that would be of use in your re-employment or career development which you have not received?

20) Have you committed any offences since completing this training?

Yes ___
No ___

21) Given your current circumstances, is it likely that you will be charged with other offences?

Highly unlikely ___
Somewhat unlikely ___
Somewhat likely ___
Highly likely ___