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REPORT OF THE
TASK FORCE ON
COMMUNITY-BASED
RESIDENTIAL CENTRES

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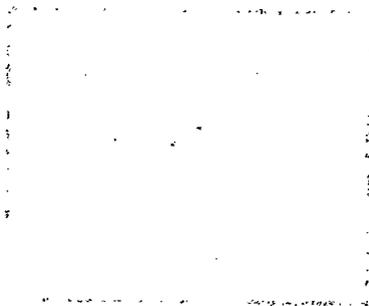
REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON COMMUNITY-BASED RESIDENTIAL CENTRES

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Solicitor General of Canada



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The Honourable Jean-Pierre Goyer, P.C., M.P.,
Solicitor General of Canada,
340 Laurier Ave., West,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0P8.

Sir:

In accordance with the terms of reference of the Task Force on Community-based Residential Centres, we take pleasure in presenting the following report which includes our suggestions for some broad principles which might guide future expansion of the C.R.C. movement in Canada. We also present for your consideration, several specific recommendations about the role which the federal government might play in this expansion.

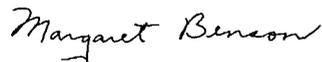
It is the hope of the members of the Task Force that this Report will provide a firm basis for the evolution of a comprehensive and concerted approach to community-based corrections in Canada.

The Report places special emphasis on developing a framework within which this expansion can take place rather than attempting to describe the specific form it should take. During the course of the study, we have become committed to actions which will result in the continued emergence and growth of C.R.C.'s. Our problem, in essence, has been to find a balance between freedom to innovate and licence, between accountability and irresponsibility. We hope that the principles and recommendations contained in this report will permit that growth to take place.

Respectfully submitted,



W. R. Outerbridge,
Chairman.



Margaret Benson,
Member.



André Thiffault,
Member.



E. W. Harrison,
Executive Secretary.

Ottawa,
September 29, 1972.

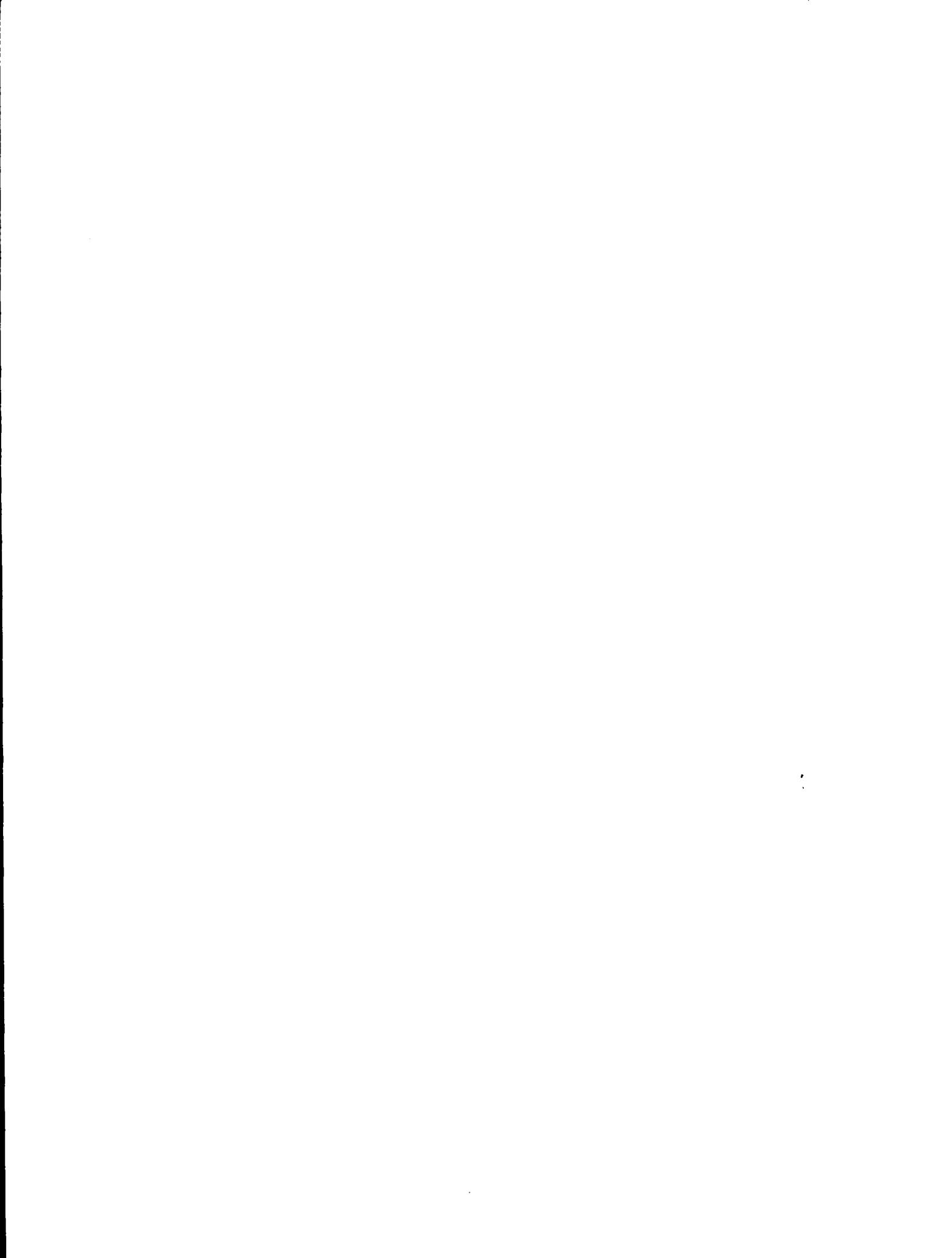


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We wish to offer special thanks to the staff of the Correctional Consultation Centre of the Department of the Solicitor General under the direction of Mr. D. R. McComb. The Centre contributed valuable advice and guidance in planning and implementing the many consultation and communications activities which formed an integral part of the overall Task Force strategy. The personal involvement of Mr. McComb in conferences and special meetings was also greatly appreciated.

Finally, the Task Force would like to acknowledge the dedicated work of all the members of the staff, including:

Research staff

Carole Eldridge
Cathy Flay
Edmund Milne
Paul Oleniuk
Michael Swords

Secretarial assistance

Barbara Caughey
Pierrette Cloutier
Jane Longo

Editorial assistance

Anne Hanna
Peter Smith

Consultants

C. H. S. Jaywardene
R. A. Skene
J. B. Garner
Robert Hann
Richard Sullivan
Maxwell Jones
Irvin Waller
Simmie Magid



Preface

During the last two decades the growth and development of the North American correctional system has been characterized chiefly by its diversity. A great variety of alternatives to imprisonment have emerged from traditional patterns of Corrections—programmes which represent expressions of an increasingly profound disillusionment with the belief that prison constitutes an effective instrument of either deterrence or rehabilitation of the offender. Legislative provision for the development of these programmes had existed in the statutes for sometime but it was not until the period following World War II that the desire to take advantage of these alternatives began to make itself felt. Since then “Community Corrections,” as they have been designated, have played an increasingly important role in the criminal justice aggregate.

In general, these programmes are designed to serve three purposes: to divert persons entirely from the criminal justice system and incarceration; to short-cut the length of incarceration; and to provide temporary relief from incarceration. Most often, the first goal is accomplished through the use of probation. During the fifties and early sixties, attempts to short-cut the length of incarceration resulted in experiments based upon the concept of the therapeutic community and its variations. Other innovations included programmes such as “Outward Bound,” designed to teach wilderness survival-skills to adolescents and young adults. These programmes were built upon provisions already contained in the statutes for earlier release by way of good conduct remission and, in particular, of parole. Although some of these programmes were residential in nature, others were provided on a daily basis with participants returning home at night. In the last few years, numerous attempts have been made to offer temporary relief from incarceration through programmes such as day parole, temporary leaves of absence, work release, and others. These have been provided

primarily, though not exclusively, for persons coming towards the end of their sentence.

Of all the programmes, probation and parole have had the greatest impact; together they have become the cornerstone of modern correctional practices in North America. The remainder are impressive more by their variety than by the degree to which they have affected penological practices. At the same time, they do represent expressions of what has come to be identified as community corrections, and they do appear to be developing with considerable rapidity.

Community-based residential centres provide an example of innovative programmes which encompass all three purposes noted above. Although they have had a long history in Europe, community residential centres are a relatively new phenomenon in North America. To be sure, hostels for transients and other categories of “persons in need” have been part of the welfare establishment since the turn of the century. These centres, run predominantly by religious organizations, are found in the core of many metropolitan centres in North America. Most of them are large and designed to provide overnight accommodation and religious counselling to the transient and the homeless. During the last few years, another variety of residential centre has appeared, designed primarily for persons who have come in contact with the criminal justice system. Their development has been largely a function of the private sector and, in Canada, it still is. Beverley Lodge and the Elizabeth Fry Society House in Toronto opened in the late fifties, as did Sancta Maria in Vancouver. These three privately organized institutions may be considered forerunners of a trend that did not gain momentum until nearly a decade later.

In the United States, government-sponsored experiments in half-way houses and residential centres took place during the mid to latter fifties, but it was not until ten years later that public sector programmes began to be

found with any frequency. In Canada, the Canadian Penitentiary Service moved into the field of providing pre-release accommodation for federal offenders in the late sixties. The Province of Saskatchewan has opened two houses during the last several years. New Brunswick is in the process of re-organizing its total correctional system; one feature of the new system will be an increase in the use of community-based residential centres instead of jails for a substantial portion of those convicted and serving short sentences.

A survey of contemporary residential centres throughout Canada provides a bewildering picture of residences offering everything from overnight accommodation to relatively permanent "counter cultures" where residents make a long-term commitment to the programme and the ideology which underlies it. They are found in the centre of large cities and on farms far from centres of population. Some provide only bed and breakfast; some provide intensive therapy based upon group dynamics principles and those of the therapeutic community. Some are solely for offenders; most have a more varied population with offenders and non-offenders sharing accommodation. The majority are restricted to men, yet there are some for women and a few for both men and women. They are funded by a number of departments of the federal government, provincial governments, municipalities, private foundations, and private agencies. Some are self-supporting; these derive their income from the contributions of residents.

The Task Force on Community-based Residential Centres was announced in mid-April. The mandate required submission of the final report by September 30, 1972. Its terms of reference were broad; three questions were posed:

1. What should be the goals and objectives of the Federal Government in relation to community-based residential centres and those of their residents for whom the Federal Government has responsibility?
2. What should be the guiding principles to govern all aspects of the support, establishment and operation of such centres for the benefit of federal inmates prior to parole, for those on temporary release for work or educational purposes, for parolees and mandatory releasees, and for those who have completed their sentence and seek short-term residential assistance?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of alternative models or organization, administration and support of community-based residential centres which might serve as ways of coordinating this rapidly expanding alternative to incarceration?

The first problem faced by the Task Force was arrival at a definition of the phenomenon. This definition had to be broad enough to encompass the wide range of existing programmes, but capable, at the same time, of distinguishing the subject matter of the study from boarding houses and hostels, at one end of the continuum, and from institutions, at the other. An attendant problem was how to separate residential centres for offenders, from those providing a broader range of programmes for "persons in need." For the purposes of this study, the descriptive definition which flows from the data and observations was accepted. Precision has been purposely sacrificed in order to ensure comprehensiveness:

The phrase "community-based residential centre" describes a wide variety of residential services for many kinds of persons in need. These include the physically and mentally handicapped, the elderly and disturbed or delinquent children, as well as offenders. They stand between some form of complete institutionalization and complete integration into the community, providing a service to those moving from a dependent status such as "patient" or "inmate," to a less dependent one such as "dischargee" or "parolee." Equally, they may be provided as alternatives to a more comprehensive level of institutionalization as in probation camps or hostels or group homes, i.e., for persons moving from an independent status to a dependent one. They tend, by and large, to be funded by sources other than the residents. They differ from institutions in that they tend to be smaller, more informal and to provide easier access to the community. They differ from boarding houses and hostels in that those responsible for their administration, perceive of themselves as offering something in addition to room and/or board. This extra programme may range all the way from assistance in obtaining employment to intensive group counselling or a complete alternative life-style.

It was decided at the beginning of the study that the widest possible definition of "ex-offender" would be accepted in order to include all of the programmes run by directors who consider they are meeting the needs of these people. For this purpose, an ex-offender was considered to be "any person convicted of a criminal offence, who either currently or in the past, has been on probation or in prison."

Because of the strict time limitation, and the focus on the role of the federal government established in the terms of reference, it was decided to confine the investigation to a study of residences for adult offenders only. A wide range of services for juveniles were thus eliminated from the study, although typical models of juvenile residences were considered for possible applicability to the adult field.

Introduction

There is a growing appreciation within the field of the irrationality that runs through much correctional practice today: of having such sharp lines between institutional and community treatment; . . . of spending so much on custody and so little on rehabilitation; of focussing so heavily on security during incarceration and so little on supervision to protect the community once an offender is returned to it.

The President's Commission
on Law Enforcement and
Administration of Justice, (1967)

The final report is divided into five parts, each of which represents one step in the evolution of this examination of the community-based residential movement as it exists in Canada today.

In Part I we describe the methods, tools and processes we used in arriving at an understanding of the phenomenon.

Part II contains our description of the C.R.C. movement, the physical facilities, staff and programmes of C.R.C.'s, and the economic operations of those centres. Our findings, along with appropriate comments, are expressed as 26 descriptive statements which add up to a collective definition of Canadian C.R.C.'s and the role they are filling in society today.

Parts III, IV and V of the Report represent our attempts to visualize the future development and growth of the C.R.C. movement. In Part III, Chapter Three, we try to

summarize the philosophical biases of the members of the Task Force as these affect their perception of the corrections field. Chapter Four is a statement of our conception of the direction in which C.R.C.'s should grow and the principles which should underlie this growth, derived from the attitudes described in the previous chapter. The specific role of the federal government as we see it developing is described in Chapter Five.

In Part IV we attempt to visualize the practical effects of translating these principles of growth into action. Chapter Six contains three proposals for alternate "delivery systems" of funding for future C.R.C.'s. Eleven specific recommendations for future growth and expansion are made in Chapter Seven.

The Report concludes with our summary of the impressions we gained during the six months the Task Force was in existence.

PART I

WHAT WE DID

Society is actually undergoing extremely rapid evolution and there is a need for clear guidelines in terms of its direction. The evolution of . . . criminality adds to the requirement of a wise definition of the various roles.

Police, Crown prosecutors, judges and correctional authorities are asking themselves today about the meaning of this evolution. Not one of these groups, however, has the right to place the responsibility on another for what appears to be a serious increase in criminality. The problem is far too complex to consider any one sector of the administration of justice as the scapegoat. The essential is that the public should believe, with justification, that the entire administration of justice is working as a team to assure the security of society.

Commission of Enquiry into the
Administration of Justice on
Criminal and Penal Matters in
Quebec, (1968)



Methodology

Investigation of a phenomenon such as community-based residential centres customarily proceeds according to the following steps:

1. detailed observation of the phenomenon;
2. development of hypotheses as to the nature of the phenomenon and its distinguishing characteristics;
3. development of research tools to assist more intensive investigation of the phenomenon—tools such as questionnaires, schedules for interviews, etc;
4. completion of the investigation;
5. analysis of the results and preparation of a report on them.

In the ordinary course of events, completion of each of these steps is considered a pre-requisite of the one that follows and development proceeds logically from one step to the next. Because of the complexity of the phenomenon to be observed and the severe limitations imposed by the time frame of six months, our investigation strategy necessitated the simultaneous combination of several of these steps. In effect, we had to develop both our hypotheses as to the nature of the phenomenon and our research strategy before we were able to complete the initial step, *i.e.*, detailed observation of the phenomenon.

Several disadvantages have flowed from this weakness inherent in our research design. Firstly, some deficiencies in our research tools became apparent, largely because we failed to anticipate all of the potential ramifications of our survey questions. Secondly, we neglected to obtain certain data which, given hindsight, we would have sought. These deficiencies have imposed limitations on the comprehensiveness of our descriptive data, as well as upon the degree to which we can make generalized statements about some of our observations.

The first thing that became obvious as we began our investigation was the dearth of descriptive material concerning Canadian community-based residential

centres. A few descriptive studies of the phenomenon do exist, but these are not national in scope and are outdated. Nowhere were we able to find reliable information on the number of such centres, whether they are publicly or privately financed, the kind of administration or type of programme under which they are operated. We did not know the type of person who is attracted to them, how long they stay, or what kind of facilities and programmes they participate in. We did not know how many of these centres are run solely for inmates of penal institutions and how many for a broader range of “persons in need”. As a result, the gathering of reliable demographic data became our first and most time-consuming task. This was done by developing an initial survey questionnaire intended to provide quantitative data on the administration, funding, programming, and regulations of known community-based residential centres. Questionnaires were sent to all known addresses and, in addition, we asked the assistance of recognized directors in identifying others. Close to 345 questionnaires were sent out and 228 were returned. Unfortunately the quality of returns did not match the quantity. We found some degree of unreliability in the results of this questionnaire, partly for reasons enunciated above, and partly because the questionnaires were frequently returned inadequately completed. Again, time limitations prevented us from remedying these deficiencies and our findings suffer as a result.

Recognizing the fallibility of surveys and recognizing also that many of the criteria used to determine the success or failure of half-way houses do not become clear through a study of “hard” data, we employed two graduate students, both of whom had extensive correctional experience, to investigate in greater depth a sample of community-based residential centres (C.R.C.’s) identified through our initial survey. These field observers spent a major portion of the summer travelling from one

end of Canada to the other, devoting periods of time ranging from hours to days, to visiting a total of 56 C.R.C.'s. They met and spent many hours with administrators and residents of these centres and, in this way, were able to develop more intensive descriptive data on this stratified random sample. In addition to interviews and observations, they administered a questionnaire to a sample of residents.

A third activity consisted of a two-part study designed to ascertain the cost to the federal government of C.R.C.'s, and to gain more detailed information concerning the administrative costs of these centres. This study proved much more frustrating than anticipated because of the inordinately complex nature of federal, provincial, municipal and private funding arrangements. It was supplemented by an extensive collection of all legislation concerning direct and indirect funding obtained from nine provinces.

The fourth activity was an attempt to ascertain the opinions and attitudes of those who, in the final analysis, will be residents of community-based residential centres, namely, inmates of penal institutions. Members of the Task Force visited a number of institutions and met a variety of groups of inmates. Some of these were formal groups whose members were elected by other inmates, some were more informal. These meetings consisted of a free exchange of ideas and opinions between members of the Task Force and the inmate groups.

Inmate groups were also asked to help in one other way: in order to obtain more detailed and consistent opinions from the population of a number of federal penitentiaries a questionnaire was developed and inmate groups were requested to administer it to other inmates in the institution. Inmate committees in every federal penitentiary in the British Columbia region, in Manitoba and the three federal institutions in the Atlantic Provinces all agreed to co-operate in this project.

Fifthly, a questionnaire was circulated to each penitentiary in Canada asking officials for assistance in defining the needs and wishes of penitentiary inmates regarding C.R.C.'s. Members of the Task Force met with staff in a sample of penitentiaries throughout Canada in an effort to determine the opinions of custodial officers as well as those of administrators and classification officers.

Sixthly, a separate and complex research activity was undertaken in order to correlate the mass of data gathered from four survey questionnaires, the results submitted by our field observers, the results of our investigations into funding and costs and then decide which of the data could be legitimately employed in describing the phenomenon of C.R.C.'s. A graduate

student in experimental psychology, with extensive experience in research methods and statistics, was employed for this task.

Seventhly, a series of conferences and small meetings were held in various regions across Canada to gather the opinions of those who fund, administer, support and live in C.R.C.'s. With the help of regional liaison people, a total of 15 such conferences were held from Vancouver to Halifax with judges, police, probation and parole officers, wardens, classification officers, directors of C.R.C.'s, residents, persons currently in prison, and ex-offenders in attendance. This provided an unusual "mix" of offenders and non-offenders who attempted to share their perceptions of this new phenomenon. In addition we met with representatives of each provincial government to explain the purpose of the Task Force and to seek their advice in explaining provincial policy regarding C.R.C.'s and their future plans.

Early in our investigation, it became obvious that any commonly accepted standards of evaluation of C.R.C.'s were conspicuous by their absence. It also became obvious that standards of programme effectiveness were equally non-existent. For this reason, we instituted two small research projects designed to try to supply some of the missing data. The first project was an attempt to develop some indices of social benefits and social costs of C.R.C.'s. A research contract was let to two economists, Mr. Robert Hann of the Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, and Prof. Richard Sullivan of Carleton University, in Ottawa who were asked to develop a research model for the evaluation of C.R.C.'s on the basis of certain economic indices. We also requested Prof. Irvin Waller of the Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, to evaluate a number of the major empirical studies of C.R.C.'s undertaken in Canada, the United States and Europe, in order to determine what assistance these studies could offer in our attempts to arrive at standards of evaluation for Canada.

The Task Force rejected the idea of holding public hearings for the acceptance of briefs, in favour of making the most of contacts with selected groups of persons on an informal basis. Nevertheless, we did request briefs and/or submissions and a total of 46 of these were returned from inmate groups, private individuals and members of the correctional establishment.

It was felt that the lengthy European experience in community residential centres, particularly in England and in Belgium, would be a valuable guide in determining standards of evaluation. As a result, two members of the Task Force visited these countries briefly to gain first hand information on the state of evolution of standards.

One of our greatest sources of satisfaction and perhaps in the long-run greatest achievement, was bringing together people from many walks of life, representing

many different points of view, to try to reach accord on the complex problems affecting all of them. The confrontation between judge and offender, parole officer and inmate, director and "funder", while it often resulted in tension, did succeed in lowering barriers and promoting effective communication.

In order to leave a period of about six weeks for the compilation of data and preparation of the final report, it was necessary to bring the investigatory phase of the study to a close in mid-August.

Finally, after the members of the Task Force had reached tentative agreement on the major thrust of the final report and on the recommendations which it would contain, we held a two-day "think tank" to test our ideas. To this conference we invited twelve people from all areas of Canada whose contribution to our regional conferences had been outstanding. We tried to choose critics as well as supporters to ensure a lively process which would result in the testing of our findings in the light of the experiences of others.

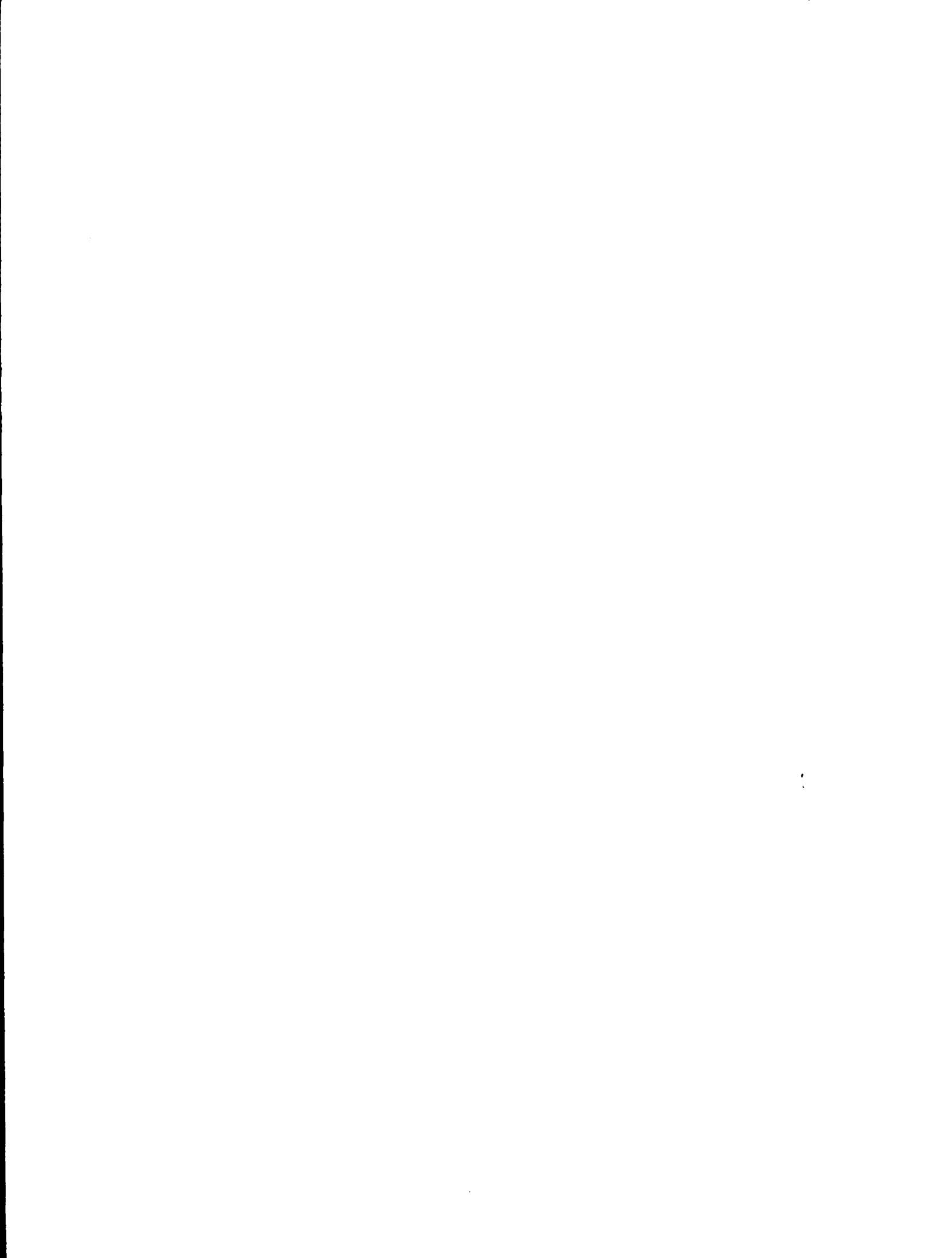


PART II

WHAT WE FOUND

Thus much is certain; that a system that is never to be censured, will never be improved: that if nothing is ever to be found fault with, nothing will ever be mended: and that a resolution to justify everything at any rate, and to disapprove of nothing, is a resolution which, pursued in future, must stand as an effectual bar to all the additional happiness we can ever hope for.

Jeremy Bentham



Findings and Commentary

We have attempted to organize the myriad observations of the last few months into a series of descriptive statements.

These statements offer a collective image of community-based residential centres as they exist in Canada today. The comments accompanying each statement are derived from the descriptive data which came to light during our research and field observations, conferences and other activities. Where appropriate, we have added comments which represent our opinions as to the implications of what we have found.

These observations, in the order in which they appear in the text, are:

1. Community-based residential centres (C.R.C.'s) represent a relatively new type of correctional programme in Canada.
2. We have been able to identify 156 C.R.C.'s in Canada which accept adult ex-offenders either because they are ex-offenders or because their programme offers some specialized service from which certain ex-offenders can benefit.
3. The bed capacity of those C.R.C.'s which accepted ex-offenders during one night in 1972 was approximately 5,700. The number of these beds used by ex-offenders during one night in 1972 was approximately 3,000.
4. A review of evaluative studies of C.R.C.'s reveals no commonly accepted and adequate standards of evaluation.
5. C.R.C.'s are distributed unevenly across Canada.
6. The quality and nature of physical facilities vary greatly.
7. A wide variety of programme services are offered by C.R.C.'s as a group.
8. Most C.R.C.'s are used by offenders who have already been released from prison.
9. Nineteen residential centres are exclusively for women, and provide a maximum bed capacity of two hundred and twenty.
10. Twenty-six C.R.C.'s accept both men and women as residents.
11. Three C.R.C.'s are operated exclusively for native peoples.
12. C.R.C.'s whose primary orientation is towards ex-offenders show an increasing tendency to accept non-offenders as well.
13. More than 80% of C.R.C.'s have a board of directors.
14. In most cases the director of a C.R.C. plays the most important role in its programme and administration.
15. Despite the apparently high ratio of staff to residents, C.R.C.'s appear to be under-staffed.
16. Despite the fact that most inmates indicate a need for C.R.C.'s, many are not operating at optimal capacity.
17. By and large, residents contribute little to the establishment and enforcement of rules and regulations governing the operation of C.R.C.'s.
18. Record-keeping practices and the types of records kept differ widely from one C.R.C. to another.
19. Many directors of C.R.C.'s are dissatisfied with present contractual agreements with the Department of the Solicitor General for residential services.
20. Funding arrangements for C.R.C.'s in Canada are a jungle of types, sources, responsibilities, criteria and standards.
21. Operating budgets of sources of funds for C.R.C.'s vary widely.
22. The federal government contributes an estimated 38.5% of funds directly or indirectly to the total operating budgets of 24 post-release C.R.C.'s.

23. Provincial C.C.C.'s appear to have the lowest per diem operating costs (\$9.91) with the post-release ex-offender centres second (\$10.39). Federal C.C.C.'s per diem costs are approximately twice as high (\$21.29).
24. The degree of involvement with the local community differs from one centre to another.
25. The degree of contact between C.R.C.'s is limited.
26. Many inmates in penal institutions do not know of the existence of C.R.C.'s in the communities to which they plan to return.

1. **Community-based residential centres (C.R.C.'s) represent a relatively new type of correctional programme in Canada.**

Findings: Half of the centres in the sample¹ are less than five years old, 25 per cent from five to ten years old, and 25 per cent have been in existence for over ten years.

Almost without exception, the oldest residential centres provided basic services such as shelter and food for "persons in need." A number of these hostels for transients have been in existence since the turn of the century.

The oldest of the centres which caters primarily to ex-offenders is Beverley Lodge in Toronto which opened its doors 18 years ago. More new C.R.C.'s which accept adult ex-offenders have opened during the last 5 years than during the last half century. Some of the impetus for this development has come from within institutions, but most is derived from the trend towards Community Corrections. Another important contributing factor has been the entry of ex-offenders into the C.R.C. movement. This trend is exemplified by the rapid growth of what are being called "self-help" groups.

A characteristic of the movement today is its dynamic nature. At its core are a large number of somewhat conservative traditional centres. At its outer fringes there is a great deal of "action"; new houses in the private sector open and others close, with relative frequency. It is here that most of the experimentation with new styles of organization, as well as treatment, occurs. Here one finds the self-help groups, as well as the most innovative directors. At this outer fringe of the movement one finds also the instability which is a function not only of the creativity of the people, but of the uncertainty of funding which is one of the major problems faced by directors of new programmes.

Commentary: We were impressed by the creativity and willingness to innovate of some C.R.C. directors, a characteristic reflected in their programmes. We were impressed also by the dynamic quality of some centres

¹Of 345 questionnaires sent out, 228 were completed and returned to us. Of the 228, 72 respondents stated they would not accept ex-offenders in residence if they were known to be ex-offenders.

which actually involved residents in planning their own programme and in taking responsibility for their actions within the programme. In these instances, residents reflected pride in themselves and a sense of responsibility for others.

We were impressed as well, but not as positively, with the degree to which many programmes, especially those closer to the traditional core of the movement were based on models of human influence not very different from that employed in prisons. The wall of mistrust found in prisons was perpetuated: rules were imposed in the expectation that they would be broken; "treatment" by group-counselling or case-work was compulsory in these centres. Residents felt they were "doing a different kind of time," albeit more pleasant than prison, while they waited for the chance to "get their stake" and move on.

These programmes reflected lack of imagination and reluctance to depart from tradition. We don't know from what sources creativity stems, but we do feel that it does not necessarily flow from either professionalism, or "ex-con-ism." Certainly it is not derived from traditionalism alone!

2. **We have been able to identify 156 C.R.C.'s in Canada which accept adult ex-offenders either because they are ex-offenders or because their programme offers some specialized service from which certain ex-offenders can benefit.**

Findings: It has been pointed out that the constantly changing "face" of the C.R.C. movement makes data obsolete before it is codified. However, as of August 15, 1972, when our field observations were completed, we had succeeded in identifying 156 C.R.C.'s which met the definition we had set. A development of some interest in recent years has been national organizations of affiliated C.R.C.'s.

This total can be grouped according to the functions they performed. There are 52 traditional half-way houses, either pre-release or post-release, whose main orientation is the provision of a residential service to persons who have been convicted of criminal offences. There are 43 centres which specialize in services for persons who have problems with alcohol or drugs. Thirty-three are transient houses, most of which provide over-night or very short-term accommodation. Another 28 are miscellaneous centres, including a number which provide long-term residence to "persons in need" but accept also ex-offenders. Some in this group accept ex-offenders because they are participating in life-skills training which is at the centre of the programme they offer. Several residences with counter-culture programmes also fall into this category.

Several major areas have remained virtually untouched by our investigations. These include the Canadian Mental

Health Association half-way houses, communes, transient youth hostels, private alcoholism treatment facilities, juvenile group homes and juvenile probation facilities, children's aid and welfare department group homes for wards of government. We suspect, but cannot prove, that many residential facilities, especially in rural settings, have remained unidentified.

3. The bed capacity of those C.R.C.'s which accepted ex-offenders during one night in 1972 was approximately 5,700. The number of these beds used by ex-offenders during one night in 1972 was 3,000.

Findings: Returns from our initial questionnaire indicated the total number of beds available in 156 centres at 5,699. Of these, 3,069 beds are provided for over-night or transient services, 872 for alcohol or drug treatment, and 776 are found in traditional half-way houses for ex-offenders. An additional 982 are provided for "persons in need," including ex-offenders who may require long-term residential facilities.

It should be noted that more than half of the available bed space was provided by 33 hostels which offer over-night or short-term, transient accommodation. It is fair to guess that many of the men who seek transient accommodation have been in jail at one time or another in their lives. Whether or not they are recent ex-offenders cannot be determined since this information is seldom obtained at the time of admission.

Of the 43 houses which contain 872 beds specializing in treatment of alcohol and drug disorders, we estimated that about 50 per cent of the residents are ex-offenders. The 776 beds in traditional half-way houses are occupied, mostly though not exclusively, by ex-offenders. Our data on the remaining 28 miscellaneous centres is too unreliable to allow an estimate of the percentage of ex-offenders living in them;

Commentary: At first glance, these figures would suggest a large number of beds available to ex-offenders in C.R.C.'s across Canada, but this is not the case. Most of the 3,000 beds used by ex-offenders are found in transient houses. Most of those which offer accommodation longer than very short-term are in centres which accept both persons who have been in prison and those who have not. In some, such as alcohol and drug centres and long-term "miscellaneous" centres, the acceptance of ex-offenders is incidental to provision of residential care to "persons in need". In addition, most of the beds available are post-release; few beds are available in pre-release centres. Finally, we estimate that the number of adult probation group homes is not large, nor is the number of centres which provide an alternative to charging.

4. A review of evaluative studies of C.R.C.'s reveals no commonly accepted and adequate standards of evaluation.

Findings: The Task Force contracted for an examina-

tion of evaluative studies of community-based residential centres.² The eleven studies selected were those which appeared to have the most comprehensive data and the most promising research designs. Thus, it was hoped that they would yield the best results.³ No Canadian evaluative studies were included since, as far as we know, none exist. The selected researches investigated both alternatives to incarceration and alternatives to direct release into the community.

During the course of this review, it became clear that, because definitions of key terms were different, and the data bases of the various studies were different, it was impossible to compare them. Moreover, the findings could not be applied to the Canadian scene. All the studies measured success by rates of recidivism, comparing the rates of graduates of these special community programmes with those of persons discharged from prison or given straight release. Nearly all centres studied had the experimental group in residence for only a short time. All of the centres provided some special treatment or training component, the evaluation of which served as the primary reason for the studies in the first place.

One of the first findings was that these programmes cost roughly the same as the institutional alternatives, a finding that is not surprising in view of the special treatment or training component which they possessed. The second finding was that there was no evidence that a period in such centres was of any value in reducing recidivism; on the other hand, it did not have the effect of increasing it. It is highly unlikely that sustained changes in the behaviour of substantial numbers of men measured by gross recidivism rates would result from short-term residence, no matter how intense the programme.

The report states:

One major limitation of the studies . . . is that none was designed to pinpoint the elements that contributed to the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness of the programme. Whole experimental programmes were compared to whole control programmes. . . . It would almost certainly be more profitable to thoroughly examine experimental and control programmes that differ on only one or a very limited number of dimensions. . . . Another useful technique is to use multiple control groups to facilitate comparisons. Persons could be assigned to straight parole, parole with special services, parole with special services and residence in a half-way house, residence in a half-way house with no special services, etc., and the outcomes could be compared.⁴

²S. Magid, "The Evaluation of Community-based Residential Centres." A paper prepared for the Task Force on Community-based Residential Centres, under the supervision of Prof. Irwin Waller, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, 1972.

³The studies chosen were: U.S. Pre-release Guidance Centres; U.S. Community Treatment Centres (Washington, D.C., 1970); The Shaw Residence (Washington, D.C., 1968); Parkway Community Correctional Centre (Los Angeles, 1971); East Los Angeles Halfway House, (1966); Robert Bruce House (Newark, N.J., 1969); Crofton House (California, 1970); Silver Fields (N.J., 1967) and Probation Hostels (Great Britain, 1971).

⁴S. Magid, "The Evaluation of Community-based Residential Centres," pg. 46.

For all of these reasons, we decided that conclusions about the effectiveness of C.R.C.'s in general, or about standards of evaluation, cannot be drawn from the results of empirical studies to date. Ultimate decisions concerning the effectiveness of C.R.C.'s in comparison with other alternatives and value judgements about *which programme elements are related to success or failure for which kind of resident* cannot yet be answered.

Commentary: In our opinion, the efficiency of C.R.C.'s should not be measured by the single criteria of recidivism rates. Other criteria which measure the social and economic cost to society should be used. (A standard which measures a number of factors included in cost-benefit analysis is described in the Hann-Sullivan paper appended to this Report.)

5. C.R.C.'s are distributed unevenly across Canada

Findings: The number of centres and the number of beds within each is given in the table below.

TABLE 1—Number of centres and beds, by province, August, 1972

Province	Centres	Beds
British Columbia	33	1219
Alberta	15	446
Saskatchewan	7	120
Manitoba	10	279
Ontario	63	2775
Quebec	17 ⁵	579 ⁵
New Brunswick	2	19
Nova Scotia	5	174
P.E.I.	4	88
Newfoundland	0	0

⁵The figures for the Province of Quebec may be conservative because of an inadequacy in the translation of our questionnaire. The definition of a C.R.C. was equivocal.

Residential centres are primarily an urban phenomenon; 85 per cent are located in urban areas; 5 per cent in suburban areas and 10 per cent in rural regions. A number of factors, some speculative, might account for this uneven distribution. General population density appears to be a major factor; most inmates come from urban areas, and return there on release. Another factor may be the availability of provincial sources of funding. In British Columbia, for example, there are a number of Native Peoples' Organizations which are active in planning C.R.C.'s. These groups were stimulated in some measure by the First Citizens Fund in British Columbia.

The uneven distribution of C.R.C.'s is also reflective of certain correctional priorities that vary from province to province. In Newfoundland, for example, community-based residential centres have lower priority than the development of a comprehensive probation system. In New Brunswick the chief concern is for development of public sector programmes. As a result, many of the province's goals are being "retired" and replaced by small facilities very much like C.R.C.'s located in various regions.

"Self-help" groups are also responsible for the growth of C.R.C.'s in some parts of the country, particularly in British Columbia. Some of these groups are prepared to "go it alone" if necessary and set up a programme for other ex-offenders. In at least two areas, it appears that the development of C.R.C.'s is a function of the skills in social animation of certain key individuals in the community.

6. The quality and nature of physical facilities vary greatly.

Findings: Although most of the 56 houses⁶ we visited can be considered to meet basic requirements, several are in a state of disrepair. A few actually present a safety hazard to residents. Accommodation ranges from single detached dwellings which were formerly private homes, to large institutional facilities complete with medical, dental, and vocational counselling services. The latter, however, make up a small part of the total number.

Most centres at least attempt to provide a "home" atmosphere though many are somewhat sterile and institutional in character. Much divergence of opinion surrounds the merits of providing meals as a part of the programme as opposed to encouraging independence by providing money so that residents may eat in restaurants.

The location of residences is felt by directors to be of prime importance but there is considerable disagreement about what constitutes a good choice. This divergence of opinion is reflected in the actual sites. Some centres are found in the heart of the downtown area, some in upper-middle class or upper-class residential neighbourhoods. Some directors prefer to have their centres located near the neighbourhood from which their "clientele" come; others want a location which demonstrates to their residents that a different way of life does exist. A few, especially self-help groups, choose residential neighbourhoods in upper-income areas to show their fellow residents that "we can make it too! look where we live, for openers!"

It was often stated that suitable facilities for rent or sale are extremely difficult to locate and, in some areas virtually non-existent. We found the majority of centres to be in rented quarters. One reason for this is the lack of capital monies. Considerable variation exists in lease-rental arrangements. Some houses have arranged a yearly lease for a token payment of \$1.00; at the other end of the continuum, one centre pays in excess of \$1,800 per month. In most residences the "guests" participate in the maintenance of the house and grounds. For the most part, they are located close to existing transportation, recreation and other facilities.

⁶A total of 56 houses were visited by our field observers who spent from hours to days talking to directors, staff and residents, gathering opinions and attitudes.

A large number of the newer houses are furnished in what could be described as "early crippled civilian". The residents themselves have obtained furniture through donations from various organizations and individuals.

Commentary: We noted wide discrepancies in physical settings and in the operating costs of different C.R.C.'s, as exemplified both by rents paid and per diem costs. On further observation we were unable to find any correlation between physical facilities, costs and what we considered to be criteria of "quality" of programmes. Some of the most exciting ideas we saw during our travels were being executed in "shoe string" operations; some of the most stultifying in centres with high daily rates.

7. A wide variety of programme services are offered by C.R.C.'s as a group.

Findings: For purposes of clarity, we have divided the wide range of programme services into four categories.

A. Alcohol and Drug Treatment Centres

As stated above there are 43 such centres in Canada with a total capacity of 872. Six of these were visited by our field observers. The 43 centres are found in nine provinces.

TABLE 2—Distribution of alcohol and drug treatment centres by province, August, 1972

Province	Number
British Columbia	9
Alberta	5
Saskatchewan	2
Manitoba	2
Ontario	15
Quebec	4
New Brunswick	1
Nova Scotia	1
P.E.I.	4
Newfoundland	0

Twenty-five are exclusively for male alcoholics; three for women, and seven accept both men and women. Three are exclusively for male drug addicts and five are for both men and women addicts.

In general, centres for those with drug problems were characterized by a strong communal spirit among residents. Programmes of treatment were intense, residents were expected to remain for lengthy periods and involvement was expected to be total. A variety of treatment techniques were employed ranging from traditional psychotherapy, both individual and group, provided by professional consultants, to "newer" methods such as psychodrama, marathon encounter groups, Gestalt therapy groups and synanon-type "games"; even, in one in-

stance, "primal scream" techniques. Some were completely "self-help" in orientation.

Treatment centres for alcoholics were not as demanding or innovative in the use of "new" methods, nor as intense. The Alcoholics Anonymous philosophy appeared to be widely accepted. In general, residence is of shorter duration than is the case in centres for drug addicts.

B. Transient Centres⁷

There are 33 such centres in Canada with a total bed capacity of 3,069. Six of these centres were visited.

TABLE 3—Distribution of transient centres by province, August, 1972

Province	Number
British Columbia	6
Alberta	2
Saskatchewan	1
Manitoba	1
Ontario	15
Quebec	5
New Brunswick	1
Nova Scotia	2
P.E.I.	0
Newfoundland	0

The distribution by sex of occupants is: males only—23; mixed—3; families (male, female and children)—4; female plus children—3.

Most of the C.R.C.'s included in this category are large houses, and include hostels, missions, and transient youth facilities. Basically, what these houses provide is accommodation—overnight to several days—and meals. Other services are, however, available to the residents of some of these houses. These include: individual counselling; referral to welfare agencies; sheltered workshops; employment for a few residents within the institution; religious services; emergency clothing; and storage facilities.

Generally, there are no admission requirements except that one be over 16. No minimum length of stay is set by C.R.C.'s; the average is 3 days, except during winter months when policy is more flexible. One characteristic of these C.R.C.'s is that occupancy of sleeping areas is restricted to night-time hours. During the day the houses are cleared to allow for maintenance duties. As a rule, curfew hours and rules governing the presence of alcohol and drugs on the premises are rigidly enforced. The only records of clientele are those pertaining to the number of beds used. Usually, no information beyond the resident's name, age and in some cases, social security number is taken upon intake.

⁷In this category, there are an unknown number of youth hostels not included in our sample.

C. *Traditional Half-way Houses*

There are 52 such houses in Canada with a bed capacity of 776.

TABLE 4—Distribution of traditional half-way houses by province, August, 1972

<i>Province</i>	<i>Number</i>
British Columbia	12
Alberta	5
Saskatchewan	4
Manitoba	5
Ontario	21
Quebec	5
New Brunswick	0
Nova Scotia	0
P.E.I.	0
Newfoundland	0

The houses in this category represent C.R.C.'s whose primary orientation is towards offenders and ex-offenders, though the proportion of non-offenders is increasing. Twenty-eight of the 52 houses were visited by our field observers.

The most striking distinction within this category is between pre-release and post-release centres.

1. PRE-RELEASE CENTRES

Ten of these centres are in operation. Their bed capacity is 163. Eight, with 138 beds, are for males alone, and the balance for women.⁸

Of the ten houses, five are federally operated Community Correctional Centres (C.C.C.'s) and one a federally operated Day Parole Centre in Kingston. Two are provincially operated work training centres in Saskatchewan, one is the Provincial Adult Detention Centre in Winnipeg, and one a privately operated Elizabeth Fry Society pre-release centre in Kingston, Ontario.

To describe the federally operated C.C.C.'s as pre-release centres tends to obscure the multiplicity of roles that these centres are presently filling. In addition to housing inmates prior to expiration of sentence, some C.C.C.'s are presently being used for the following functions: to house suspended parolees as an alternative to re-incarceration; to house inmates on temporary absence and on day parole; to prepare inmates for full parole; to accommodate inmates who are undergoing psychiatric testing; to house inmates who are on vocational or academic programmes; to provide a period of assessment for parole candidates.

Residents are selected for the C.C.C.'s primarily through application. In three of the four federal C.C.C.'s the director had no real input into the selection procedure. The directors with whom we spoke were unanimous in feeling that they should have a stronger voice in the selection of residents for their houses. They expressed

⁸These figures are even now out of date because new Community Correctional Centres have been opened by the Canadian Penitentiary Service. One of the female centres also has separate quarters for males.

some uncertainty as to what criteria were employed for selection of residents. These and other indications of a lack of close communication between centres and their service institutions were expressed.

There are a wide variety of programmes in the C.C.C.'s. The only common feature is the weekly compulsory meeting of residents with the director. These sessions fulfill the functions of relaying announcements to the residents, "bitch" sessions, and "group counselling." In addition to the weekly group meeting, individual counselling is available at all of the C.C.C.'s but only one requires it on a compulsory basis. Most C.C.C.'s are actively involved in assisting the residents to obtain employment.

There is a surprising range of atmosphere in the C.C.C.'s: some resemble institutions in their rigidity, some have developed a relaxed and "open" atmosphere. There is also a wide variety of intensity and "sophistication" in programmes. One constant factor in the C.C.C.'s we visited was a system of rewards for good behaviour based on passes. A resident is restricted to the house initially during the orientation period, but through good behaviour can advance to a level of greater privilege. There are rules prohibiting drugs; firearms are prohibited and violence is not allowed. Conditions of passes must be adhered to. Sanctions are administered flexibly; the ultimate sanction, infrequently applied, except in the advent of committal of a further offence, is return to the institution. Violations concerning rules of alcohol and drug abuse, hours, and overall deportment, are dealt with on an individual basis, and normally entail imposition of restriction on hours.

2. POST-RELEASE CENTRES

There are 42 of these centres in Canada with a total bed capacity of 613. Thirty-two are exclusively for men; seven for women and three provide residence to both men and women and their families. Of the total, we visited 22.

A striking feature of this category of centres is that they belong to the private sector. To our knowledge, no level of government is involved in the administration of post-release C.R.C.'s at present.

One of the characteristics of this type of housing is its tendency to be relatively small. The smallest has only three residents; the largest is the House of Concord in Toronto with 110 residents. More than half of the total have between six and twelve residents.

All of the houses visited are established in former private homes, and this factor alone has determined the maximum number of residents that can be accommodated. Since the average number of staff in the houses we visited was less than three persons, an increase in the number of residents would inhibit the relationship between the director and residents.

The selection criteria varied from none, beyond the simple request of an applicant, to formalized procedures by a selection committee. In the majority, the selection is made by the director. We were left with the very strong impression that this class of C.R.C.'s would accept most applicants with the exception of sex offenders and drug addicts. Although there are few standards for initial selection, a screening process does take place subsequently. Directors and staff "keep an eye" on new residents during their first few weeks and if they are considered disruptive to the programme or to other residents they are asked to leave. There are, of course "hidden" standards for a resident remaining in the house. These include refraining from delinquent behaviour, maintaining non-disruptive relationships with other residents, "involving" oneself in the programme of the house and adhering to its rules. Several residents only half in jest, added another: i.e. accommodating the idiosyncrasies of the director and staff.

Programmes in this class of C.R.C.'s are low-key, and not particularly demanding. In almost all the houses, a resident can get by with only a superficial involvement. In 50% of the centres visited, there is a compulsory weekly meeting for residents, and in most others, group meetings are held whenever the need is felt by the director or some of the residents. Individual counselling is conducted in most of the houses by the director, as the necessity arises. The formalized after-care agencies which operate C.R.C.'s usually have a social worker attached to the centre who visits the residents on a regular basis to give counselling; in these houses the director's role is primarily managerial.

In general, there is not as much stress upon obtaining employment in this class of C.R.C.'s as there is in the pre-release centre visited, nor is the proportion of those working as high.

We observed no formal recreational programmes in the houses we visited. Most has a T.V. room and/or a social room where residents could entertain guests or play card games.

A clear distinction was observed between centres whose stated aim was to create a family environment in order to assist a man in re-establishing himself in society, and those whose benevolence resulted in a comfortable dependency. In the latter, few demands were made upon residents and no fee was paid for accommodation.

Like the C.C.C.'s, most centres in this category have restrictions against drinking on the premises. A rule frequently observed in this class of C.R.C. was insistence upon attendance at meals or notification by the resident if he would be unable to attend. Universally, there are prohibitions against the use of drugs or violence within the house. Most houses also have some form of curfew.

In some, but not all instances, the curfew was established more for the convenience of sleeping residents than as a means of control. In most houses, there are fairly strict rules concerning payment of room and board by those who are working. At the same time, latitude is allowed as to when these payments are made.

In most of the houses, residents are expected to involve themselves in the maintenance of the house and to accept responsibility for the cleanliness of their own living area. In all of the houses visited, with the exception of one, visitors of the "opposite sex" were admitted to the house, but not allowed in the residents' rooms. In some centres, certain visitors known to the staff as trouble-makers were not allowed in the house.

A distinctive feature of many of these C.R.C.'s is that a resident is appointed as an assistant to the director to manage administrative details. In more than half of the houses visited in this category, at least one of the staff made his home in the C.R.C. Four of the houses hired house parents with the expressed purpose of providing a "home" atmosphere.

D. *Miscellaneous Houses*

A total of 28 houses with 982 beds are included in this category.

TABLE 5—Distribution of miscellaneous centres by province, August, 1972

<i>Province</i>	<i>Number</i>
British Columbia	6
Alberta	3
Saskatchewan	0
Manitoba	2
Ontario	12
Quebec	3
New Brunswick	0
Nova Scotia	2
P.E.I.	0
Newfoundland	0

Sixteen of the houses in this category can be described as providing long-term residential facilities for "people in need". Although they will accept ex-offenders, this is not their primary orientation. They provide basic accommodation and life-support services (food and clothing) for longer periods of time than the transient hostels which they resemble in other ways. Some counselling is available, along with a range of services similar to that of transient houses.

Also included in this miscellaneous category are: four centres providing residence for students attached to special educational programmes; three houses for unwed mothers; one short-term residence which focusses on provision of family therapy; one "mental health" house; and, one for the chronically unemployable. The Central City Mission in Vancouver which provides a variety of

transient service as well as an alcoholic treatment centre and long-term accommodation for people in need is also included in this category.

This last set of houses in this category consists of the two "X-Kalays" which are difficult to place in any of our other four categories. Although initially set up as a drug treatment centre with virtually all residents being ex-offenders, X-Kalay has modified its programme in the direction of accepting non-offenders who wish to live their life-style. They expect a long-term commitment from residents and demand a great deal of personal involvement as well. Although originally a counter-culture in its true sense, X-Kalay has recently redefined its policy to encourage some "graduates" to re-integrate into society after an extensive period in residence.

8. Most C.R.C.'s are used by offenders who have already been released from prison.

Findings: Of our sample of 156 C.R.C.'s only 10 are pre-release centres. In addition to the five federal C.C.C.'s now in existence, three centres (Halifax, Hamilton and Regina) are scheduled to open in the near future. It should be noted that many provinces, including Alberta, Ontario, New Brunswick, British Columbia, Nova Scotia and Manitoba are operating provincial day parole or temporary absence programmes and utilize work training centres or existing institutional facilities to accommodate offenders assigned to them. In a few cases, private C.R.C.'s are used for this purpose. Nevertheless, the number of pre-release centres represents a very small proportion of all C.R.C.'s and an even smaller proportion of the total bed capacity.

The use of C.R.C.'s as an alternative to charging or detention has not been extensive in the past. However, we observed a growing tendency among some courts and police to consider alternatives to charging and sentencing. Police often use alcoholic treatment centres to house those found in a state of intoxication as an alternative to charging them with "public nuisance" offences. In addition, C.R.C.'s for women have been used by some police forces as alternatives to charging rather than the former practice of laying vagrancy charges. For those who have been convicted, there are a number of adult probation hostels where offenders can be sent as a condition of probation. In addition, all traditional half-way houses accept referrals from probation departments. Some alcohol and drug treatment houses, and community residential centres, receive individuals from courts on remand. The increasing use of day parole and temporary absence, together with the use of night and weekend sentences, means that C.R.C.'s will inevitably be called upon to play a more important role in the future.

Commentary: One thing we observed in many centres and in talking to many directors was a discrepancy between what they said was being done by way of pro-

gramme and what was actually done. One example could be described as the "white coat syndrome". In these cases directors maintained that they were providing intensive case work and counselling services. Their goal, they said, was to effect personality changes in residents through these treatment services. We discovered that in some programmes these services were provided once a week or even less often. In addition, after sitting in on some of these "therapy" or "group" sessions we concluded that the "depth" of counselling was not as great as we had been led to believe.

The most unfortunate aspect of this discrepancy between wish and fact is not that the counselling and therapy fails to reach the anticipated level of intensity; it is that directors feel compelled to justify their programme by mystical and ill-defined expectations of "personality change", rather than by concern for human welfare and the provision of opportunities for residents to meet their perceived needs! In the modal C.R.C., residents stay an average of 69 days. How can one expect personality change in so short a time, particularly since most residents who are ex-offenders need time simply to "shake-down" after several years in prison? It is as though directors believe there is one ultimate standard by which all C.R.C.'s will be judged. Is it not possible that bed and breakfast and assistance in finding a job will be as "good" a programme for the resident who needs this as intensive therapy for an emotionally disturbed and alienated resident?

In part, this tendency to expect the unreasonable of their programme stems from the reaction of so-called "untrained" directors to criticism by those who possess the impeccable credentials of "professionalism". Part of it is due, as well, to the fact that centres which have the easiest time obtaining funds are those which claim the most varied and sophisticated treatment programmes.

9. Nineteen residential centres are exclusively for women, and provide a maximum bed capacity of 220.

Findings: Because women represent only one out of eight residents among the C.R.C. population, and the number of residences for them is not extensive, the range of services for women tends to be narrower than for men. In addition to centres accepting only women, we were able to locate only sixteen centres that will accept families with children.

Residences for women are located mostly in the larger centres of population. Most of them provide services for "women in need" rather than exclusively for ex-offenders. Only seven, with a bed capacity of 67 are primarily oriented towards women ex-offenders. The number of women ex-offenders living in a single urban area tends to be small enough to make exclusively ex-offender centres uneconomical. In addition, many directors were convinced that mixed centres for offenders and

non-offenders were preferable because the stigma of being an "offender" was lessened in these types of mixed houses.

10. Twenty-six C.R.C.'s accept both men and women as residents.

Findings: Twenty-six C.R.C.'s, with a bed capacity of 586, are for both men and women. Directors vary widely in their opinions regarding the merits of residences which accept persons of only one sex as against those which accept both men and women. Some feel that the inclusion of both sexes is necessary to provide a therapeutic environment, while others think that the problems of superintending a mixed house are insurmountable. In centres restricted to either men or women there are invariably rules regarding admittance of the other sex for visiting purposes. Concern was expressed by many directors over the "interference" caused by the "other sex" in the smooth operation of their house.

Commentary: It was generally agreed that in mixed houses the presence of members of both sexes enabled staff and residents to deal more realistically with the confused sexual identities of many residents, a problem compounded during imprisonment. Mixing the sexes does create interpersonal tensions but it also offers immediate data which the principals can use in group sessions in order to gain greater personal understanding. Proponents of mixed centres point out that a residence limited to only men or women does not represent a cross-section of the community-at-large and this fact weakens the programme. They point out, however, that a programme that uses this kind of data therapeutically, requires a long period of residence, a high degree of skill and commitment on the part of the staff, and usually professional consultants. On the other hand, those who favour residences restricted to one sex suggest that the residence should not be the place where problems are created, but, rather, the place to which residents can return to talk over problems that are spawned in the community.

11. Three C.R.C.'s are operated exclusively for native peoples.

Findings: At the time of writing only 3 C.R.C.'s operated exclusively for native peoples, i.e., Indian, Métis and Eskimo people, existed. One other, although not exclusive, contained a high proportion of native peoples as residents. Although a C.R.C. for Blacks in Halifax has been proposed it is not yet in operation.

Commentary: We were impressed by the high degree of interest shown by native peoples organizations, especially those in the western provinces, in setting up C.R.C.'s to serve their own people. Each of these provinces have at least one of these organizations; some have several which appear to compete with one another. They presented written briefs, and were officially represented at both our conferences and meetings with inmates. In the

prisons situated in the western provinces, native Canadian inmate groups were among the best organized. Their briefs were comprehensive and well documented.

12. C.R.C.'s whose primary orientation is towards ex-offenders show an increasing tendency to accept non-offenders as well.

Findings: Of the 156 C.R.C.'s identified, 52 were operated primarily for ex-offenders. This included 10 C.R.C.'s operated by the public sector and offering pre-release programmes.

Commentary: We noted that a number of programmes formerly restricted to ex-offenders, had moved towards acceptance of non-offenders. This has been due in part to the fact that centres become eligible for a broader base of funding when they offer mixed services. Directors with a specific population such as ex-offenders are able to apply for funds from fewer sources than directors of programmes with a broader base. The latter qualify for "special treatment" or education-directed funds. The shift towards this kind of "mixed" house has also grown out of the difficulty experienced in keeping beds filled. In addition, some directors have pointed out the stigma of a centre as being designated for "ex-cons" tends to be lessened when a greater mix of residents is obtained.

13. More than 80 per cent of C.R.C.'s have a board of directors.

Findings: Some C.R.C.'s are very simple organizations; others possess a complex organizational structure. Eighty percent of C.R.C.'s have a formal board of directors. In the remainder, including pre-release centres, the director is responsible to the head of a government department or to the body of a church organization. In one C.R.C. the director is responsible to no one but himself.

Boards of directors are responsible for the following activities:

1. fund raising (most boards)
2. staff selection (some)
3. public relations (few)
4. providing employment contacts (few)
5. rule-making for the house (very few)
6. major policy making (most)
7. budgetary control (most)

Commentary: Although the stated functions of boards are numerous, in most cases their contribution is restricted to two functions: firstly, they are a condition of the C.R.C. becoming a legal entity since it is necessary to have a board of directors in order to obtain provincial incorporation. Secondly, a board often acts as a political buffer between the centre and public or governmental power. Many directors consider that a board is extremely useful at the inception of the house or first to mobilize public opinion in favour of establishment and, later,

to assist it in obtaining government and private funding. Once the centre has become established, however, the continuing function of the board becomes less clear.

Most boards include among their members individuals with specialized roles. Most, for example, include lawyers, accountants, persons with business experience, and, occasionally, teachers. They appear to be chosen because of the expertise they can lend to the board. Very few of the residences had ex-offenders or ex-residents as members of the board; nor is there any representation from police, unions, or members of the immediate neighbourhood.

Few boards take an active part in the daily operation of programmes. They tend to identify their role as being restricted to supporting the director. The type of programme which is offered is, therefore, a function of the director. Most directors see this separation of functions as being desirable. One index of the inactivity of boards of directors is the frequency with which they meet. Some meet only once every two months.

14. In most cases the director of a C.R.C. plays the most important role in its programme and administration.

Findings: Most C.R.C. residents visualize the board as a "grey eminence" somewhere off in the distance. The director, on the other hand, is very much in evidence. In at least one-half of the centres he alone selects the residents. In one-quarter, he is solely responsible for public relations and liaison with the community. In one-third of them directors complain of having to spend from 40 to 60 per cent of their time in fund-raising.

Although major policy decisions are ratified by the board, in many C.R.C.'s they usually originated with the director. In most instances, he is the person who makes lower level policy decisions regarding programmes. He develops the rules for residents, and decides how they will be administered. He sets the tone for the openness of the programme and the degree of input into decision-making by residents. To the degree that it exists, he creates the mood of trust between residents and staff. He is responsible for the discipline of persons who violate house rules; this power extends from imposing sanctions for minor rule-breaking to decisions concerning expulsion from the house. Although formal budgetary control is the responsibility of the board of directors, actual control over the budget seems to rest with the house director, who is also actively involved in the treatment programme.

The qualifications of directors vary widely: they include social workers, ministers, psychologists, retired army officers and ex-offenders. (Of the 45 houses where our field observers ascertained the backgrounds of the directors, one-fifth were ex-offenders.) One-third of the directors have played a significant role in their house since its inception; in fact, they were founders.

Since many of the houses are relatively new, it is not surprising that a fair proportion of directors have been in their position for less than one year. Yet, the degree of investment required of a director is very heavy, and those who have been in their positions for three years or more recognize the danger of "burning out." Some have attempted to avoid this problem by building a structure into their programme and making it less dependent upon their personal qualities. When the programmes become more highly structured and bureaucratic, the centre becomes less dynamic and less able to respond to the changing needs of residents. This seems to be one of the unsolved dilemmas experienced by many directors.

The extent of their commitment is obvious from the amount of time directors devote to their job. A number state strongly that the hours are far too long. In very few of the houses visited can the director's position be considered a "nine to five job." In almost one-half the director lives in the residence. In the others he is on call for crisis intervention at most hours, and he returns voluntarily to the house in the evening and on weekends. In some houses, there is no replacement staff and the director works without holidays of any kind. In 20 per cent of the centres visited, the director was the only paid staff member and in 14 per cent he represented the only treatment staff. Many directors complained that the heavy administrative load of their position detracted from their primary concern which was the treatment programme of the house.

Asked to name the major problems they experienced, 60 per cent of the directors felt that the lack of stable sources and sufficient funding was their chief difficulty; 20 per cent felt that lack of adequate facilities was the major problem and 15 per cent listed a shortage of qualified professional staff. Other problems mentioned were the lack of time and resources to train and coordinate volunteers, and the lack of professional assistance (psychiatric and social work consultation).

Commentary: For the most part, the quality of work being done by most directors appears to be of a high order. The majority seem devoted to their position and appear to be doing their best in a demanding and, in most cases, thankless role. Often, the only persons who appreciate the work of the director are the residents. Although other features of a centre's operation were sometimes subjected to criticism, there was a strongly perceived reluctance on the part of residents to criticize the director of the house.

The great influence of the director upon the total operation of the C.R.C. should not necessarily be seen as a negative or undesirable thing. An unexpected finding was the discovery that many directors are also *founders!* This is *their* programme in a very real sense. It has been created out of their inspiration, commitment and sweat

and they believe in what they are doing. There are dangers that their over-identification with the programme may make them resistant to change, or that in a few instances some may mis-use their authority over residents. At the same time, however, the "new frontiers" aspect of C.R.C.'s attracts those with new ideas and gives the outer fringes of the C.R.C. movement its needed dynamism.

15. Despite the apparently high ratio of staff to residents, C.R.C.'s appear to be under-staffed

Findings: Of the total of 156 centres surveyed, returns suggest that there are 1,265 staff.

TABLE 6—Number of C.R.C.'s, number of beds available and number of staff, by type of C.R.C., August, 1972.

Type of Centre	Number of Such Centres	Number of Beds Available	Number of Staff
Transient	33	3069	370
Alcohol and Drug	43	872	234
Traditional ex-offender	52	776	302
Other	28	982	359

The first thing that must be acknowledged is that these figures are misleading, even though they are accurate from the point of view of the questionnaire. They appear to indicate a relatively high ratio of staff to beds (because of the fact that many C.R.C.'s are not operating at full capacity, the apparent staff/resident ratio would appear at first glance to be even higher). This is not the case in many, if not most, C.R.C.'s. The reasons are many: for instance, many administrative and support staff, who comprise 70 per cent of all staff, do not spend all their time in the operation of C.R.C.'s. Many are executive directors or support staff of social agencies and are involved in the operation of other programmes as well. Unfortunately, our questionnaire did not ask respondents to distinguish between full-time, full-time as part of a broader responsibility, or various types of part-time employment. Further, these figures do not indicate the fact that many residences are staffed on a twenty-four hour basis, which necessitates double or triple staff. (We did ask for this distinction in the case of counsellors, and thus we can state that there are 456 full-time counsellors employed in C.R.C.'s.)

As is the case with directors, there are few formal qualifications for staff. The adjectives most often cited were "concerned" and "experienced". Directors stated that too great a stress on formal qualifications would preclude the hiring of many good people.

"Good" staff, however defined, are hard to acquire. This is attributed to the heavy demands placed on them. Few centres in the private sector have sufficient staff to allow for reasonable working hours, week-ends off, or staff replacements during vacation. In more than 60 per cent of the centres visited, at least one staff member lived in the centre, being on call virtually twenty-four hours per day.

Paradoxically, too many staff can be as undesirable as too few. Some residents, especially in pre-release centres and more traditional "conservative" post-release ones, complained that a low staff-resident ratio resulted in there always being "someone on your back". Also, some directors who started out in centres with a staff of one, recalled with nostalgia the intimacy between themselves and their early residents.

Staff training programmes, where they exist, vary greatly in their methods and intensity. In more than half of the houses visited, some form of training existed. These programmes were generally weekly meetings with personnel to discuss administrative and programme problems of the house. In a few of the centres (10 per cent) an organized, formal training programme existed. This programme stressed personal growth and staff development, and employed methods such as weekend marathons, professional consultation, and the enrolment of staff in University programmes.

Although no attention is given to staff training and development in almost half of the houses visited, staff themselves have expressed a strong need to share ideas with others and they speak of the sense of isolation from those engaged in similar work.

Commentary: For many, the answer to most problems found in corrections today is to be found in an increase in the numbers of trained staff. Some directors have put this forward as an answer to their problems. We feel that this solution, by itself, is simplistic. In speaking of this matter in relation to the field as a whole, Dr. Richard Korn in a recent publication has said, ironically:

"Increasing the number of demonologists has rarely decreased the number of demons."⁹

16. Despite the fact that most inmates indicate a need for C.R.C.'s many are not operating at optimal capacity

Findings: Of the 56 houses visited by our two field observers only a handful were found to be running at capacity. The majority of these were the alcohol and drug treatment centres.

There was a wide variation between all houses visited in the percentages of the beds that were occupied, and in the reported degree of seasonal fluctuation in the percentage of beds occupied. Several were operating at 30 per cent capacity.

In actuality, there are two distinct features of this phenomenon: the first is a seasonal variation in population, the second is non-seasonal. Normally, winter months represent the peak of demand and summer months, times of low occupancy. This can be explained

⁹Korn, R.R., "Issues and Strategies of Implementation in the use of Offenders in Resocializing other Offenders; in United States, Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, *Offenders as a Correctional Manpower Resource* (Washington D.C.) 1968

in terms of seasonal variations in employment opportunities and the transient nature of prospective residents during the summer months.

A second feature of this phenomenon, related primarily to traditional half-way houses is a non-seasonal cyclical change in population experienced by a number of houses. A number of factors contribute to this fluctuation in demand. One obvious cause is the variation in the number of men that are released from institutions from month to month. We also found that the distance of many C.R.C.'s from the penitentiaries and reformatories which they serve, and the difficulty of the staff or director in visiting these institutions on a basis regular enough to establish credibility, decreased the chances of operating at optimal capacity. Also, the classification staff of the penitentiaries visited, acknowledge that by-and-large they do not know of the existence of C.R.C.'s even in those centres adjacent to the penitentiaries. Finally, many directors complained of the length of time that they had to keep reserved bed-space in anticipation of the arrival of a parolee for whom residence in a C.R.C. was a significant part of his parole plan.

The results of our questionnaire administered to inmates indicated a high degree of interest in community-based residences. Of 529 who answered this question, 99 per cent indicated, not surprisingly, that a pre-release centre in the community would benefit them; but 65 per cent of 714 indicated that they would prefer to live in a *post*-release centre for a short period than anywhere else, in order to "get used to the street."

Commentary: It would be a mistake to assume 100 per cent occupancy as optimal. In England, where the experience with group homes and hostels is extensive, two-thirds occupancy is seen as optimal. This allows the director some latitude. It also explains some of the desperation of directors whose centres are funded in large part by per diem per referral arrangements rather than per diem per bed. The total effect is to add to already heavy pressures on directors.

17. By and large residents contribute little to the establishment and enforcement of rules and regulations governing the operation of C.R.C.'s.

Findings: In general, C.R.C. residents make little contribution to the decision-making process. From the questionnaire it was ascertained that very few of the houses include residents on their board of directors. Although 15 of the 116 houses which answered this question stated that they have residents on the board of directors, even this figure probably represents an exaggeration. Most who answered "yes" to this question appear to have included their house manager or director as a resident.

Less than one-third of the houses visited have given even token representation to residents in the decision-making process of the house. Most house managers asserted that rules of the house were made by the residents themselves, but this was not observed in practice except in a very few instances. There were only three or four centres in which residents were observed to be an integral part of decision-making. These centres were distinguished from the majority by this factor and by the open, "mutual help" model of human influence which underlay it.

Many residents do not want to make the investment which mutual decision-making requires. In the model C.R.C., the length of residence is less than three months. Residents are anxious simply to build their "stake" and move on. Some directors are also hesitant. In the homes they run hardly a week passes without the addition of a new face—or the loss of an old one. To attempt the continual change which would accompany mutual decision-making would keep the programme in a constant state of flux, a condition many directors would find undesirable. Thus, resident input is more compatible with C.R.C.'s with longer residence requirements.

Returns from the inmate questionnaire (N-529) indicate 94 per cent of inmates feel C.R.C.'s should be run with explicit rules and regulations; 85 per cent, that they should be made by, and enforced by, both residents and staff.

Staff and residents tend to hold widely divergent opinions about the need for and the quality of treatment programmes. Frequently, differences in perceptions were observed between directors, on the one hand, residents and graduates on the other. These differences were most noticeable in houses where mandatory group counselling is an integral part of the programme and the length of residence less than four months. In programmes which residents enter directly following release from prison, the wall of mistrust appears harder to break down than most directors think. Group counselling was, therefore, somewhat less effective from the point of view of residents than from that of the staff.

Paradoxically, inmate returns from a questionnaire indicate that 90 per cent favour individual or group counselling.

Commentary: Clearly there is an optimal staff-resident ratio that should be sought. It is obvious that this will vary with different types of residences. However, in the long run, staff increases are less likely to affect the behaviour of residents than programmes which meet the perceived needs of residents. In the long run too, the effectiveness of a programme is determined primarily by the degree of involvement and acceptance it gains from both staff and residents.

18. Record-keeping practices and the types of records kept differ widely from one C.R.C. to another.

Findings: In nearly 25 per cent of the centres visited, no information is taken from residents or obtained from other sources as part of the intake procedure. In one-third of the C.R.C.'s visited, no record of residents is kept beyond name, age and length of stay. In a few C.R.C.'s the director was unable to state with any degree of accuracy how many residents had used the centre's facilities during the last year. In one, the director was unable to state how many men were actually in residence on the day of our visit.

At the other end of the spectrum, houses do exist where intensive record-keeping is taken for granted. These include the majority of centres which offer special treatment facilities. In these houses the resident is tested and given in-depth interviews as part of the intake procedure. Regular progress reports are made on each resident and, in a few cases, follow-up reports are made even after his discharge. A higher level of recording was also observed in residences which receive funding from public sources.

Commentary: There is little systematic follow-up on ex-residents of C.R.C.'s at present, nor is there a built-in research component in any except a few demonstration programmes. A number of houses are sufficiently interested in research to collect data but have had neither the time nor the funds to analyze it.

C.R.C. records also often fail to supply information about whether an ex-offender who has been in prison was released from a federal or provincial penal institution.

19. Many directors of C.R.C.'s are dissatisfied with present contractual agreements with the Department of the Solicitor General for residential services.

Findings: Although many directors acknowledged the advantages of the current interim policy as compared to the former system of grants, they pointed out one great disadvantage of these arrangements. The interim policy pays up to \$10.00 per day per referral to selected C.R.C.'s which qualify for it. This means, in effect, that unless a bed is filled, there is no payment. Directors point out that costs continue whether the bed is filled or not, even though an empty bed does not cost as much as one that is occupied. Staff must be kept on in anticipation of the bed being filled; salary and maintenance costs still continue. When beds are not filled, and income is not forthcoming, directors have to make cut-backs in their programme and lay off staff, which are inordinately hard to replace, or else attempt to raise funds elsewhere on an emergency or unpredictable basis.

Commentary: One proposed solution has been termed "rent-a-bed" a programme which would result in the federal government, through local parole and penitentiary officials, contracting, for example, with a given C.R.C. for four of its eight beds which it would "rent" for a year. Thus, the responsibility to keep those beds occupied would rest with the referring agency, rather than the C.R.C. director. Contracts would be re-negotiated annually, thus enabling the director to plan at least a year in advance.

20. Funding arrangements for C.R.C.'s in Canada are a jungle of types, sources, responsibilities, criteria, and standards.

Findings: The total amount of funds being transferred from the coffers of the federal government to the C.R.C. movement is extremely difficult to determine. We were unable to form an accurate estimate of this total during the time we had available. However, Table 7 (see following page) does indicate an estimate of the funds going directly from the federal government to 53 C.R.C.'s (excluding pre-release centres¹⁰) found to have an ex-offender population of 50 per cent or more during a twelve month period.

Other possible sources of federal government funds, which were not investigated or included in Table 7, because of time constraints and limitations in our research design, include the Department of Manpower and Immigration (Manpower Re-training Programme and Innovative Programming), and the Department of the Secretary of State (Native Participation Groups Programme).

Direct provincial grants and fee-for-service monies are also available to post-release C.R.C.'s in Canada.

TABLE 7—Source and amounts of federal funds¹¹ directed to C.R.C.'s¹² with an ex-offender population of 50 per cent or more, fiscal year 1971-72.

Source	Amount
Department of Manpower and Immigration Local Initiatives Programme	\$427,500
Department of National Health and Welfare Non-Medical Use of Drugs Directorate Welfare Grants Division	53,000 26,000
Department of the Secretary of State Opportunities for Youth Programme	15,500
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Maximum of \$4,200 per month up to	50,400
Department of the Solicitor General Grants and fee-for-services Consultation Centre	85,000 ¹³ 24,000

¹⁰This data represents returns from information obtained directly from the federal government rather than the initial questionnaire to C.R.C.'s.

¹¹excludes Canada Assistance Plan payments

¹²excludes Community Correctional Centres

¹³two-thirds of the billings had not been received at the time the research was closed to new data. Therefore amounts for the year will probably be far in excess of that shown.

In general, these funds are made available by the provincial governments through their provincial welfare authority. There are two exceptions to this: in British Columbia funds are also derived from the First Citizens Fund (\$40,000.00), the Department of the Provincial Secretary (\$36,500.00), and the Drug, Alcohol and Cigarette Education, Prevention and Rehabilitation Fund (\$40,140.00); in Ontario from the Addiction Research Foundation (\$160,900.00)¹⁴.

Criteria for receipt of funds are almost as numerous as the sources. In addition to major differences which exist between the federal and provincial criteria, there are also variations within these two levels. In general, the greater the diversity of residents, of programmes and of services, the greater the potential sources of finance. Sardonicly, the C.R.C. most likely to have access to the greatest range of funding sources would be one which simultaneously provided programmes for ex-offenders, "people in need", drug addicts, alcoholics, native peoples, women, those on retraining and in sheltered workshops, particularly if the programmes offered was experimental and/or innovative. (An interesting anomaly is the fact that, in order for a C.R.C. to obtain a contract with the Department of the Solicitor General, it must provide food for its residents. Paradoxically, many of the C.C.C.'s run by the same department do not provide meals, but give money to residents to eat in restaurants.) As well as the number of sources, another variable which has to be considered are differences in the amount of money available from each source.

Because they fail to identify the diversity which inevitably lies within their programmes, traditional half-way houses which provide short-term residence and job counselling for "ex-cons" have difficulty in locating funds for establishment and/or operation. The group which encounters the most difficulty is the "self-help" group which, in addition to the reasons outlined above, is unproven and may have to earn its credibility.

21. Operating budgets of and sources of funds for C.R.C. vary widely.

There were 24 post-release residences which provided adequate data about their sources of income. Table 8 indicates the location of each CRC by province, the total amount of each operating budget and the sources by percentage of funds.

From this table, it can be seen that the number of sources of funds ranges from one to eight with the median being four. The range of operating budgets is \$12,000 to \$500,000 with the median being \$42,000.

¹⁴These figures were tabulated using the same 53 post-release C.R.C.'s with a 50% or greater ex-offender population.

In general, the two centres with operating budgets near \$12,000 are self-help groups of ex-offenders with the number of beds in each facility ranging from 6-14. Neither group has any affiliation with major provincial or national organizations. The major sources of their funds are welfare cheques and per diem charges to residents, who are working. In one of these groups, there is a full-time staff of three persons although no salaries are paid.

The four houses with operating budgets near the median \$42,000 (37,900—\$44,200) are traditional half-way houses with the number of beds in each ranging from 13 to 20. Each enjoys affiliations with a broader organization. Major sources of financial support are provincial grants, provincial fee-for-services and United Community Funds. Each group has a full-time paid staff of four to six persons, including cooking, maintenance, administrative and program staff.

The one C.R.C. with an operating budget of one-half million dollars (almost \$200,000 more than the next largest) is a large facility with 110 beds. It is affiliated with a major national religious organization. It provides services to young probationers between the ages of 16 and 20. It has a full-time paid staff of 60 and receives all its funds from two sources—provincial grants and a United Community Fund.

22. The federal government contributes an estimated 38.5 per cent of funds directly or indirectly to the total of operating budgets of 24 post-release C.R.C.'s.

The percentages of funds contributed by each of twelve possible sources to the total of 24 C.R.C.'s operating budgets is indicated in Table 9 (see following page). From this table, it would appear that the input of federal funds directly to C.R.C.'s is 6 per cent (5.4 per cent and 0.6 per cent). However, because of incomplete data on the impact of an interim policy of the Solicitor General's department which permits payment for residential services provided to certain residents of some C.R.C.'s, the federal contribution is probably higher.

Additionally, it is estimated that the majority of funds directed to C.R.C.'s through provincial grants, provincial fee-for-services and welfare cheques are cost-shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan Act administered by the federal Department of National Health and Welfare.

Consequently federal funds going directly and indirectly to C.R.C.'s in Canada would likely be 38.5 per cent¹⁵.

¹⁵This percentage is calculated by adding the 6% going directly to C.R.C.'s to one-half of the total funds derived by C.R.C.'s from provincial grants, fee-for-service or welfare sources (i.e. $\frac{1}{2}(38.8\% - 22.6\% - 2.6\%) = 32.5\%$).

TABLE 8—Operating budgets and sources of funds (by percentage)* of 24 post-release C.R.C.'s
(each with an ex-offender population of at least 50 per cent) by province, August, 1972.

	Province																							
	P.E.I.		N.B.		QUE.		ONT.				MAN.		SASK.		B.C.		ALTA.							
C.R.C.'s in province which submitted budgets	1	1	3																					
Sources	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Direct Federal Grants	5	85	51					4						90						46				
Federal fee for service								2.5								2	23							
Direct Provincial Grants	65		100		80	70	44	45	12	53	80		25							41				
Provincial fee-for-service									19	2	100		40		85	68				40				
Municipal Grants			2						2	4	20				.6									
Community Chest/Red Feather					30				54										7					
Church			7					5	38						4					46.5				
Private Agency Grants														5	8.7	33								
Welfare Cheques of Residents		15								30		36		7		25				55				
Per Diem Charge to Residents	5		13	5	54	2	.5	6	66					3	80	2.3		1	20	10	12			
Private Donations	25		64	36	15	2	46	4	3	2		9	5		1	25		1	25	4	1			
Others (incl. raffles, bake sales, etc.)			27									30	50		20		15							
TOTAL OPERATING BUDGETS																								
PER C.R.C. \$	223,000	70,000	51,893	50,000	31,000	33,658	500,000	12,940	43,000	41,014	37,917	12,000	320,000	165,000	25,000	140,000	29,000	24,000	300,000	84,000	44,200	25,000	20,756	25,225

*As determined from completed and returned initial questionnaires.

TABLE 9—Percentage, by source, of total operating budgets of 24 post-release C.R.C.'s each with an ex-offender population of at least 50 per cent, August, 1972.

Source	Percentage
Direct federal grants	5.4
Federal fee-for-service ¹⁶	0.6
Direct provincial grants ¹⁷	38.8
Provincial fee-for-service ¹⁷	22.6
Municipal grants	3.0
Community Chest/Red Feather ¹⁸	7.6
Church ¹⁹	1.8
Private agency grants	2.6
Welfare cheques of residents ¹⁷	2.6
Per Diem charge to residents ²⁰	3.1
Private donations	
Other (i.e. raffles, bake sales, etc.)	4.7
	100.0—\$2,308,500

¹⁶At the time budgets were submitted by the 24 C.R.C.'s federal fee-for-service monies had not yet been received in quantity and therefore this amount is misleading. It is also possible that federal monies allocated were sent to C.R.C.'s other than those found in one sample.

¹⁷In most cases, monies from these sources come from provincial welfare authorities who enjoy shared-cost arrangements under the Canada Assistance Plan Act.

¹⁸Respondents may have included Red/Feather/Community Chest under "private donations" or "other".

¹⁹It appears that monies coming from a church headquarters have been included in this source, although the church headquarters are themselves dependent upon the other eleven sources for their internal funding.

²⁰Some respondent may have considered resident's welfare cheques under the source "per diem charge to residents".

If the combined budgets of 24 C.R.C.'s is roughly \$2.3 million then the 156 known C.R.C.'s in Canada might have a projected combined budget of approximately \$14.9 million. These rough calculations suggest that the total C.R.C. phenomenon in Canada today represents an annual expenditure of \$15 million.

23. Provincial C.C.C.'s appear to have the lowest per diem operating costs (\$9.91) with the post-release ex-offender centres second (\$10.39). Federal C.C.C.'s per diem costs are approximately twice as high (\$21.29)

Findings; Per diem operating costs of all penitentiaries, four federal C.C.C.'s, two provincial C.C.C.'s and sixteen predominantly ex-offender post-release centres were compared. Because of the relatively inadequate data and lack of comparable information contained in the budgets submitted to the Task Force, it was necessary to take a sample of post-release, ex-offender-oriented C.R.C.'s for which adequate budgets were available and make comparisons using this base. The information contained in Table 10 is based upon 15 budgets representative of a cross-section of post-release C.R.C.'s with predominantly ex-offender population throughout Canada.²¹ The same data base was used to compare these with maximum, medium and minimum Canadian penitentiaries, the federally operated pre-release centres, (C.C.C.'s), and provincial work-training centres in the province of Saskatchewan.

²¹The discrepancy between the number of centres and the number of budgets stems from the fact that one budget covers two houses.

TABLE 10²²—Summary comparison of per diem operating costs²³ by type of institution, August, 1972.

Institution	Cost
Penitentiaries	
Maximum Security Male	\$26.90
Maximum Security Female	25.87
Medium Security Male	21.44
Minimum Security Male ²⁴	10.75
Federal C.C.C.'s	21.29
Provincial C.C.C.'s	9.91
Predominantly ex-offender post-release centres	10.39

Method of Amortization—Insufficient information was available to break out Building and Land and Equipment and apply appropriate amortization rate of 2 per cent and 10 per cent respectively. Therefore a weighted average write-off rate of 5 per cent was used to determine the annual amortization write-off.

²²Based on information supplied by Task Force staff and reviewed by R. A. Skene, C.A., for accuracy and comparability.

²³Per diem operating costs are based on:
(a) actual occupancy in the penitentiary (80% of capacity);
(b) 80 per cent occupancy in the provincial C.C.C.'s and the C.R.C.'s.

²⁴Excluding the federal C.C.C.'s.

24. The degree of involvement with the local community differs from one centre to another

Findings: C.R.C.'s exhibit a striking degree of variation in the extent to which they have come to depend upon community resources to meet their needs. In previous sections we have spoken of the wide range of sources of funding within the community which are employed in varying degrees by different C.R.C.'s. The active participation of residents in the "hustling" of furniture and supplies is an integral part of some programmes. Part of the rationale underlying this type of activity is the importance of maximizing opportunities for face-to-face contact between residents and individuals in the community so that the stigma of offender can be reduced and the opportunity of residents to communicate with "square johns" can be increased.

The use of volunteers differs greatly from residence to residence. Many reported that their attempts to use volunteers had met with limited success. The major complaint of those who no longer use them was that volunteer training was too time-consuming and supervision was difficult due to limited numbers of staff. These opinions were most often expressed by the staff of centres which had attempted to involve volunteers in counselling relationships with residents. Centres which employed volunteers as subject matter specialists reported no such problems.

Commentary: Volunteers are used extensively in such centres as the House of James in Kingston, Dismis House and X-Kalay in Vancouver. These houses also stress the importance of residents developing a viable contact with the community. Cool-Aid in Victoria, B.C., has turned a drop-in centre and hostel into a broadly based community agency employing a full-time dentist and part-time volunteer lawyers, doctors, theatre people, painters and

others who devote their time to residents of the immediate community. Cool-Aid has also attracted a large cadre of young people who provide a service to elderly people by volunteering to drive them from their homes to Senior Citizens' clubs and to take them shopping on a regular basis. Programmes like this demonstrate the reciprocal benefits which accrue to residents of both the community and the centres when volunteer activity involves both groups. A few programmes have residents helping regularly to put on storm windows and perform other services for elderly people and others in the immediate neighbourhood. Services to the community such as these could well be increased.

We were unable to obtain any consensus of attitudes of law-enforcement agencies throughout Canada towards the phenomenon of C.R.C.'s. They range all the way from strong disapproval to acknowledgement of their importance in facilitating re-entry into the community. In some communities, police who have had difficulty with certain residents tend to be very suspicious of C.R.C. activities. On the other hand, in some areas, police make it a policy to drop into centres from time to time to "rap" with residents. These situations are exceptional, however. The general attitude would appear to be a "hands-off" one, and the participation of police in C.R.C. programmes is minimal. To our knowledge, there is no board of directors which includes a local member of the law enforcement agency amongst its members. The directors we contacted claimed to have little difficulty with local police forces, but it should be noted that centre-police relations were not the subject of an intensive investigation.

25. The degree of contact between C.R.C.'s is limited

Findings: An item of particular interest which came to light during our research is the lack of contact between the operators and staff of C.R.C.'s even within the same community. In some cases, C.R.C.'s have existed within several blocks of each other for a number of years, and the house directors have never met. In almost one-third of the houses visited there was no regular contact between

directors of C.R.C.'s within the same city. In many instances, the conferences organized by the Task Force gave the first opportunity for directors of various C.R.C.'s to sit down and discuss their mutual problems.

Commentary: It is obvious that the heavy demands made upon the directors, and the lack of any formal mechanism to promote coordination help to explain the absence of communication. At the same time, there is a degree of competition between the directors of C.R.C.'s. Many directors have built programmes on the basis of their own personality and their own ideology. Believing strongly as they do in their own programme, they do not see the necessity of sharing or testing their ideology with others. At the same time, they perceive the need for co-ordination between C.R.C.'s and the need for some kind of forum by which co-ordination of activities can be achieved. They are particularly aware of the need for some type of information-sharing and training in the co-ordination of volunteers. They also see the benefit of providing information about sources of funding and some acknowledge the need for a more rational allocation of residents.

26. Many inmates in penal institutions do not know of the existence of C.R.C.'s in the communities to which they plan to return

Findings: During our visits to penal institutions we discovered in talking to the inmates that they were not aware of the C.R.C. programmes which were offered and that there was no mechanism at present by which they could become aware of the variety of services available for them in various communities. Their chief source of information about community residential centres is other inmates. Many of these are in prison as a result of re-conviction, and their impressions are coloured by the bitterness of their return.

Of 518 inmates who answered this question on inmate questionnaire, 40% stated they did not know of any post-release centre in the community to which they planned to return.

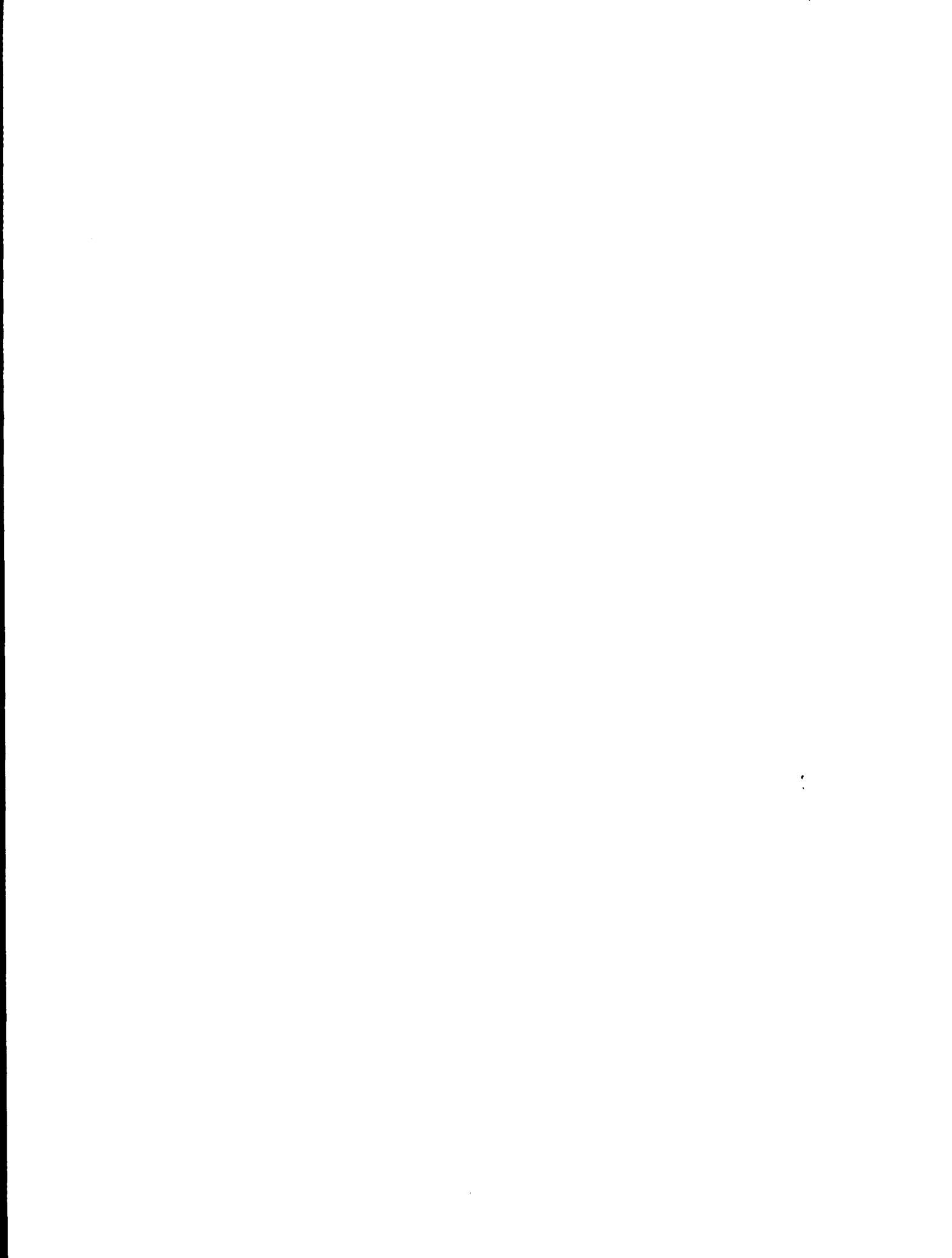


WHAT OUGHT TO BE

If our reaction to this conflict between “what everybody knows” and what research finds or fails to find is to reject research . . . consider just what it is that “everyone knows”. Criminals are wicked (and we are rather good), but they are not really wicked, they’re sick (so I suppose that we’re not really good, we’re just healthy) and in any case it doesn’t matter which they are because the things they do are dangerous and inconvenient (and what everyone else does is always safer and more convenient) and we have to teach them a lesson which they won’t learn because they’re incorrigible, and we have to integrate them back into the community and also symbolize society’s rejection of them. The young ones are the worst, and we must spare them the shame of being treated like real criminals.

*Now, some of these clichés may well be true, or may well not be, but they cannot all be true at once; we shall not believe anyone who asserts too many of them together . . . Which ones the powerful members of society believe are true will surely make a difference to what that society does; yet human society as a whole over nearly all of its geography and history has done very similar things in the name of the law and has offered whichever reasons happened to be in fashion at the time. When the reasons change, and the activity remains, **the reasons begin to look like excuses.** (our emphasis)*

Peter McNaughton-Smith



Reasons or Excuses?

The members of the Task Force on Community-based Residential Centres believe that most criminal conduct is spawned in the community, contributed to by the social, economic and political circumstances of the community. Thus, criminal behaviour is a function both of the offender and of the community, and the solutions must be sought in both.

When a person commits a criminal offence against another, he becomes "the enemy within."¹ From society's point of view, he masquerades as one of "us" and chooses a time of *his* convenience to become the traitor and to work his depredation on his victim. Through the use of force, the threat of force, or the completely unpredictable timing and nature of his act, he renders his victim powerless to respond. The encounter between offender and victim either actually or symbolically places the victim in a power vacuum subject to manipulation by an "authority" he cannot influence. The effect on the victim is one of fear, if the crime is against his person, and of frustration and rage even if it is not. The rage stems not only from the crime itself, but, in large part from the sense of emasculation which this state of powerlessness evokes. Part of the victim's urge to retaliate stems from the desire to redress the imbalance, flowing from this attack, on his sense of identity.

In addition to the effect on the victim, the crime has certain broader social consequences as well: the behaviour of the offender strikes at the very heart of the values which govern the social order—the ability of citizens to trust their fellow citizens and to anticipate that the social intercourse between them will be governed by predictable rules of human relations. To threaten this sense of trust is to turn every stranger into a potential enemy.²

¹The influence of Dr. Richard Korn will be seen in this section by all those who know his writings. In particular we have drawn from, Korn, R. R., "Of Crime, Justice and Corrections," *University of San Francisco Law Review* VI (1) (Oct., 1971).

The response of the victim, and of the institutions of society which represent him, has always been immediate and violent: the apprehended and convicted offender is summarily ejected from society. Death, banishment and (during the last 150 years) imprisonment have been the three traditional methods used to cast out the offender from our midst. However we may choose to rationalize our actions in terms of social hygiene (as has been the practice during the last century), official response to the offender has actually been based in part upon retaliation and, from the offender's point of view at least, it still is!

With the exception of imprisonment, other penal methods used throughout the centuries have, to all intents and purposes, brought about permanent removal of the offender from the society whose rules he had broken. As a result, the effectiveness of these methods of punishment never had to be tested. That situation has changed. We no longer have more than 200 offences for which capital punishment can be imposed; nor are there new frontiers to which our convicts can be banished. The "enemy within" remains in our midst even though incarcerated behind high walls or double fences. Sooner or later he will be released to take his place among us. For the first time in history, it has become important to know whether on his release from prison he will be able and willing to govern his behaviour by society's rules of human interrelationships.

All available evidence indicates that, to the degree that prisons are expected to be more than temporary

²For the sake of clarity of exposition, we are neglecting the many other sources of threat to trust in human relations brought about by unethical and sometimes criminal, but non-prosecuted, practices found in society which range from shady business deals to stock frauds and fraudulent bankruptcies. These create the same kind of distrust among their victims. Not only is there some suggestion that this kind of non-prosecuted activity increases the demands for severity of punishment on those who are apprehended by those who perceive themselves as economically powerless, but the existence of such practices among "respected" citizens, offers a justification for crime to many offenders.

human warehouses, they are a failure. Except in the short term, they simply do not protect the community. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence to suggest that short-term protection is purchased at the expense of long-term safety.

Among the myriad reasons which have been enunciated for their failure are the following:

1. Prisons are "total" institutions, characterized by the concentration of power in the hands of the keeper, and the almost complete absence of formal power among the kept. Whatever value this may have in maintaining control, *it is a model of human influence essentially identical to that employed by the offender when he commits his offence!* Not only is this milieu incompatible with the kind of learning necessary for the assumption of responsible behaviour in the community, it creates a response to power similar to that of the victim. By being placed in a situation which attacks the very basis of his identity as an adult—a situation of enforced dependency on the non-negotiable authority of others—the inmate is left with but three avenues of redress. He can accept the new definition of himself as dependent and behave accordingly; he can try to find ways of manipulating those with power, or he can give vent to his sense of rage and strike out in violence.³ Each of these have different consequences, but they share one characteristic: none creates a milieu compatible with what is usually implied by rehabilitation! The offender comes to see himself as a victim of a power over which he has little or no control—a situation not dissimilar, in a psychological sense, to that of *his* victim. If he does not accept the definition, and few do, his preoccupation becomes one of seeking ways to retaliate, thus increasing the wall of mistrust and tension between keeper and kept, which in the final analysis, tends to brutalize both.⁴
2. Most contemporary "correctional" programmes seek to "change" offenders by imposing solutions upon them. In doing so they miss a crucial determinant of human behaviour: one can impose solutions if one's object is to punish or to contain behaviour, but one cannot if one's object is to change it. The root problem lies in the non-reciprocal nature of most "correctional" programmes, and the inevitable resistance of most individuals to organized efforts, however well intentioned, on their behalf.

³Tauber, Ronald. "Danger and the Police" in Johnson, M., Savitz, C., and Wolfgang, M. *The Sociology of Punishment and Correction* 2nd edition (New York John Wiley) 1970, 100.

⁴This development is based on the philosophy of human behaviour which suggests that over time, one *becomes* what one does.

3. The size of contemporary prisons is counter-productive of the aims of contemporary corrections:

Programmes aimed at the promotion of self-sufficiency through acceptable exertion of individual initiative, are incompatible with control through large scale organizational structures whose sheer size and complexity must necessarily sacrifice autonomy at the ground level to system needs for co-ordination. In such structures, the "iron law of oligarchy" must be enforced as a condition of the system's survival.⁵

Thus, no matter how benign the intentions of the agent of corrections, no matter how he may seek the "acceptable exertion of the individual's initiative," his ability to respond to the perceived needs of his client is limited by the demands of the bureaucratic structure of which he is part.

4. The public has given over to the professional corrections expert two responsibilities. The first is to keep the inmate within the walls for the duration of the warrant of committal, a function which he has performed with relative success. The second responsibility has been to create a law-abiding citizen out of an offender—a feat the expert has been manifestly unable to perform. The fact that this expectation is totally unreasonable, given the system within which this transformation is expected to take place, means that the keeper as well as the inmate becomes a victim of the public's expectation. To be held responsible for changes which one cannot reasonably bring about, adds to the tensions already found in penal institutions. Only the knowledgeable influence and participation of the public, including ex-offenders, can bring about realistic goals and prevent the excesses which are attendant upon a system wherein there are no exterior checks and balances to the power of the correctional authority.

The fallacy inherent in modern penological methods was portrayed eloquently, if wryly, by George Bernard Shaw:

Now, if you are to punish a man retributively, you must injure him. If you are to reform him, you must improve him. And men are not improved by injuries. To propose to punish and reform by the same operation, is exactly as if you were to take a man suffering from pneumonia and attempt to combine punitive and curative treatment. Arguing that a man with pneumonia is a danger to the community and that he need not catch it if he takes proper care of his health, you resolve that he shall have a severe lesson, both to punish him for his negligence and his pulmonary weakness, and to deter others from following his example. You therefore strip him naked and in that condition, stand him all night in the snow. But as you admit the duty of restoring him to health if possible and discharging him with sound lungs, you engage a doctor to superintend the punishment and administer cough lozenges made as unpleasant to the taste as possible so as not to pamper the culprit. A board of commissioners ordering such treatment, would prove thereby either that they were imbeciles *or else that they were hotly in earnest about punishing the patient and not in the least earnest about curing him.* [our italics]

⁵Korn, R.R., "Of Crime, Justice . . ." p. 46.

Unless we choose to return to a system of punishment which will insure permanent removal of an offender from society, we must look for ways which will return him a more socially responsible individual, not intent on creating a threat to the lives or property of others.

Prisons must continue to exist for those whose behaviour indicates a continuing propensity for violent and/or predatory conduct. However, these individuals represent only a small proportion of those currently imprisoned or those to be imprisoned in the future, if the present system continues. For the majority of offenders, community-based alternatives to conventional forms of imprisonment should be maximized. For many of those currently in prison, alternatives to prison could provide a viable alternative with little increase in risk to the public.⁶

We believe that most criminal conduct is spawned in the community, contributed to by the social, economic and political circumstances of the community. Thus, criminal behaviour is a function both of the offender and of the community, and the solutions must be sought in both. For this reason, we support the current trends which are identified as "Community Corrections".

Community Corrections is part of a broad multi-faceted social movement, the purposes of which are to amend policies in relation to the total system of social defence. The measures proposed by its advocates and, in part, already effected, include: (1) removing from the criminal law certain acts such as those which relate to alcohol or drug offences, or non-violent, sex-related crimes, especially those which involve willing adult "victims," (2) detoxification centres and bail hostels; (3)

⁶"The Manual of Correctional Standards" (1967), published by the American Corrections Association, referring to state institutions (which accept inmates sentenced to one year or more) makes a conservative estimate of the number of persons involved: "If a prison system maintains an adequate program of classification, it is possible to maintain approximately one-third of an unselected prison population in open or minimum security institutions or facilities." In Canada, this would mean in excess of 2600 federal inmates *alone*.

It might be pointed out that a decade ago, with the development of community psychiatry, many patients, formerly felt to be both unpredictable and dangerous were released into the community under out-patient care without a substantial increase in social problems. We feel there are certain parallels which can be drawn between community psychiatry and community corrections!

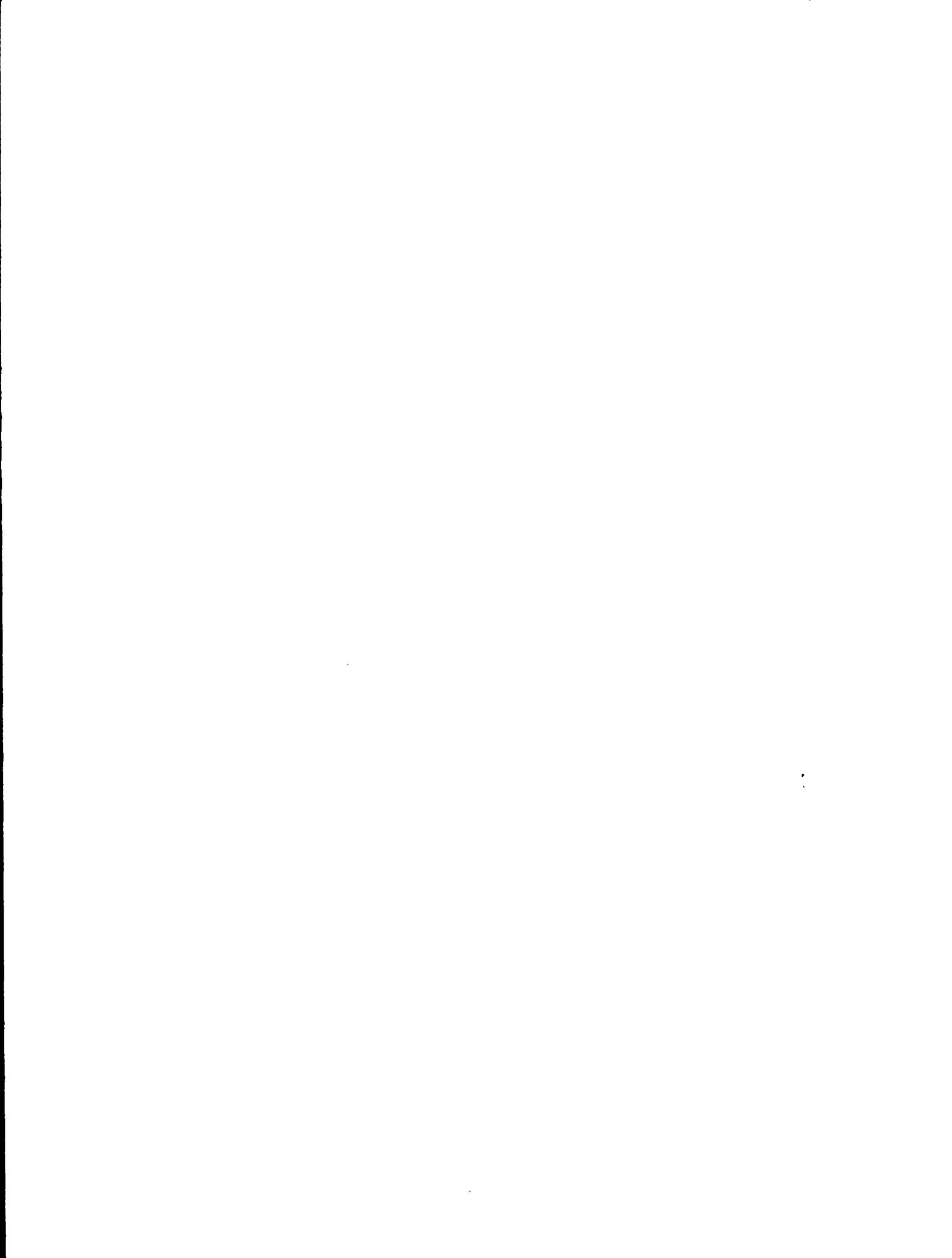
the increase in the use of fines, probation and probation camps⁷ for those convicted of criminal offences, including the payment of restitution but without the option of imprisonment for those unable to pay; and, (4) the increased use of partial prison sentences—sentences which enable an offender to work during the day and to serve his sentence at night and on weekends. When imprisonment is necessary, the stress is being placed upon the provision of small units which minimize the tensions found in large institutions. Community Corrections infers classification as to the level of security required in the first instance. Proponents are recommending that new units which should be built close to urban centres where relatively easy access can be given to knowledgeable members of the public and, where possible, access by the inmate to the community can be effected by way of temporary absence for educational or work purposes. It also infers a maximum use of parole and other forms of release under surveillance, except in the case of those whose continuing behaviour is considered dangerous to the public or themselves, or is characterized by repetition of crimes with little indication that the pattern is changing.

Where residential facilities in the community are required, they should be relatively small; internally autonomous rather than bureaucratically controlled; subject to meaningful scrutiny and participation from the knowledgeable public; informal and personal in orientation rather than formal and professional; innovative and creative, rather than repressive, or "therapeutic." It is also important that the degree of participation of residents in decisions which effect them should be as high as possible. This point is of special importance in the light of our conviction that enforced dependency is at the root of the failure of prisons as agents of behaviour modification. Thus a prison is not merely some place behind high walls or double fencing;

A prison is any place which one cannot leave and within which one cannot materially affect the conditions of his existence.⁸

⁷This term is used, as in California to include camps, work training centres, group homes and hostels where surveillance is a function of the centre as well as educational training.

⁸Korn, R.R., "Of Crime, Justice . . ." p. 46.



General Principles

Of all the Tyrannies, a Tyranny sincerely exercised for the good of its victims may be the most oppressive.

C. S. Lewis

On the basis of the foregoing discussion it has been possible to develop a set of 18 principles which we believe should underlie the development of the policy to guide the further growth of C.R.C.'s, as one important alternative to conventional forms of imprisonment.

The first 15 of these principles are developed in this chapter. These principles, in the order in which they appear, are:

1. Community-based residential centres provide a viable alternative to conventional forms of incarceration for many male and female offenders. The number of C.R.C.'s should be increased.
2. The increase in the number of C.R.C.'s should not take place at the expense of the optimal protection of the public.
3. A planned expansion of C.R.C.'s could help relieve the increasing pressure on penal institutions and, to a considerable degree, lessen the necessity of building new institutions to accommodate the expected increase in prison populations.
4. C.R.C.'s should perform a variety of functions.
5. C.R.C.'s should provide differing degrees of programme intensity.
6. The development of innovative programmes and the replication of tested programmes, as well as the continuation of established ones should be encouraged.
7. Standards of evaluation for purposes of funding should be kept to a minimum in order to encourage a wide variety of experimentation in programmes. Any standards which are devised should apply to all C.R.C.'s, both private and public.
8. Whatever arrangements are made with regard to public funding, there is a continuing place for private sources of funding and a need for continual consultation with local groups in decisions which involve the assessment of need, standards, and goals of C.R.C.'s.
9. Special provision should be made to encourage the organization of C.R.C.'s for special groups such as native peoples and those from remote areas.
10. Special provision should be made to obtain funding to encourage groups of ex-offenders who wish to set up C.R.C.'s based on "self-help" principles.
11. There is a need for ongoing study to facilitate the orderly development of standards of assessing needs and evaluating the efficacy of C.R.C.'s. Standards should emerge out of experience.
12. Staff development should play a central role in the further development of C.R.C.'s.
13. Methods should be further developed of ensuring adequate communication between various segments of the C.R.C. movement, serving institutions, and potential residents.
14. Public education plays an important role in the development of C.R.C.'s.
15. A national forum of those concerned with the growth of C.R.C.'s should be created.

16. The federal government should take an active role in the growth and development of C.R.C.'s.
17. The federal government should recognize and accept the continuing role, whether in partnership or separately, of provincial and municipal governments, community and private agencies, in this development.
18. The federal government should look first to the private sector for the satisfaction of perceived needs of residential centres.

Principle 1

Community-Based Residential Centres Provide A Viable Alternative To Conventional Forms Of Incarceration For Many Male And Female Offenders. The Number Of C.R.C.'s Should Be Increased.

Principle 2

The Increase In The Number Of C.R.C.'s Should Not Take Place At The Expense Of The Optimal Protection Of The Public.

We have stated our reasons for favouring an increase in the use of community-based residential centres as alternatives to conventional forms of imprisonment. In general, they are smaller, more visible to the public, less expensive to operate and they do not require capital construction costs as high as those of prisons. In addition, if residents are well selected, C.R.C.'s can be introduced without substantially increasing the risk to the community.

The question of risk cannot be ignored. It is obvious that, while an offender is incarcerated, the opportunity to commit other offences in the community is non-existent. Nevertheless, more than 90 per cent of incarcerated offenders are released to the community within two years, and the question remains whether the risk to the community is greater or smaller after their incarceration than before. We submit that it is likely to be greater. In our opinion, therefore, it seems logical that a high priority should be placed on the development of alternatives to imprisonment. At the same time, it is essential to select, as candidates for C.R.C.'s, offenders who do not display a high propensity for violence and for continuing predatory conduct.

Under our system of administration of justice, the majority of even the dangerous or predatory, are released sooner or later. Therefore, while providing alternatives for the majority whose behaviour is non-dangerous and relatively non-predatory, we need to give special attention to the small proportion whose behaviour represents a high risk to the community. To give some indication of the numbers involved, the *Manual of Correctional Stan-*

dards of the American Corrections Association, states that 15 per cent of inmates in state penitentiaries need maximum security.¹

Whether special facilities should be provided for this group in preparation for release while they are under mandatory supervision is only one of the problems created by their existence. Perhaps the answer is contained in the *Special Report to the Solicitor General on the Design of Federal Maximum Security Institutions*, (known as the Mohr Report, 1971), which suggests a series of special transfer units attached to the maximum security prison. In addition, we have received a number of briefs from inmate groups which speak to this issue. Among them, was an intriguing brief from a group at the British Columbia Penitentiary, made up of men with long criminal records. They suggested a plan whereby an applicant to "their" residential centre, would have to pass screening by a group of fellow inmates as part of the selection process. When he returned to the street, the successful applicant would be accountable to this group of fellow inmates as well as others for his behaviour. If he failed he would not only break faith with them but, more immediately, place in jeopardy the release of other members of the group.²

Although the tools of criminological research are not highly sophisticated, there are some methods of anticipating the risk of future criminal conduct. These could be tested for applicability to the Canadian scene, and employed in selection procedures.

Principle 3

A Planned Expansion of C.R.C.'s Could Help Relieve The Increasing Pressure On Penal Institutions And, To A Considerable Degree, Lessen The Necessity Of Building New Institutions To Accommodate The Expected Increase In Prison Populations.

There are many indications that the absolute numbers of persons convicted of criminal offences will continue to increase in the near future. There is also an indication that the period of rapid increase in the use of probation and parole, which characterized the last two decades, is ending. To a considerable extent these alternatives to prison eased the pressure on prisons created by the rapid post-World-War-II increase in the number of offenders convicted by

¹"In all studies, a much larger proportion of the prison population is housed in maximum security facilities than would be necessary. It is doubtful if maximum security for more than 15 per cent of an unselected prison population is necessary." "Manual of Correctional Standards," (1967) pg. 333. As of March 31, 1971, 36 per cent of the inmate population in Canadian penitentiaries were in maximum security. Although we accept that American standards should not be applied indiscriminately to Canada, the difference between the American standard and what we find in Canada is striking enough to raise many questions!

²Brief submitted by Improvement Study Group of B.C. Penitentiary, Roger Savard, Chairman.

the courts. These alternatives temporarily reduced the necessity of building new institutions. Now, for the first time since the mid-sixties, the absolute number of inmates of Canadian penitentiaries is beginning to rise once again.

It is our contention that the planned expansion of C.R.C.'s of the wide variety discussed below could provide a feasible alternate means of relieving the increasing pressure on our prisons. Rather than invest many millions of dollars in brick and concrete, funds should be diverted into the expansion of a broad range of community-based programmes including C.R.C.'s.

The term "planned" is used advisedly in discussing the proposed expansion of C.R.C.'s because we do not know the extent of future demands for such services. Although we see many indications of expanded use, we do not know the degree to which their use will be increased by courts and law enforcement agencies, by prison administrations or after-care agencies. Returns from our questionnaire to penitentiary staff showed that they felt that 50 per cent of Canada's federal penitentiary population could be released from incarceration to special therapeutic units such as mental hospitals, alcoholic treatment centres, to homes for the mentally retarded or senile, and to other community-based facilities. According to penitentiary staff, of this 50 per cent more than one half would benefit from two to three months residence in a C.R.C., which has as part of its programme assistance in job-finding and some form of counselling.

At the same time, we do not know how great the demands for pre-and post-release centres will be from persons currently serving time. As noted elsewhere, returns from one inmate questionnaire indicated an inordinately high degree of interest in *pre*-release centres and substantial interest in *post*-release C.R.C.'s.

It is obvious, as well, that one of the controlling factors in the expansion of C.R.C.'s will be the level of public tolerance for programmes of this type. It is hard to determine ways of measuring this tolerance level. The high visibility of community corrections programmes may well increase the amount of exposure and controversy over community residential centres and other correctional programmes. Public education will be a crucial factor in the success of the programme, as will the careful selection of residents who, by their behaviour, can help to break down the negative stereotypes of offenders that many members of the general public have.

Principle 4

C.R.C.'s Should Perform A Variety Of Functions.

Within a system of social defence, C.R.C.'s would perform necessary functions at various stages of the criminal trial process for example:

1. Residential centres would provide an alternative to the laying of criminal charges.

Residential centres as alternatives to charging are found extensively in the juvenile field in Canada at present. They are used by police as alternatives when juvenile or young adult offenders are felt to be more neglected than delinquent. However, they are not found extensively in the field of adult corrections. It would be our hope that as attitudes towards types of currently perceived criminal behaviour, such as those related to alcohol, certain types of drugs and some other so-called "crimes without victims", become re-defined the importance of residential centres as alternatives to charging would increase.

2. Residential centre would provide alternatives to conventional forms of imprisonment.

These centres would comprise the "half-way in" houses for persons convicted of offences deemed not to require imprisonment, but requiring more intensive supervision than that provided by regular probation. These are found with some frequency in juvenile corrections at present, where they are defined as group homes or probation hostels for young offenders. Group homes for adults could be built or expanded to include certain categories of adult offenders as well. In particular, they could be used for certain adults who could not be released to await trial without closer surveillance than could be offered with bail.³ A survey among the officers of the Ontario Probation Service in 1971 indicated a minimum of 235 adult offenders mostly between the ages of 18 and 21 who, it was estimated, could have benefited from facilities like the traditional half-way house.⁴

3. Residential centres would improve pre-release procedure.

Employed for persons who have undergone incarceration, these centres would be designed to provide short-term and long-term assistance during the transition from prison to community. Residents of these centres would not have completed their mandatory period of incarceration. As has been noted, they are found infrequently in Canada at the present time. Included in this category could well be the small, minimum security institutions, located in urban areas, currently being developed by the Canadian Penitentiary Service, one of whose functions is to provide a pre-release facility.

4. Residential centres would improve post-release procedures, (short-term).

³The need for centres for those awaiting trial will, presumably, have lessened considerably by the enactment of the new Bail Reform Legislation.

⁴Ontario Department of Justice, Ontario Probation Service, "Memo on the Inter-Departmental Committee, Centres for Emotionally Disturbed Children, Sub-Committee on Group Homes," August 5, 1971, by G.G. McFarlane.

These would represent the "traditional" half-way house for those who have completed the mandatory period of incarceration and are released unconditionally, on parole, or on mandatory supervision. Residents might or might not be graduates of pre-release centres. In general, the length of stay in these centres would be relatively short and the counselling would be community- and employment-oriented. This type of centre represents the majority of those now in existence in Canada.

5. Residential centres would improve post-release procedures, (long-term).

Among inmates in penal institutions, there are some whose criminality is a function of such profound inadequacy that it is not likely to change during short-term residence. Because of senility, mental retardation or physical disability, the offender is not likely to be able to survive "on the street" in the absence of a sheltered environment of some type. Centres for this kind of person may include special workshop facilities as a part of a programme for eventual re-integration into the community. Some residents will remain dependent on these services for as long as they live.

Implications:

Because of the paucity of numbers of women who require or seek residential accommodation as compared to men, they present a special problem. This fact will have to be considered in the planned expansion of C.R.C.'s.

It is obvious that, under the present system of distribution of powers at various levels of government, the major responsibility for the development of these types of community residential centres, will be shared by the federal government and various provincial governments, as well as the private sector. Nevertheless, we consider it important to take a global look at the phenomenon in order to stress the need for a broad "systems" approach to the problem of providing community alternatives to conventional imprisonment; and (b) the need for a federal-provincial partnership in the search for solutions.

Principle 5

C.R.C.'s Should Provide Differing Degrees Of Programme Intensity.

As well as performing a variety of functions, community-based residential centres should also offer a wide variety of degrees of intensity in their programmes. Human needs are infinite in their variety and there is no reason to believe that those of offenders are less complex. As yet, we do not know the number of persons who would seek different intensities of programmes, or different kinds of programmes, but, at this point in their expansion, there is a need for all varieties to develop. The programmes should range from overnight accommodation with bed and breakfast, to intensive long-term counselling, counter-culture and communal programmes.

The question of what alternative "delivery systems" of funding are available for this variety of programmes will be discussed in the following chapter under a section entitled Alternative Funding Models.

Principle 6

The Development Of Innovative Programmes And The Replication Of Tested Programmes, As Well As The Continuation Of Established Ones Should Be Encouraged.

Principle 7

Standards Of Evaluation For Purposes Of Funding Should Be Kept To A Minimum In Order To Encourage A Wide Variety Of Experimentation In Programmes. Any Standards Which Are Devised Should Apply To All C.R.C.'s, Both Private And Public.

It is premature to set standards which attempt to differentiate between "good" and "bad" programmes. The field is too new and standards of evaluation have not as yet emerged. It is quite possible that different criteria should be developed to evaluate different types of C.R.C.'s—to distinguish for instance between large, short-term residential centres and those supplying long-term residence for smaller numbers of persons, or between traditional "treatment-oriented" centres and self-help communes.

Rather than attempt to enunciate comprehensive sets of standards at this point, we prefer, to recognize certain minimum criteria which must be met and to permit more sophisticated criteria to emerge out of experience.

The standards for innovative programmes will differ from replicative ones where the programme already exists but the director is new. The criteria will also differ from those used to judge the programmes of proven stability, where both the director and programme have already been tested. In the case of innovative programmes, applicants should be required to establish a base of credibility in the local community. Whether this should be done by general indicators such as letters of support from prominent individuals or agencies in the community, or by offers of more specific assistance—financial or otherwise—is still open to discussion. The minimum standards requirement is designed to ensure the most favourable environment within which innovative and replicative programmes, by nature more unstable than established ones, can grow. "Seed" money to meet all or a portion of budget requirements, would be one way of administration.

For continuing programmes, a more stringent, though still not exacting, standard should be required. We propose that the following criteria be met by established organizations seeking continuing public funding:

1. The organization must have been in operation from 18 months to 24 months. This arbitrary length of

time is chosen to suggest that existence over a period of one year and half is one indicator of a desirable measure of stability.

2. The programme must meet local health and safety standards.
3. The organization must be provincially incorporated. Incorporation not only opens the way for tax concessions which can bring economic benefits, but also gives some indication, however minimal, that the centre meets local requirements.
4. The organization must have a board of directors. A great deal of controversy surrounds the value of boards of directors for programmes which have become well established. There are, however, several reasons why we feel the existence of a board of directors is singularly important even after the initial stages of organization. The first is to ensure proper accountability of public funds. Also, we feel that boards play a vital role in providing a counter balance to the authority of the director of community-based centres. Although the board's power may not need to be exercised often it can be crucial in cases where misunderstandings between director, staff and/or residents arise or in the rare instances where the authority of the director is misused at the expense of residents or staff.

It should be noted that we are not requiring a board of directors for purposes of innovative or replicative funding. Several consultants warned against superimposing the requirement of a board prematurely or inappropriately on fledgling organizations which require maximum freedom to develop. We have accepted this principle, but feel that, by the time the programme is stable enough to seek continued funding, the advantages of a board of directors far outweigh its potential disadvantages.

We feel that the membership of boards should be widened to include segments of the community not usually represented at present, for example, law enforcement personnel, members of municipal government, immediate neighbours, members of the correctional fraternity and ex-offenders, or residents.

5. The organization must have at least a minimum acceptable standard of record-keeping and of accounting. A budget and properly presented set of books should be required, as a criterion of continued funding. In addition, the director should be required to keep a record of residents which includes some demographic data for the purposes of identification. Although most centres would keep records much more sophisticated than this, we feel that this is a minimum acceptable standard.
6. The organization must have an annual review as a condition of continued funding.

One problem which we have been unable to solve, remains in our system of continued funding: that is how do you build into funding arrangements, a "self-destruct" mechanism for programmes which have outlived their usefulness. Although the problem is of some concern due to the demonstrated propensity of agencies under stable funding to perpetuate themselves, we have not been able to discover a way of ensuring funding which offers programme stability and, at the same time, facilitates the timely demise of those programmes which have outlived their usefulness. One way of maintaining control over whether or not the stated purposes of the programme are being realized and needs met, is to have an annual review, not only of financial accountability but of programmes as well. It is obvious that, out of experience, criteria for the evaluation of programmes must emerge.⁵

The same standard should apply to both private and public community residential centres. In principle, if both the public and private sectors are to remain in the field, and standards are to remain at a minimum, then one set of basic standards should apply to both. In practice this is often the case. One instance when they are not is when 100 per cent of funding comes from the government in this instance; some of the functions of a board of directors would be negated and the resulting board role would be more one of advice than of management. However, to the extent that a board of private citizens from the community in which the C.R.C. is situated can play a role in public education, in addition to acting as watchdog, it has a valuable function to perform. We state elsewhere our belief in the principle of public involvement in C.R.C.'s, and this is one place where such involvement can be propitious. The functions of these boards would obviously have to be modified to fit the circumstances, but the principle would remain the same. One of their functions, in light of the obvious discrepancy that we have found between public and private sector per diem operating costs, would be to establish to their satisfaction, that the per diem costs of the C.R.C. are justified by quality of programme and service offered.

Since the Canadian penitentiary service has already developed an elaborate set of standards⁶ for the operation of their C.R.C.'s, it is doubtful that these standards should be inter-changeable with private sector C.R.C.'s.

Principle 8

Whatever arrangements Are Made With Regard To Public Funding, There Is A Continuing Place For Private Sources Of Funding And A Need For Continual Consultation With Local Groups In Decisions Which Involve The Assessment Of Needs, Standards, And Goals Of C.R.C.'s

⁵See discussion under Principle 10.

⁶Commissioner's Directive 329, Feb., 1972.

Correctional history is replete with examples of programmes which were innovative and creative in their early stages, but gradually succumbed to bureaucratic "red tape". As they grew, they became more encumbered with a complex organizational structure, which inhibited the creativity and sense of commitment of those at the "coalface" of practice. On the other hand, it is possible to find numerous examples of programmes which have maintained their autonomy at the expense of financial security and have suffered, and sometimes been forced to close as a result.

One of our greatest fears is that a new bureaucracy will grow and that predictability will gradually replace the innovativeness and creativity now found in the C.R.C. movement and half destroy it in the process. And yet, paradoxically the need for adequate public funding and the stability it brings, inevitably leads to some form of bureaucratic structure.

We look for a form of partnership between public and private sectors including ex-offenders, with meaningful input from both, as one way of preventing "hardening of the bureaucracies." The success of this relationship will depend upon the continued autonomy of C.R.C. directors and boards. We also recommend private boards of advisors for public sector programmes such as pre-release centres.

The opportunity of directors to obtain funds from sources other than governmental is of crucial importance in the maintenance of autonomy. Private sources of funding will, therefore, continue to be essential in the future. The maintenance of a balance between public and private sectors will also require consultation with local bodies of citizens in making decisions about the assessment of needs, building standards and the evaluation of existing programmes.

Principle 9

Special Provision Should Be Made To Encourage The Organization of C.R.C.'s For Special Groups Such As Native Peoples And Those From Remote Areas

In the penitentiaries and prisons of Western Canada, Indian and Métis offenders are represented out of all proportion to their numbers in the community-at-large. In the last few years, many organizations representing groups of native people have been seeking a greater degree of self-determination in a wide range of matters dealing with their welfare. We have studied a number of proposals for programmes to be administered by native people, on their own behalf. Several of these plans were very comprehensive in scope and presentation.

We realize that negotiations are going on between the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Native Peoples Organizations. We are also

aware of the establishment of friendship centres for non-reserve Indians sponsored by the Department of the Secretary of State. We support the trend towards self-determination of native peoples, and feel that the development of C.R.C.'s administered by native people should be encouraged. We see this as a temporary measure made necessary at this point in time by their struggle for achievement of a sense of cultural identity. Representatives of many groups with whom we talked saw the urgency of separate facilities growing less as the sense of cultural identity becomes clearer in their minds.

In an excellent brief submitted by C. J. Goodyear, Provincial Magistrate of Goose Bay, Labrador, the impact of the Canadian penal system on both Eskimos and Whites who live in remote areas was most eloquently portrayed. In part, he said:

As a result of our becoming a province of Canada a cost-sharing arrangement was worked out so that the Indians and Eskimos of this Province would share some of the economic benefits granted their counterparts in other areas of Canada. There was never any question of their losing their full rights as citizens which they had prior to Confederation. Now the precedent has been set in that the Federal Government has acknowledged an obligation to the Indians and Eskimos of this Province. It therefore follows logically that some very strong consideration be given to the setting up of some type of community-based detention centre through which Indian and Eskimo prisoners, and others, could be processed. The logical place to set up such an institution is the Goose Bay-Happy Valley area of Labrador. It is centrally located and is the transportation and distribution centre for Labrador. In these two communities live friends and relatives of almost every family in the coastal area. Thus an atmosphere exists which is most desirable if we are to change our way of treating prison inmates, and have them participate, to some extent, in community activity before being released at the termination of sentence or on parole. It has been well established that the mere release of persons from penal institutions has not had the effect which has been so earnestly sought. As mentioned previously the nearest Federal institution is at Dorchester, N.B., the nearest Provincial penitentiary is at St. John's, Nfld. Reference to the map will show that these institutions are located a considerable distance; the nearest being about nine hundred miles away. Aside from the geographic and transportation difficulties which result, the social atmosphere is so different that any person from the northern regions serving time in either of those institutions is in the position of being transported to a foreign society. Since the expressed objective of the system is to return the offender to society as a person who can then integrate and become a functional citizen it is extremely difficult to see how persons going through such a system can do anything but become repeaters.

As it is only a matter of days since I received the terms of reference of the Task Force on Community Based Detention Centres I have not been able to do as much research as I might have done. However on checking with the RCMP detachment at Happy Valley I found that in 1971 they handled 542 prisoners of which 86 were escorted to St. John's. The actual cost of transportation amounted to \$11,356. In 1972, to May 31, 231 prisoners were handled, of which 27 were escorted to St. John's at a cost of \$3,198. This does not take into account a number of prisoners coming in from Coastal Labrador who were escorted direct by the Detachments concerned. I feel quite certain that a cost analysis would show that transportation, wages, food, bedding and laundry as well as janitorial services and maintenance would make it more feasible economically to operate a detention centre here.

Principle 10

Special Provision Should Be Made To Obtain Funding To Encourage Groups Of Ex-Offenders Who Wish To Set Up C.R.C.'s Based On "Self-Help" Principles

We have been impressed with the dynamic and creative nature of some programmes being run by ex-offenders, singly or in groups, which have been designated "self-help" programmes. Although they do not always develop in as stable and predictable a fashion as centres developed on more traditional grounds, they provide, in several instances, some of the best examples of innovativeness among the centres visited.

Almost all of the older self-help groups follow the approach of Alcoholics Anonymous, or that of the traditional "treatment" models. However, a few have broken with these traditional approaches and are experimenting with new models of human influence in which involvement in an alternate total life-style is one of the things expected of residents. This life-style requires a level of commitment in time and energy which few without a deep "gut involvement" are willing to give. Basic to these more innovative groups is the philosophy that one becomes better able to cope with one's own problems by working with another on his problems. A further characteristic is their rejection of the notion that one is a victim of his past. They insist that one must accept responsibility for one's own behaviour, and begin to demonstrate that he can live, day by day, as a responsible person. The centre programme provides the opportunity and the support to do this.

More significant than the so-called "treatment" models, however, is the very existence of self-help groups. As has been stated before, this is the only place currently within the correctional system where ex-offender and non-offenders can meet where both are engaged in the same task. The bridges of communication which could be built by this encounter provide the potential for change which augurs well for the future.⁷

We recognize that problems will arise. Some ex-offenders are still "professional ex-cons" who are not ready to accept responsibility over the lives of others; some are in it for their own personal gain. Easier funding may attract more to this field than at present. However these qualities are inevitably found among both those who have "done time" and those who haven't.

Hopefully these distinctions will become obvious to those who are in charge of funding who will make their decisions without reference to whether the applicant is an ex-offender or not.

⁷There has been interest shown among a number of self-help groups of ex-offenders in banding together in order to make their corporate voice heard. We support this move, feeling that a strong voice from ex-offenders will be an important adjunct in the growth of community corrections, and in the planning groups we propose in this report.

As stated elsewhere, "self-help" groups have more difficulty in obtaining funding for opening C.R.C.'s than any other group. Ways must be found to redress this imbalance. It is our hope that the minimum standards requirement for new programmes set out in Principle 7 will assist in this regard. This will give all groups up to two years to prove their credibility before they must meet the somewhat more stringent requirements of continuing funding.

Principle 11

There Is A Need For Ongoing Study To Facilitate The Orderly Development Of Standards Of Assessing Needs And Evaluating The Efficacy Of C.R.C.'s. Standards Should Emerge Out Of Experience.

One thing is clear: there are no commonly accepted, objective standards for evaluating C.R.C.'s. We were able to find them neither in our field investigations or conferences, nor in the literature, nor did they arise from a review of empirical studies. Our short visits to England, Belgium and the United States, all of which have had extensive experience with half-way houses, failed to uncover standards which could be applied. Those criteria employed in decision-making tend to evaluate the "hard" aspects of operations, such as recording and accounting procedures, rather than the qualitative dimensions of programmes to which we suspect the ultimate "success" of a centre should be attributed.

Thus, we have opted for minimum standards. Nevertheless, some group or groups is going to be left with the responsibility of saying "yes" or "no" to applications for funds, or for continuing funding for an established programme. These groups are gradually going to go beyond the minimum standards set forth in Principles 6 and 7 and make explicit the experience they are gaining.

It is obvious that their experience needs to be monitored, their decisions tested, and that techniques to assist them will need to be developed. These will include standards to evaluate programme efficiency, standards to select and evaluate directors and staff, ways of ensuring the best strategies for funding C.R.C.'s, and others. Thus a research component must be built into the support structures which will be developed once the appropriate funding model is selected.

We have included as Appendix A a research design based on a cost-benefit approach to evaluating community-based residential centres prepared by Mr. Robert Hann and Professor Richard Sullivan. It differs from other designs we have seen in that it identifies some "soft" evaluative data, which have proven so difficult to quantify, yet we suspect are so important in evaluating the real impact of correctional programmes. The research design submitted by Hann and Sullivan attempts to define this soft data in operational terms which lend themselves to analysis.

Principle 12

Staff Development Should Play A Central Role In The Further Development of C.R.C.'s

At present, directors and staff of C.R.C.'s are pre-occupied with their own internal problems. The amount of communication between those who work in this field is limited.

We perceive the role of staff development programmes as helping to develop and disseminate shared values and knowledge. At the core of such programmes would be the search for an answer to a question posed at one of our regional conferences: "Is there a fund of knowledge about C.R.C.'s which has emerged from experience in the field and, if so, how can this knowledge be passed from one individual to another?"

There are several ways in which staff development programmes could grow. They could be set up in universities or community colleges, or in special "training" C.R.C.'s chosen for the skill of their staff. A combination of these two suggestions or other variations could also be decided upon.

It was not our purpose, nor did we have time, to develop various training models in detail. Another group—preferably a mixed group of university teachers, government personnel, directors and staff as well as residents and ex-offenders—should be convened to develop curricula and various models of administration for implementation in different parts of Canada. The question of how to pass on accumulated knowledge and encourage the development of shared standards, while avoiding the danger of stifling innovation and creativity which is one of the most promising characteristics of the movement today, is only one of the problems this committee must consider.

Principle 13

Methods Should Be Further Developed Of Ensuring Adequate Communication Between Various Segments Of the C.R.C. Movement, Serving Institutions,⁸ And Potential Residents.

The preceding chapter which describes the C.R.C. movement as it exists today gives some indication of the extent of its disorganization. Communication among various centres, even in the same city is limited, often non-existent.

To some extent, this is natural in a movement as new as C.R.C.'s. It becomes unfortunate when potential residents are not aware of the existence of centres in areas where they wish to re-locate, especially when these centres have empty beds. It is also unfortunate when directors must keep beds empty for extended periods of time after

⁸"Institutions" in this context could be broadened to include courts, and law enforcement agencies as well as prisons.

committing themselves to accepting a potential parolee, because methods of close co-ordination between the prison and the C.R.C. have not been established to facilitate the parolee's release in a reasonable time.

These are two of the many obvious problems which illustrate the need for greater co-operation and communication between centre directors, institutions, and potential residents. Provision should be made for opportunities for meetings between directors and inmates and staff of serving institutions. This could have a reciprocal benefit on both C.R.C.'s and institution.

We believe that lists of C.R.C.'s giving the name of the centre its address, name of director, particulars of programme, length of residence, number of beds should be drawn up and circulated to all federal and provincial institutions, C.R.C.'s in Canada, and other correctional services. Some method of keeping the list up-to-date, should be devised. We have appended to this report a sample list giving these particulars, as of August 15, 1972.

Inmates to whom we talked in a number of penitentiaries, were concerned because they did not know the criteria for selection for pre-release centres. Part of this confusion may stem from the fact that we visited penitentiaries while they were in the midst of a policy change. This change resulted in what were formerly referred to as Community Release Centres being reconstituted as Community Correctional Centres (C.C.C.'s)—that is minimum security institutions with up to 50 beds, located in urban areas, only one purpose of which was to serve as a pre-release centre.

It seems important to us that criteria for selection should be made as explicit as possible, and that they should be widely circulated among the inmate populations. This information should include who is given priority and who is excluded, and explain the reasons behind these criteria.

Principle 14

Public Education Plays An Important Role In The Development of C.R.C.'s.

Although we concede that public education through films, television and radio, and speaking engagements are valuable, we are of the opinion that more emphasis should be placed on methods which involve personal contacts with the immediate community. Some of the most effective centres we visited had simple, but extensive networks of communication in the local community. Some, particularly self-help groups, employ residents as work parties to "hustle" everything from furniture to food from various commercial and private enterprises. The purpose of this is not only functional in obtaining supplies, but also therapeutic in bringing residents of the centre face-to-face with members of the community to their mutual benefit. One programme not only sought

articles such as paint, but asked the donor to come and help the residents to put it on, thus, getting him personally involved in the programme, and incidentally, reassuring him that the paint was being used for the purpose it had been requested.

Volunteers also provide a useful source of contact with the community, and their use should be encouraged. Recent experiments in the field of probation and in mental health demonstrate their value. We see merit in two kinds of volunteer activities: the first, represented by volunteers from the community who come to the centre to participate in programmes; the second, by residents who go out to participate in programmes in the community. With respect to the first, some directors expressed concern about the value of volunteers because they thought they would be involved in some integral ways in the treatment programme of the centre and would thus require extensive training and supervision. One of the interesting developments in this connection has been the more imaginative use of volunteers. This is characterized by requests to volunteers to come to the centre merely "to be themselves." If we accept the idea that one of the goals of C.R.C.'s is to provide links with the community, it is obvious that residents should be able to relate to people "as they are" rather than in some semi-therapeutic capacity. Therefore, it seems to us that the selection process for volunteers, rather than the training process, is the crucial step which must be most carefully undertaken.

We were also impressed with the innovative use of residents in some centres as volunteers in various community enterprises which range all the way from providing speaker panels, or operating "free stores" in centre city areas, to such simple tasks as volunteering to put storm windows on the homes of elderly couples in the

neighbourhood. This activity is what we refer to as public education which is of greater value than mere publicity.

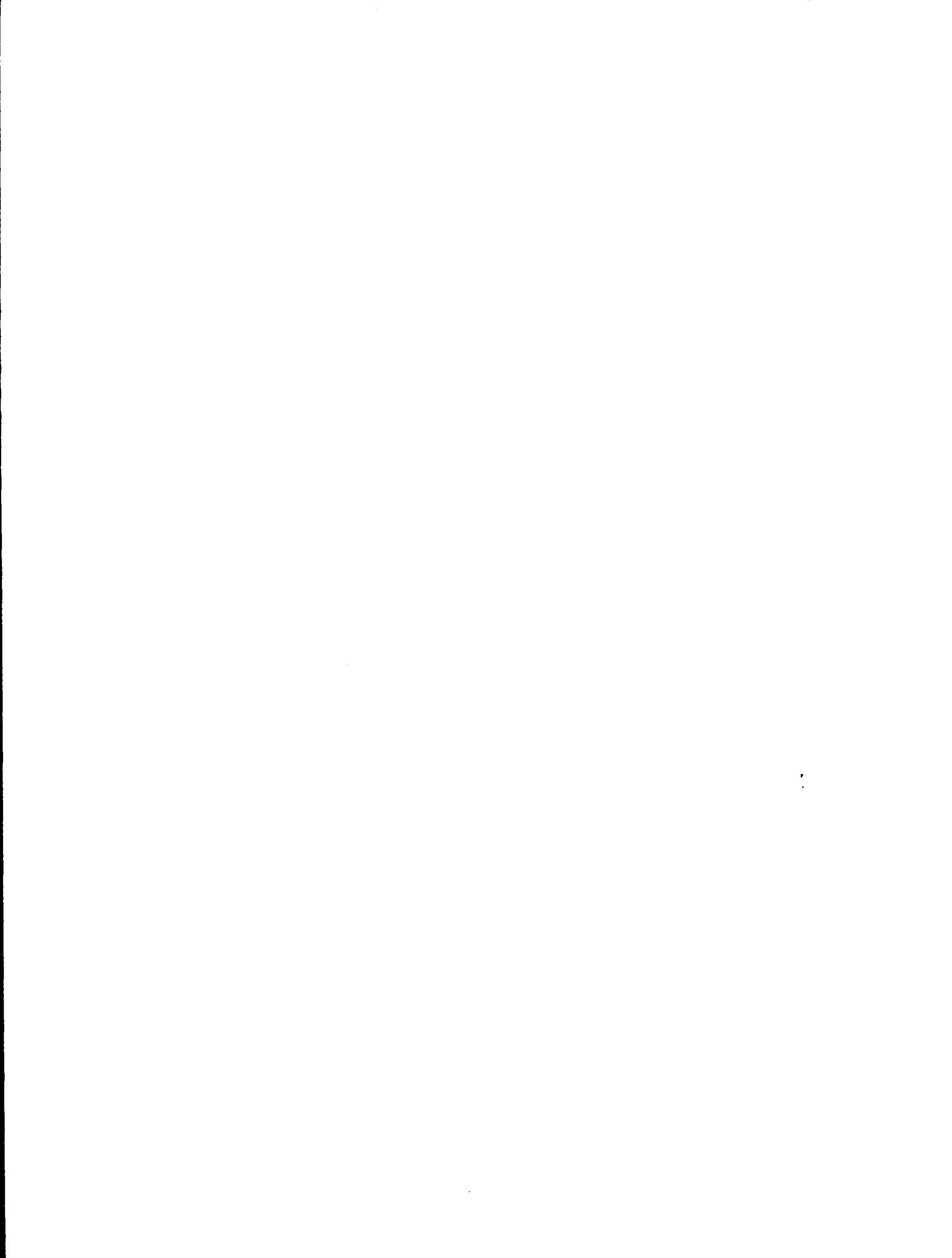
A survey in Canada of public attitudes towards the correctional establishment, found a surprisingly high proportion of the members of the community not only able but anxious to assist ex-offenders. This appears to be an untapped source of contact which should be developed in drawing the community into this aspect of Community Corrections.

Principle 15

A National Forum Of Those Concerned With The Growth Of C.R.C.'s Should Be Created.

The Task Force was often told of the need which exists for a platform of some kind to serve as a vehicle for sharing ideas and problems, and to facilitate communication between those in the field. At present, there is a forum which meets from time to time but its impact has been limited because of a lack of adequate financing and other problems. Although this forum has no formal membership, persons attending meetings have been directors and staff of hostels and half-way houses, as well as some others. However, meetings have been sporadic, and attendance not particularly representative. In addition, the forum has tended to be identified with one group of affiliated C.R.C.'s, a disadvantage at this point in the evolution of this movement.

A national forum could play an important role by ensuring a continuing in-flow of information about attitudes reactions and problems of those most intimately involved in C.R.C.'s, to the funding body. It could serve as a source of mutual help to members of the association, and as a forum to debate goals and standards, and among other topics, this Task Force Report.



Principles Specific to the Federal Government

The Task Force was specifically asked to determine what, in the words of the mandate, should be “the goals and objectives of the federal government in relation to community-based residential centres, and those of their residents for whom the federal government has responsibility.” A related, but much more difficult assignment was the request to ascertain what it costs the federal government to maintain these inmates and ex-inmates in existing community-based residential centres.

A number of factors combined to make this a formidable task. In the first place, the federal responsibility for Canadian offenders extends well beyond the federal Penitentiary System which accepts offenders who receive sentences of two years or more. There are approximately 7,900 inmates of these penitentiaries, and an additional group of offenders on parole or released under terms of mandatory supervision. The federal government also accepts responsibility for the paroling of all offenders released from institutions on National Parole. The exceptions to this are British Columbia and Ontario where the involvement of the National Parole Board in provincial paroles is limited to the release of offenders during the determinate portion of a determinate/indeterminate sentence.

At the present time, the federal government is involved in the administration of five pre-release centres and two day parole centres. Plans are being made to expand this segment of the responsibility undertaken by the Canadian Penitentiary Service. In addition, the federal government is offering up to \$10 per day for the support of federal inmates who are living in C.R.C.'s as a result of their terms of parole, or as a result of their being referred by representatives of the National Parole Service or the Canadian Penitentiary Service.

Yet another obstacle encountered in efforts to ascertain the costs of maintaining federal inmates in C.R.C.'s was

caused by the failure of these institutions to keep relevant records. C.R.C.'s almost never distinguish federal offender from others.

Difficulties also arose because some of the data relating to contractual agreements between the Department of the Solicitor General and various C.R.C.'s was not complete.

For all these reasons, we found it impossible to place an exact monetary value on the federal government's current contribution to the C.R.C. movement. We remain convinced, however, that the federal investment in these services is vital to the success of the movement and that this will be increasingly the case in the future. If, as we believe, C.R.C.'s can and should play an increasingly important role in the development of alternatives to incarceration, they must be encouraged and expanded. This growth will not occur unless funds from public sources, including the federal government, continue to be available.

This conviction underlies the statement which follows:

Principle 16

The Federal Government should take an active role in the growth and development of C.R.C.'s.

At the same time, it is important to remember that, although federal funding and organization would offer stability, provincial and municipal governments, community and private agencies, contribute much needed sensitivity to local needs. At the present time, all of these agencies are participating in the C.R.C. movement and, hopefully, they will all continue to do so. This leads to the statement of Principle 17.

Principle 17

The Federal Government should recognize and accept the continuing role, whether in partnership or separately, of provincial and municipal governments, community and private agencies, in this development.

Principle 8 describes our concern to ensure a healthy balance between government and private investment in C.R.C. growth and development. In accordance with this concern, we have suggested the following principle:

Principle 18

The Federal Government should look first to the private sector for the satisfaction of perceived needs of residential centres.

When a new programme, based upon an identified need, is required, the federal government should look first to the private sector to see if that service is readily available and adequate. If it is not, the federal government should decide whether it could be developed by the private sector alone or in partnership with the federal government. Only after these possibilities have been ruled out, should the federal government create and administer new programmes independently. It should be noted that this policy leaves the decision-making function in the hands of the federal government, but places the onus upon the federal government to show cause why these new programmes should not be developed within the private sector.

We foresee a system of services, some of which are completely within the provincial or private sector, some

completely under the jurisdiction of the federal government, and some operated in partnership. Whatever the variety of organizational structures developed, there is need for co-ordination between the three sectors—federal, provincial, and private—in order to reduce duplication, to establish “spheres of influence” and to wipe out any tendency for programmes to be set up in competition with each other.

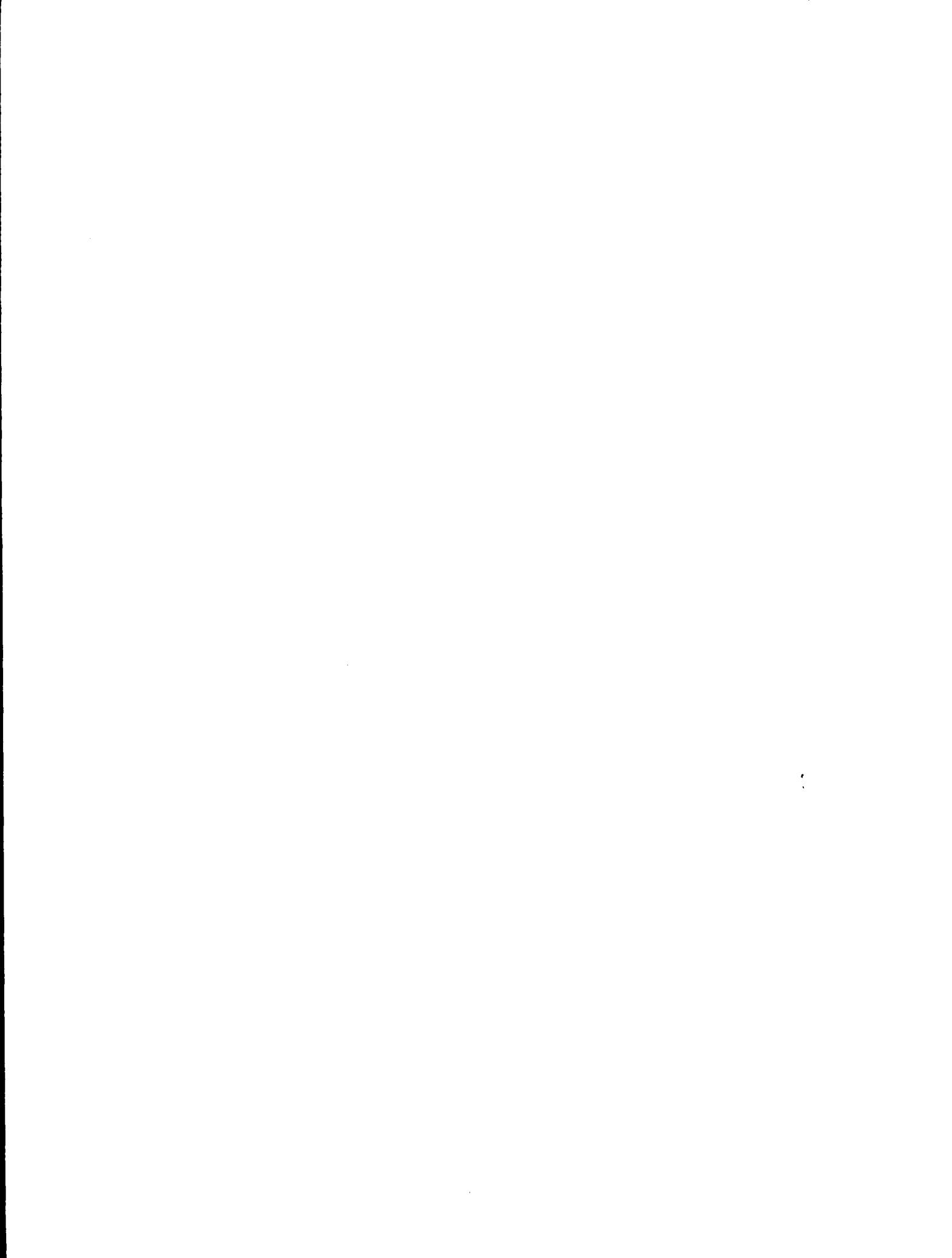
At present, the areas of partnership between the federal and provincial government are few, although there have been some increases recently. For example, the National Parole Board has agreed to undertake probation supervision in the Province of Prince Edward Island. The Province of New Brunswick and the federal government have agreed to transfer certain inmates from provincial prisons and place them in the federal penitentiary at Dorchester. It should be noted however, that partnerships of this nature have been limited chiefly to funding arrangements. The joint development of programmes has so far been virtually non-existent.

We see no reason, for instance, why the private sector should not provide programme services on a contractual basis to pre-release centres administered by the federal government; nor why the Penitentiary Services should not expand its system of contracts with outside services for the provision of special training or treatment for inmates still under sentence. Underlying this, should be the principle that the best arrangement is the one which offers the best service.

FEDERAL STEPS WE RECOMMEND

The establishment of a sound correctional policy does not require all the sectors of the administration of justice to play the same role. It is essentially a matter of having the various elements thinking and acting in a co-ordinated manner with definite basic purposes in mind to achieve a coherent system.

—Commission of Enquiry into
the Administration of
Justice on Criminal &
Penal Matters in Quebec,
(The Prévost Report) 1968



C.R.C. Funding Models

A political reality of contemporary corrections is the extent to which the system depends upon public funding. We assume that this will continue to be the case in the foreseeable future. Our consideration of ways and means of constructing an appropriate support structure for the allocation of funds to community-based residential centres¹ was based upon the assumption that federal funds will continue to be available for this purpose. Assuming this to be the case, we have developed three possible "delivery systems" for getting funds from the federal government to C.R.C.'s. It is obvious that these three alternatives do not represent all of the possibilities for transferring funds. They do, however, seem to be the most viable. The implications of implementing any one of them are completely different from those of any other.

A summary of the advantages and disadvantages of each of the proposed models is included with the description.

In summary, the models are:

1. A plan based upon the existing Canada Assistance Plan /Provincial Welfare framework;
2. A plan based upon a new shared-cost financial assistance programme;
3. A plan based upon direct financial support from the Department of the Solicitor-General

The objective in each of these models remains the same, i.e., to make some federal monies available within certain constraints for the support of some community-based residential centres.

This does not mean that under any of the models provincial monies or private sources of funding will cease

¹The terms of reference of the Task Force requested consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of alternative models of organization, administration and support, *without* recommendations.

to be available. Each model can be adapted to accommodate other than federal sources of funding. In fact, the federal government should consider funding of C.R.C.'s as a collaborative partnership with other levels of government and/or private enterprise.

Provision is made in each model for funds to be allocated for the operation and evaluation of existing C.R.C.'s. Additional funds should also be made available for the establishment of new C.R.C.'s. Each model, therefore, consists of two major components:

1. the on-going financial support of established community-based residential centres which meet certain criteria; and
2. the financial support of initial attempts to establish C.R.C.'s including those based on innovative or experimental designs.

MODEL I

A Plan based upon the existing Canada-Assistance plan /Provincial-Welfare framework

Characteristics

1. Existing C.A.P. legislation and regulations could be interpreted so as to accommodate the provision of financial support to C.R.C.'s. At the present time Ontario is the only province which has made extensive use of federal welfare dollars for the support of some C.R.C.'s. This has been accomplished by including them in the category of "homes for the aged" under the Ontario Charitable Institutions Act.

Two courses of action are possible if C.A.P. benefits are to be extended. The first would be to advise other provinces that the financial support of C.R.C.'s is available under existing C.A.P. legislation and suggest the steps which should be taken by these provinces in order to benefit from these provisions. The second course of action would be to take the necessary steps to permit the

inclusion of C.R.C.'s as a special category under existing legislation. The latter would require the cooperation of Treasury Board and perhaps of the Privy Council Office.

2. C.A.P.-Welfare agreements are based on a cost-sharing agreement between the Department of National Health and Welfare and the provinces. Under this agreement the federal government matches dollar-for-dollar the amount spent on welfare in each province by provincial and municipal welfare authorities.

3. These programmes are administered by the provinces under criteria which they select. Only broad eligibility criteria are enunciated by the Department of National Health and Welfare.

4. No limits on expenditures, either maximum or minimum, are established by the Department of National Health and Welfare.

5. The Solicitor General would request the Department of National Health and Welfare to implement this model in conjunction with the provinces. He would also discuss the transfer of monies from his Department to that of Health and Welfare.² In order to establish the credibility of the proposal he would, at the same time, request the opportunity to share with the Department of National Health and Welfare, the further development of eligibility criteria.

Advantages

1. The plan permits further co-ordination and integration of welfare services and payments for such services, thereby reducing existing fragmentation and confusion.

2. The plan could be extended to all persons living in C.R.C.'s, regardless of their offence, length of sentence, present status or future resources.

3. Administrative support structures are already established and functioning; administrative costs can be kept to a minimum.

4. The plan permits involvement and input from local advisory groups which are now involved in the C.A.P. programme.

Disadvantages

1. The financial support of C.R.C.'s would be subject to provincial welfare priorities which could relegate the support of C.R.C.'s to low priority.

2. The present 50-50 cost-sharing arrangement would almost certainly contribute to additional regional disparities in the standards of programmes across Canada.

The majority of provinces have not taken advantage of the availability of C.A.P. funds for the support of

²This would not be an important aspect since the amount of money currently being expended in the support of C.R.C.'s is relatively insignificant compared to other programmes being administered by the Department of the Solicitor General.

C.R.C.'s; there is no guarantee that under this model they would be more disposed to do so.³

4. Since the departmental structure in the Ontario government provides for separation of the Ministry of Correctional Services from the Welfare Department, that province would, in all likelihood, reject this model outright. Other provinces, such as British Columbia and New Brunswick, which also have separate departments, would probably follow the same course.

MODEL II

A plan based upon a new shared-cost financial assistance programs

Characteristics

1. The Solicitor General would initiate discussions with correctional authorities in each province through a federal-provincial conference or one-to-one meetings. The intent of these discussions would be to agree upon a cost-sharing formula for the financial support of C.R.C.'s. Following this, enabling legislation at the federal and provincial levels would be developed by the appropriate body.

2. The cost-sharing formula could be variable, based upon a particular province's ability to pay (*e.g.* tied to *per capita* income). Each province could also develop different cost-sharing financial arrangements with the Solicitor General depending on their particular needs and requirements.

3. Standards, criteria for funding and evaluation could be determined together by the province and the Department of the Solicitor General.

4. The programme would be administered by the province, based upon the agreed upon guidelines.

5. Local community and municipal involvement would be encouraged at the discretion of the province.

Advantages

1. Of the three models, this programme would probably result in the greatest financial gain for C.R.C.'s. This would encourage vigorous growth.

³If one considers the field of corrections, including C.R.C.'s to be a sub-system of a larger social development (social welfare) system, then this model would seem to be advantageous in obtaining closer integration of all welfare services. This view is supported further if one perceives of crime as an expression of the resentment and hostility of individuals and groups towards the unequal opportunity structures within the social system. Crime is thus defined as a social development problem. On the other hand, one can argue that, even though the above statement may be true in principle, Corrections has traditionally been given a relatively low priority in the allocation of social development dollars and to optimize its resources, it should be considered as a sub-system separate from welfare. This argument does not deal with the reality that scarce resources must still be allocated between social development and corrections which may have the net result of maintaining the low priority given to corrections programmes. Differences in professional ideology between social workers, psychologists and criminologists and certain political realities such as those noted in number four (above), tend to cloud the issue even further.

2. Funds could be extended to all offenders or ex-offenders, regardless of whether they are a federal or a provincial responsibility. This model is based on co-operation and partnership between the Solicitor General and the appropriate provincial correctional authority.

3. It could be done without disturbing the present organizational structure of various provinces. This would be achieved by putting money directly into the hands of the ministry responsible for corrections, whether or not this is the welfare department, without the implicit pressure to subsume corrections under welfare now found in C.A.P. funding arrangements.

4. It could serve as a prototype for larger subsidy programmes in the future for all social defence services.

5. It would give impetus to the development of uniform standards of programme quality across Canada.

Disadvantages

1. A specialized programme of financial support, separate from C.A.P.-provincial welfare would require a new and separate administrative support structure at both federal and provincial levels, thereby increasing administrative costs.

2. In provinces where Corrections are separate from welfare, it would make the co-ordination of C.R.C. services with other community services such as welfare programmes and employment services, more difficult than under Model II.

3. Due to a Prime Ministerial commitment to restrict the introduction of new cost-sharing programmes without the full approval of all provinces, and to the current lack of appropriate legislation, this model would require a lengthy period of negotiation, discussion and formulation of policy, legislation and administrative regulations. This suggests a two-to three-year waiting period of intensive effort before implementation is successful.

4. Given that C.R.C.'s may, under this model, cater to persons defined as non-offenders as well as offenders and ex-offenders, any C.R.C. may have welfare payments for some residents and corrections payments for others. This increases the likelihood of duplicate or competing payments and gaps arising when the formal status of a resident changes from that of offender to welfare recipient. This applies to those provinces in which corrections are separate from welfare.

5. It is likely that the Department of National Health and Welfare would oppose the creation of this financial assistance programme if it regards the services provided by C.R.C.'s as an integral aspect of social welfare and, therefore, rightly included in C.A.P.

6. It would require the creation of new departmental support structure to administer direct funding schemes.

MODEL III

A plan based upon direct financial support from the department of the Solicitor General

Characteristics

1. Direct payments would be made to any C.R.C. capable of providing the required services under a contractual agreement between the Department of the Solicitor General and that centre.

2. A wide variety of direct funding methods are possible. Three are given below; others could be devised from any combination of the three, or by developing unique methods.

A. *per diem*, per referral⁴—this closely resembles the present system of contractual agreements, in which payment is made only for services actually provided. This method can accommodate a variety of *per diem* rates, depending on the variety and intensity of services provided, and the geographic location of the centre.⁴

B. *per diem*, per bed—this provides selected C.R.C.'s with a guaranteed sum by agreeing to pay a *per diem* rate for a fixed number of beds in the centre whether or not they are occupied. Thus, the onus for seeing that a bed is filled is shifted from the director of the programme to the Solicitor General's Department, through its Penitentiary Service or Parole System.

C. a percentage of the operating budget of selected centres would be paid by the Department. The percentage would be determined by need, alternative sources of funding and legal responsibility. Payments could be made on an annual, quarterly or monthly basis.

3. The Department would determine, either unilaterally, or in conjunction with representatives of C.R.C.'s, the standards of criteria for funding and evaluation to be employed.

4. Local community advisory groups could be appointed, representing a cross-section of social defence groups concerned with C.R.C.'s (including ex-offenders and inmates), to advise on the distribution of funds, the establishment of new C.R.C.'s and the possible evaluation criteria for their community.

Advantages

1. Effective implementation would be relatively simple and speedy.

2. From the point of view of federal costs, it would require that payment be made only for those persons considered to be a responsibility of the Solicitor General's Department.

⁴See previous discussion, Chapter 3, statement 19.

3. It gives the Solicitor General complete control over the formulation of standards, criteria for funding and evaluation of new C.R.C.'s, thereby contributing to a new policy of funding.

4. This source of financial assistance is readily identifiable.

Disadvantages

1. It would require the creation of new departmental support structures to administer direct funding schemes.

2. Payment would be made only for needs as perceived by the Department of the Solicitor General. The local community and provincial requirements would be ignored and, therefore, the scope of the programme would be limited to federal clients. This would result in a continuation of the fragmentation of correctional services found currently.

3. Implementation of this model would result in a loss of opportunity to collaborate with various provinces and thereby increase the risk of competition, duplication and waste of monetary and human resources.

4. Once contractual agreements have been made, it becomes politically difficult to withdraw financial support.

Table 11 which follows, compares the various elements of the three funding models. It should be noted that these models are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

For example, if it was so decided, Model III could be implemented as an interim measure until negotiations surrounding the implementation of Models I or II were completed. In effect, the interim-policy currently in force closely resembles Model III.

TABLE 11—Comparison of Elements of Three Funding Models

	<i>Method of Distributing Funds</i>	<i>Administered by</i>	<i>Standards, criteria for funding, evaluation developed by</i>	<i>Estimated time for implementation</i>	<i>Permits payments for</i>
MODEL I	Indirect: Through existing C.A.P./provincial welfare framework	Provincial Welfare Authority	Provincial Welfare Authority; eligibility criteria set by Department of N.H.W.	two years	All "persons in need" duly referred
MODEL II	Indirect: Through new financial assistance programme with prov. corr. authority	Provincial Correctional Authority	Provincial Correctional Authority in collaboration with Dept. of Solicitor-General	two to three yrs.	All offenders & ex-offenders duly referred
MODEL III	Direct: Through contractual agreements	Dept. of the Solicitor-General	Dept. of the Solicitor-General	immediate	Federal "clients"* only

NOTE: *Federal "client" means those persons duly referred to a C.R.C. by an authorized officer of the Department.

Recommendations

On the basis of the 18 fundamental principles outlined in the preceding chapters it has been possible to develop a series of 11 specific recommendations.

These are:

1. The federal government should initiate discussions with representatives of the appropriate provincial authorities and concerned representatives of the private sector to develop a co-operative approach to the problem of determining needs and to define respective responsibilities in the expansion of community corrections and of C.R.C.'s.

2. In taking the active role recommended above, the federal government should make funds available for the growth and development of C.R.C.'s on three broad fronts: encouraging the expansion of innovative, replicative and continuing programmes.

3. As part of the encouragement of growth and development of different kinds of programmes, attention should be given to the development of C.R.C.'s organized by special groups such as Native People, Ex-offenders and others whose numbers make such development feasible.

4. In order to ensure that local requirements are met, the federal government should strive to appoint to local committees, members who are broadly representative of the community and knowledgeable in community corrections. These committees could assist in establishing local needs and priorities and give advice on the dissemination of funds.

5. The federal government should ensure that an adequate support structure is set up to encourage the expansion, and to oversee continuing study of C.R.C.'s.

6. The federal government should undertake or contract for long-range studies to:

- (a) articulate concise objectives for C.R.C.'s;
- (b) develop ways of determining needs;
- (c) develop ways of evaluating the efficacy of various types of programmes;
- (d) develop other standards.

7. The federal government should sponsor a national conference for the purpose of discussing the establishment of a national forum on C.R.C.'s.

8. The federal government should convene a study group to evolve ways and means of developing curricula for staff development to assist C.R.C. directors and staff.

9. The federal government should provide funds for the production and periodical up-dating of lists of C.R.C.'s.

10. The members of the Task Force and the Executive Secretary should be retained by the Department of the Solicitor General to:

- (a) serve as the nucleus of a committee responsible for organizing the national conference described in Recommendation 7; and,
- (b) review problems inherent in implementing various recommendations and offer advice to the Department on ways to resolve such difficulties.

11. The report should be made public.

Implementation of these recommendations would, we think, permit the C.R.C. movement to grow and develop within the framework provided by these principles.

Recommendation 1

The Federal Government Should Initiate Discussions with Representatives of the Appropriate Provincial Authority and Concerned Representatives of the Private Sector to

Develop a Co-operative Approach to the Problem of Determining Needs and to Define Respective Responsibilities in the Expansion of Community Corrections and of C.R.C.'s.

It is not possible for us to anticipate the final model of funding and organization which will be decided upon by the Solicitor General. This will have to await the development of government policy. As a result, the recommendation remains equivocal with the intention of making sure that steps are taken to encourage the growth and development of the C.R.C. movement without stating its specific direction.

The recommendation permits a degree of flexibility by enabling different cost-sharing and administrative arrangements to emerge from federal-provincial negotiations with each province. These arrangements could be tailored to provincial need and regional differences. Because neither the federal nor the provincial governments are as likely to be as sensitive to local need as the local community in which C.R.C.'s are placed and those representatives who are already involved, negotiations should include representatives of municipal government, and persons involved in the C.R.C. movement in an active capacity.

Recommendation 2

In Taking the Active Role Recommended Above, the Federal Government Should Make Funds Available for the Growth and Development of C.R.C.'s on Three Broad Fronts: Encouraging the Expansion of Innovative, Replicative and Continuing Programmes.

This recommendation infers the development of criteria to differentiate between requirements for innovative and replicative programmes on the one hand, and established programmes on the other. Obviously, some mechanism including the setting of priorities will have to be developed before undertaking the planning required for this purpose. (For more detailed comment, see Principles 4, 5 and 6.)

Recommendation 3

As Part of the Encouragement of Growth and Development of Different Kinds of Programmes, Attention Should be Given to the Development of C.R.C.'s Organized by Special Groups such as Native People, Ex-Offenders and Others Whose Numbers Make such Development Feasible.

Despite the fact that there are many priorities which could be defined in the allocation of scarce resources, we feel that these particular groups need special mention to ensure that they get the equal consideration which circumstances have denied them to date in the setting up of C.R.C.'s. (For more detailed comment, see Principles 9 and 10).

Recommendation 4

In Order to Ensure that Local Requirements are Met, the Federal Government Should Strive to Appoint to Local Committees, Members who are Broadly Representative of the Community and Knowledgeable in Community Corrections. These Committees could Assist in Establishing Local Needs and Priorities and Give Advice on the Dissemination of Funds.

One of the essential characteristics of Community Corrections, is the necessity of involving the community. Frequently during our investigations we were told that, despite attempts on the part of the federal government to close the gap, it is still "two thousand miles to Ottawa and 20,000 miles back." Inherent in this criticism is the realization that it is nearly impossible for one central government to maintain a sensitive awareness to the different needs of the many localities it must serve. This is particularly true of programmes such as C.R.C.'s which are characterized by rapid changes in personnel and programmes.

In making this recommendation we recognize the importance of some form of meaningful consultation in the decision-making process. (For more detailed comment, see Principles 7, 16 and 17.)

Recommendation 5

The Federal Government Should Ensure that an Adequate Support Structure is Set Up to Encourage the Expansion, and to Oversee Continuing Study of C.R.C.'s.

The provision of an adequate administrative structure and support staff, whether it is located centrally, regionally or locally, is of manifest importance. The purpose of this organizational structure would be to facilitate knowledgeable decision-making and to ensure the efficient dissemination of funds and information. The shape it will take depends naturally upon which funding model is adopted.

Another function to be performed by personnel within this structure would be that of monitoring the information which must be accumulated so as to enable the gradual evolution of standards. To our knowledge, no such systematic collection of data of a total system of C.R.C.'s has been instituted anywhere in the world.

If our first principle, namely that C.R.C.'s provide a viable alternative to conventional forms of incarceration is accepted, there is every reason to believe that a great deal of money will be invested in C.R.C.'s. It is only reasonable that, in order to ensure proper accountability for the expenditure of public funds, some form of basic research component should become an integral part of planning from the beginning.

Recommendation 6

The Federal Government Should Undertake or Contract for Long-Range Studies to:

1. Articulate Concise Objectives for C.R.C.'s;
2. Develop Ways of Determining Needs;
3. Develop Ways of Evaluating the Efficacy of Various Types of Programmes; and
4. Develop Other Standards.

In general, we support the recommendations contained in Chapter 25 of the Ouimet Report relating to the need for expansion of research. Indeed, we feel that they have not gone far enough in stating the case.

In particular, we note that with few exceptions the methods of planning currently employed by systems of criminal justice in Canada are most inefficient. Decisions are based on sincerity and commitment, but not on factual data which can predict the implications of such decisions on other facets of the criminal justice aggregate. The merits or demerits of many major decisions are not revealed until millions of dollars have been spent.

Professor Richard F. Sullivan¹, in a recent article, discusses the difficulty economic researchers have in obtaining, from correctional administrators, clear descriptions of the objectives of their agencies. Rather than attempting to assist them towards such definitions, he says,

It is clearly more useful, at least in terms of conducting economic research, to ignore such confusion altogether and take the view that the entire system does in fact have a single objective which is the protection of society. Translating this objective into a manageable operational term,—the minimization of social costs,—yields further insights . . . Government must not only minimize social costs arising from social conflicts; it must minimize the social costs of the policies that it adopts to mediate these conflicts . . . It is not sufficient merely to show that some policy or program is feasible,—that the objectives can be obtained and that these objectives would have positive social benefits. Rather is it necessary to demonstrate that the policy is also optimal—that the objectives, if obtained, would have greater social benefits than any other feasible policy.

The recommendations in this Report are based on the assumption that, on a cost-benefit basis, C.R.C.'s are not only less costly and more humane than prisons, but also that they do not increase the risk to the public. We feel this is a point of view that would be substantiated by research; however, such research has not as yet been done. The position we have taken represents a comparison of one alternative (C.R.C.'s) to another (prisons), rather than a comparison of one alternative with *all* other possible ones. It should be noted as well that when we recommend the expansion of C.R.C.'s, we have no way of anticipating in advance precisely what impact this

¹Richard F. Sullivan, "Economic Perspectives of Problems in Social Defence", a Paper Prepared for the InterAmerican Congress of Criminology. Caracas, Venezuela, November 19-25, 1972.

decision will have upon all other segments of the criminal justice system. With a comprehensive data base we could, and thus would be prepared to accommodate all programmes to this shift in priorities in advance.

We submit that, sooner or later, it will be necessary for the criminal justice aggregate in Canada to begin to base their planning on the results of systems design and cost-benefit analyses of alternative programmes. We submit that it will be necessary for the various sub-systems of the criminal justice aggregate to be coordinated and unified under a common purpose.

We are not suggesting that this is a necessary precursor to the development of C.R.C.'s. On the contrary, we feel that money should be diverted to the development of C.R.C.'s even though we do not yet possess "hard" data to justify the efficacy of this move.

Recommendation 7

The Federal Government Should Sponsor a National Conference for the Purpose of Discussing the Establishment of a National Forum on C.R.C.'s.

We propose that funds be made available to assemble persons involved in the C.R.C. movement throughout Canada. The purpose of the conference would be to give those in attendance an opportunity to decide whether a continuing forum would be of benefit to them and to the C.R.C. movement and if so, how it should be organized and financed.

If a continuing organization were to be set up on a national, rather than a regional basis, it is likely that some kind of continuing funding from a public source would be necessary. Not only the cost of travel, but the limited funds available to directors and staff of C.R.C.'s, would preclude the payment of costs to such a continuing forum from C.R.C. budgets. The federal government, either alone or in concert with provincial governments, should be prepared to meet such continuing costs, either in whole or in part.

The ability of the funding body, whichever it may be, to draw on the accumulative expertise of those who would attend these forums, would provide a significant source of continuing information.

Recommendation 8

The Federal Government Should Convene a Study Group to Evolve Ways and Means of Developing Curricula for Staff Development to Assist C.R.C. Directors and Staff.

This recommendation is to give effect to Principle 11 related to staff development and the discussion found there.

Recommendation 9

The Federal Government Should Provide Funds for the Production and Periodical Up-Dating of Lists of C.R.C.'s.

(See discussion under Principle 12)

Recommendation 10

The Members and the Executive Secretary of the Task Force Should be Retained by the Department of the Solicitor General to:

- 1. Serve as the Nucleus of a Committee Responsible for Organizing the National Conference Described in Recommendation 7; and,**
- 2. Review Problems Inherent in Implementing Various Recommendations and Offer Advice to the Department on Ways to Resolve Such Difficulties.**

We believe that the Task Force Members, including the Executive Secretary, could materially assist the Department by performing the functions noted above. Many personal contacts have been made, a high degree of knowledge and sensitivity gained and a unique understanding of the phenomenon developed over the past six months. By retaining the members on a part-time basis, this expertise could be made available to the Department.

Recommendation 11

The Report Should be Made Public.

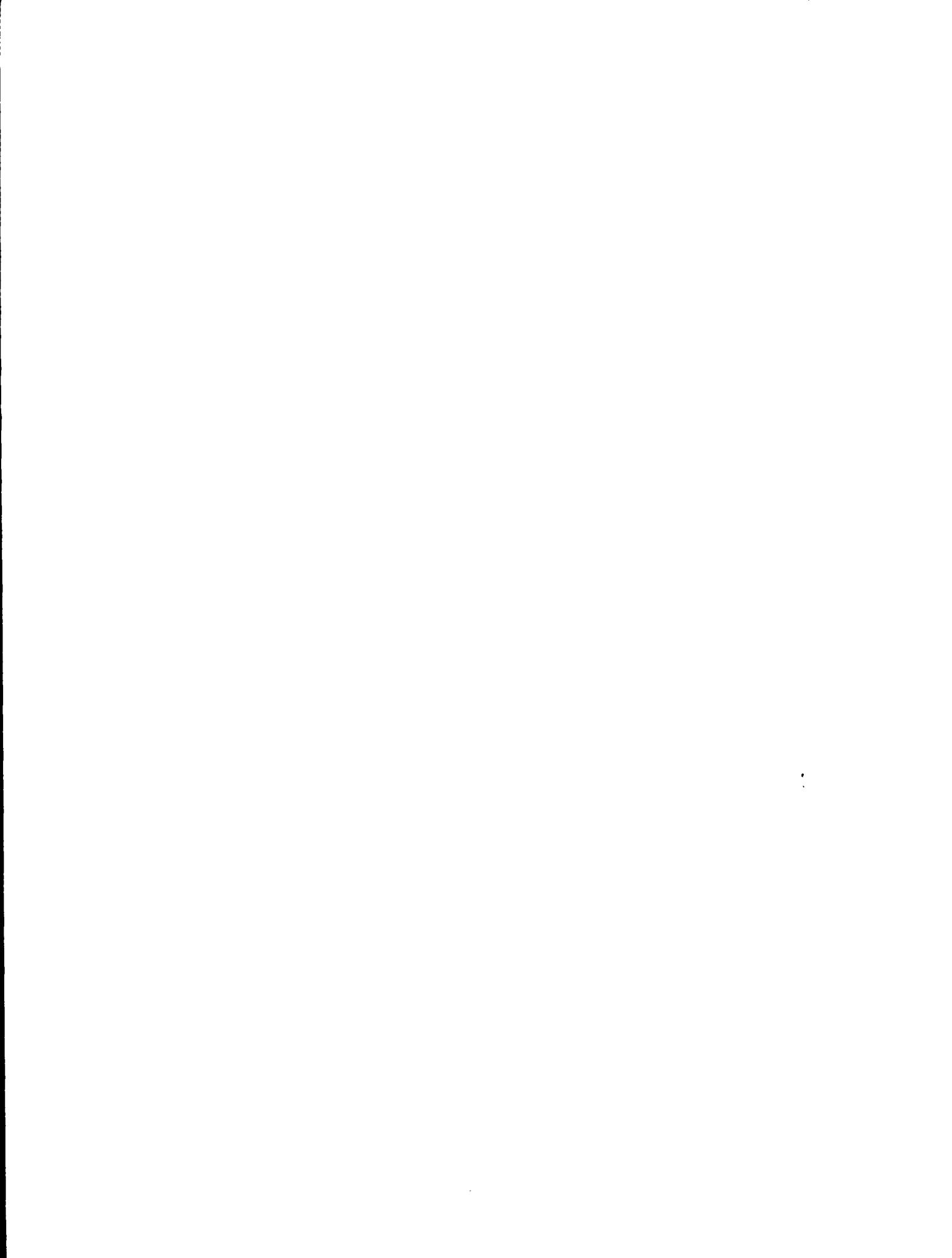
As our final recommendation we are requesting that this Report be made public and be given wide circulation. During the last six months we have consulted literally thousands of persons throughout Canada including representatives of nearly all correctional services and many governmental and private agencies involved in one way or another in the growing C.R.C. movement. Through our meetings and conferences we have concluded that interest in this movement is increasing. We have been led to believe that the publication of this Report is being awaited with interest. We hope its contents will add to the debate already found within the movement and will stimulate further interest and growth in this new frontier of Corrections.

PART V

IN CONCLUSION

We will never cease from our exploration and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive at where we started and to know the place for the first time.

T. S. Eliot



Conclusions

The major impression gained by members of the Task Force during the last few months is that C.R.C.'s represent an alternative to correctional forms of incarceration whose potential has only begun to be realized. This potential is exemplified by the investment in human resources and in plant which has already been made from Halifax to Victoria and by the deep commitment of many of those involved. We discovered a movement which has, only recently, emerged as a spontaneous response to a perceived need, and which is surviving in the face of considerable difficulty. It is a movement characterized by traditionalism at its core, in some instances to the point of sterility and lifelessness, and by creativity and dynamism, sometimes to the verge of irresponsibility, at its outer fringes.

A number of strong and innovative people have been drawn to this new frontier of Community Corrections, some attracted by its very lack of structure which can allow them to build their "empires" unencumbered by rules and regulations. However, these represent but a few. Most of the innovators have been drawn for other reasons; some are disenchanted with the correctional "establishment" and the conservatism and rigidity they perceive as its main characteristics; some are disillusioned by what prisons do to people, by their size, their enforced dependency, their brutality; some by the tyranny that tends to be a characteristic of many treatment programmes carried out within the low visibility milieu of penal institutions.

Of particular interest is the degree of involvement of ex-offender groups in the C.R.C. movement. This is the one area of Corrections in which those who have been the object of penal methods are working side by side with those who have administered those methods; where the subjects of correctional treatment methods are colleagues of those who gave the treatment. This is the one correctional programme in which ex-offender and non-

offender must encounter each other and it is the inevitability of this fact which augurs well for the future of the C.R.C. movement.

As can be seen from the discussion in Chapter two, the movement is in a state of turmoil. A bewildering variety of administrative styles, treatment styles, programmes styles, and life styles are represented among the C.R.C.'s involved. We suspect that in some ways this turmoil has been functional in terms of development. We suspect that it has been the very absence of standards and of administrative structures which has helped to give the movement its vitality. We suspect, as well, that there is a correlation between vitality and adversity in social movements of this kind:—that the very lack of public recognition and adequate financing as well as the absence of standards are some of the major reasons why many innovators have been attracted to this field. One cautioned us, allegorically, as follows: "Make sure that you don't pull up the roots to see whether this 'plant' is alive."

At the same time, there is no question but that the turmoil has been dysfunctional as well. Some persons whose motivations are open to question have been attracted to the field. In the face of lack of standards, things have been done to residents of C.R.C. programmes which may well have had deleterious effects, perhaps as serious as those of imprisonment. For example, some programmes appear repressive and inhibitory and mere perpetuations of the hypocrisies of prisons; some directors experiment with treatment techniques which have resulted in psychological harm to their recipients; some create another kind of enforced dependency spun by the charisma of their personalities.

The relative youth of the C.R.C. movement is not the reason for the lack of consensus on standards of evaluation. Although experience in Canada is relatively short,

England and Belgium have been using half-way houses and hostels for over 50 years. Yet, the movement in these two countries is characterized by the same lack of agreement on qualitative standards of evaluation that we found in Canada. This is why we feel we should not be in a hurry to develop standards prematurely; rather we should monitor our experience with a research component built into our administrative structure from the start. Thus, we can gradually move to the place where shape and direction can be given to the C.R.C. movement based on data the product of our own unique experience.

In many ways, this Report is ending where it should be beginning. As a result of our investigation, we have begun to acquire a grasp of the complexities and subtleties of this new movement, and to identify some of its crucial issues. We have provided the framework for further growth, but time and our mandate have not

allowed us to enunciate its form. The way in which these crucial issues are resolved will substantially affect the further development of C.R.C.'s in Canada.

C.R.C.'s represent a small sub-system of corrections—and Corrections a sub-system of Social Defence. Therefore, discussions regarding the future of this new movement are inextricably tied to broader policy issues. It is inevitable that changes in the social defence field will have a great impact on the C.R.C. movement. At the same time we hope the thrust of this Report will have an impact, however small, in shaping the direction to be taken by the whole.

“The direction and character of the system cannot be changed by innovations which affect only parts of it. The danger confronting any reform is that the unreformed elements of the system will reduce the reform to a ritualized game and transform ethic into rhetoric.” (R.R.Korn, “Issues and Strategies . . .” page 80).

Appendices



A Cost-Benefit Approach
To Evaluating Community Residential Centres
(A Report to the Task Force on Community Based Residential Centres)

Robert G. Hann
Centre of Criminology
University of Toronto

September, 1972

Richard Sullivan
Department of Economics
Carlton University

Introduction

Within the time and manpower resources available to the Task Force on Community Based Residential Centres, it would be impossible to conduct a rigorous empirical cost-benefit analysis which would be capable of supplying all the estimates which one would need to confidently recommend policy changes. This qualification to the following notes cannot be overemphasized. However, it has been possible to get closer to the ideal of this "optimum" cost-benefit analysis by first, specifying in detail the criteria and guidelines that must be met by any cost-benefit evaluation of community residential centres (C.R.C.'s) and then, within these guidelines, designing an evaluative research model capable of estimating the relevant costs and benefits in a manner that ensures their usefulness for evaluating old and formulating new policies for Community Residential Centres.

The first section of this paper therefore begins by specifying the general guidelines to be met by the model.

SECTION I

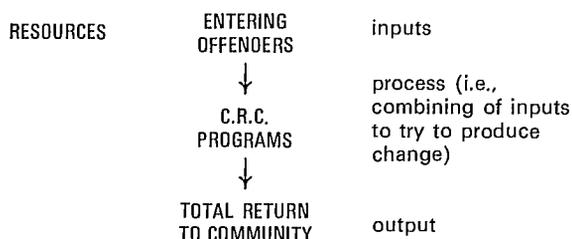
General Guidelines for the Model

(i) *Definition of Community Residential Centres*

Defining precisely the particulars of what the different types of C.R.C.'s do is basically a question to be answered in the main Task Force Report. However, to attempt a cost-benefit analysis, the general economic processing model is adapted here.

DIAGRAM 1

Process Model (Simple)



The economic model for evaluation comes close to what is often described as the "medical" model by researchers. It basically states that before an individual enters a C.R.C., a certain "state" of society exists. After individuals have gone through the C.R.C. experience or process another "state" of society exists. If the C.R.C. process has any effect on either the individuals involved in the process or society in general, then these "states" of society will differ. The economic cost-benefit question then becomes one of providing estimates to aid in deciding whether the different "states" differ in a positive or negative way, and on this basis recommending changes in policy. Obviously, these "states" will differ

in at least one way since certain tangible costs are necessary to run the C.R.C. programs. The problem then becomes one of deciding whether the "benefits" of these programs outweigh the "costs" incurred.

(ii) *Program Classification Using a Behavioural Model*

Implicit in the process model outlined above is the assumption that programs do in fact directly or indirectly cause changes in behaviour on the part of residents. Also, cost-benefit analysis that only provides accounting estimates of the cost or benefit of a program is of little use to any practitioner unless it also identifies the factors to which those same costs and benefits are sensitive. In other words, the model must further specify the "process" involved in changing C.R.C. inputs into C.R.C. outputs, and to do this it must, at least implicitly, adopt a model of behaviour for the C.R.C. residents. There are many such theories of behaviour. The one adopted in this paper should only be seen as one found especially useful for economists working in this and other areas. The economic model also allows us to identify alternatives to C.R.C.'s—alternatives being defined as programs that use the same "process" to achieve similar objectives.

We assume simply that an individual attempts to maximize his own sense of well-being subject to his perceptions of the constraints and alternatives imposed on him by himself and the rest of society. Further, his evaluation of his well-being is measured in terms of his own tastes and preferences.

In summary, he does the best he can for himself given his reading of objective opportunities.

C.R.C.'s and other criminal justice system programs are supposedly trying to reduce the cost of crime and criminal justice by altering behaviour. In light of the above, they can be classified into those that:

1. directly alter the values and preferences the potential offender puts on various costs and benefits of his activities,
2. can directly alter the costs and benefits an individual will feel as a result of certain activities,
3. can open up new alternatives to the individual (relative to the first two).

Under this model, the distinction between what has been called "Prevention" and "Deterrence" disappears in that both involve attempts to reduce criminal activity by changing individuals' perceptions of the costs of criminal activities by either changing the penalties or rewards or directly changing the individuals' evaluations of those penalties and rewards. Both also involve changing behaviour by opening up new alternative opportunities to

the individual. The terms "Prevention" and "Deterrence" are thus used interchangeably in this report and no reference is made to "rehabilitation" which has little if any consistent operational meaning either in the literature or in practice.

The above behavioural program categories are related to restricting criminal activities. There are also programs that try to reduce the cost of crime after the crime has occurred, namely:

4. restitution programs which try to reduce the cost of crime by redistributing available goods and services from the offender to the direct victim, and
5. retribution programs that attempt to increase the moral or psychological sense of well-being of the rest of society at the direct expense of the offender.

C.R.C.'s may have programs that fit into any of the first 4 categories. The fifth has been included for completeness but it is assumed it has little place in a modern criminal justice system.

(iii) Alternatives

In light of the previous section, it is obvious that the C.R.C. programs form only one of a number of different types of programs possibly capable of achieving the same results.

An increase in funding support for C.R.C. programs would usually imply not only a reduction in funds available to alternative programs but presumably also a reduction in the level of benefits achieved by those alternatives. These "foregone benefits" of other programs should therefore be treated as "costs" of the C.R.C. program. (This type of cost is usually called "opportunity cost" by economists). It therefore becomes theoretically impossible to conduct an analysis of C.R.C. or any other set of programs without considering the effectiveness of alternatives.

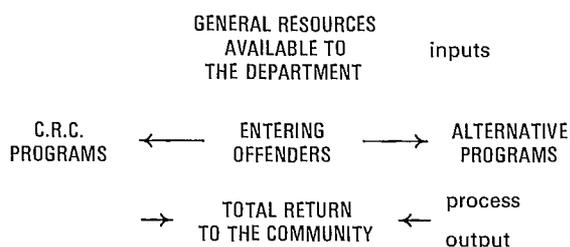
Also, and this point is elaborated on in the next section, since resources for the department are limited, the relevant question to a policy maker in the department is not "Does this particular program yield a net benefit or net cost?" but rather, "Does this particular program yield the highest net benefit among the alternative programs requesting support?"

Both these points lead one to conclude that it is meaningless to conduct a cost-benefit analysis of C.R.C. programs unless one does so within a model that recognizes the existence of alternatives.

The Diagram 1 model should then be expanded to that of Diagram 2.

DIAGRAM 2

Process Model (Expanded)



(iv) Choosing the Level of Analysis

The next problem arises in deciding which alternatives should be considered and what costs and benefits should be included in our cost-benefit calculation of the C.R.C. programs. There are at least five main levels of analysis.¹

1. The total socio-economic system framework (or general equilibrium framework)
2. The Criminal Justice System framework
3. The part of the Criminal Justice System directly responsible to the Solicitor General—i.e., R.C.M.P., parole, and penitentiaries
4. The Penitentiary and Parole System, or
5. The "Treatment or Supervision in the Community" sub-system of system 4.

The level of analysis chosen would dictate the type of alternatives that would have to be considered in the evaluative model. If we were talking about level 4 or 5 the alternatives would include:

1. Immediate release without supervision into the community (either before or after sentencing in the courts).
2. Immediate release with supervision after sentencing in the courts (probation).
3. Unconditional release from an institution,
 - (i) before termination of sentence,
 - (ii) at termination of sentence.
4. Release on Mandatory Supervision.
5. Release on Day Parole or Work Release.
6. Release on National Parole (or on contract to a separate agency).
7. Release to a Federal Penitentiary Community Release Centre
- 8.-14. All of the above except that in addition the offender experienced the C.R.C. process.

¹A more complete description of the implications of dealing with the problem of "level of analysis" can be found on pages 8-14 of an earlier report to the Solicitor General by the authors, "Economic Analysis in the Department of the Solicitor General: A Framework for Evaluating Treatment Centres".

This paper assumes that this is the highest level of analysis for selecting alternatives that is feasible at this time. To work at the departmental or Criminal Justice System level would require systems models that are only starting to be developed in Canada at present.

A higher level of analysis is, however, necessary for collecting the costs and benefits relevant for the C.R.C. programs. By restricting oneself to costs and benefits incurred by or accruing to the penitentiary and parole systems, the analyst would be missing many of the hypothesized relevant effects of these programs. These are specified in detail later in Section V but it is expected that the relevant level of analysis for measuring costs and benefits is level one which would include costs and benefits to the community as well as to the anti-crime system and the ex-offender himself.

(v) *Goal Definition*

Before evaluating a program in a cost-benefit sense it is of course necessary to know what the program is attempting to achieve. The labour expenses of a half-way house may best be presented as a cost to the community if the house diverted manpower away from productive uses in the community. If, however, the main purpose of setting up the house was to provide employment opportunities to an economically depressed area, the same labour expenses could better be represented as an indication of potential gain to the community.

It is one of the mandates of the Task Force to define in detail the objectives or goals for the C.R.C. programs. However, we need such a definition *before* planning or carrying out a cost-benefit analysis and therefore adopt the standard economic definition of "minimizing the social and economic cost of conflict to society". This cost includes both the direct cost of the conflict to the parties involved as well as the costs of dealing with the problem. If we were talking more narrowly about those activities that are presently or eventually officially labelled as "crimes", then the costs would include the direct costs of crime as well as the costs of criminal justice (police, courts, corrections, after-care, welfare, etc.).

This report also draws the distinction between what we are trying to achieve (*goals or objectives*), indices of the extent to which these goals are achieved (*performance indicators*), and means or techniques for achieving these goals (*programs or activities*).

Using resources to better equip an ex-offender for employment is not a goal in itself but rather a program or activity designed to minimize the societal cost of past and future criminal and anti-criminal activity.

(vi) *Incidence of Costs and Benefits*

The next task is to break this overall goal of minimizing the costs of conflict down into more operational

terms. One of the many ways of doing this is to first ask the question "cost to whom?" and then disaggregating further from there. As specified in section (iv), the relevant level of analysis for this task would be systems level I. The incidence of the costs and benefits of C.R.C.'s and alternative programs would then fall into the following three main categories:

1. To the individual ex-offender
2. To other offenders under the authority of the Solicitor General
3. To the rest of society

The problem of defining performance indicators for C.R.C. programs then becomes one of finding indices that measure the extent to which the programs affect the levels of costs and benefits felt by these segments of society.

1. TO THE INDIVIDUAL EX-OFFENDER:

If the C.R.C. and alternative programs are affecting changes either during or after residence, we might measure their affects on the well-being of ex-offenders by changes in the levels of the following types of indicators:

- (a) One of the main indicators of a person's potential for achieving satisfaction is the amount of resources he has available for purchasing goods and services that yield him satisfaction. We would therefore require data on the sources of income available to him. Specifically, one would require estimates of: his hourly wages from paid employment; number of hours worked per week; welfare and unemployment benefits received.

In addition to money "income", he may receive certain other benefits in "kind" either directly from the C.R.C. or from other segments of society. These would include:

- any subsidies on room and board in the C.R.C.'s and
- any subsidies on medical and health care.

On the other hand, his potential for purchasing goods and services is reduced by:

- child support payments
- restitution for previous crimes
- income taxes
- sales taxes

It should be noted here that many of these benefits such as welfare payments to the offender are only *transfers* from other segments of society and as such do not represent a net gain to society as a whole. It will be noted for instance that the same welfare payments will be listed as one of the costs to the rest of society in subsection (vi. 3.). This procedure of "double listing" has been adopted since the policy maker might be interested not only in *overall* increases or decreases in society's costs or benefits but also in *what part* of society benefits.

(b) Of particular interest for C.R.C. type programs is the effect if any that they have on future criminal activity. Much of the cost to the offender of being subsequently re-convicted will be measured by the decrease in income because of such conviction—either directly because of incarceration or because a criminal record might reduce his potential income in the future. There may, however, be additional costs felt by the ex-offender on reconviction that are not totally captured by decreases in his income. These might include changes in his own self-image or non-monetary reaction by the rest of the community as well as costs felt by him over and above his loss in earning potential from the imposition of sentence. Indices of subsequent criminal activity would also be useful proxies for the amount of time and resources spent on his part in planning and executing the crime. Since this involves a diversion of effort away from income-earning activity, it has an “opportunity cost” equal to the wages he could have obtained in legitimate employment. This opportunity cost must, however, be balanced against the rewards he receives from criminal activity. A list of such proxies for these types of costs felt by the ex-offender would include the following: number of subsequent convictions; type and amount of sentence imposed for each i.e., length of prison sentence or amount of fine; and if possible, estimates of the benefits (i.e. loot obtained as a result of such criminal activity.)

(c) There are, of course, other benefits or costs that will be felt by ex-residents that are not adequately measured by crime rates or income changes. Here we would be after indicators measuring the changes in the extent to which the individual is, for want of a better phrase, “a healthy individual who is a contributing and productive member of the community”. What is perhaps ideally needed here is a series of psychological and sociological tests performed at regular intervals after admission to the programs. However, if such tests are not feasible, we could use other proxies such as the following: stability and type of living arrangements; marriage or breakdown of marriage or equivalent; number of jobs held over a year; number of hours devoted to community service; number and type of conflicts with neighbours or acquaintances; number of close friends maintained.

Here, of course, we are getting into softer and softer data. These data are also less susceptible to measurement in monetary terms and cannot therefore be directly compared to “harder” data such as changes in income. A good cost-benefit analysis should, however, include these indices if they are considered important for policy purposes. The analyst should convert as much as he can to commensurate dollar units but must also present data on the incommensurable indices. It is then up to the policy makers to decide whether the former outweighs the latter if they give opposite estimates of effectiveness.

2. TO OTHER EX-OFFENDERS

If the programs under consideration operate with a lower cost than existing alternatives, then resources might be freed to treat other offenders not experiencing these programs. If these other types of programs have an effect, the other offenders may benefit indirectly. The indicators used in subsection 1 would be appropriate for measuring the costs and benefits felt by these other inmates or ex-inmates.

3. TO THE REST OF SOCIETY

The same types of indicators used to estimate changes in the well-being of residents of the C.R.C. type programs also apply to other individuals in society.

Other members of society also derive satisfaction from the purchase of goods and services. Therefore, any indicators that estimate the effect of C.R.C. type programs on this capacity to consume are relevant to our cost-benefit analysis. The benefits to the offender were measured by his earnings in paid employment. It is reasonable to assume that the employer would not have employed him unless he, the employer, were likely to make a profit; then this profit would be a measure of the net² gain to the rest of society from such employment.

We therefore need indicators for the average profit³ made on an hour's labour of C.R.C. residents or graduates” and the number of hours these people were employed.

The rest of society's consuming potential is also reduced by welfare payments to ex-offenders and unemployment insurance payments and is increased by: income taxes paid by ex-offenders; sales taxes paid by ex-offenders; contributions to unemployment insurance and welfare; programs by ex-offenders; child support payments by ex-offenders.

Again, it might prove useful to identify separately indices of the costs and benefits to society from criminal activity of C.R.C. residents and graduates. These indicators would include:

Direct Costs of Criminal Activity

1. Medical bills as a result of crimes committed by offenders in the C.R.C. type group.
2. Property stolen by these offenders.

Costs and Benefits of Criminal Justice

3. Here would be included the quite sizeable costs (felt through taxes) of subsequently involving agencies of the Criminal Justice System (C.J.S.) in attempting to prevent, apprehending, convicting,

²The total value to society of the goods and services produced by the inmates would of course equal the sum of his wages and the profits made by his employer.

³It would probably be necessary to take industry-wide profit margins rather than profit margins specific to C.R.C. residents' or graduates' labour.

and the carrying out of the sentence by the corrections system. We would need estimates of: the number of subsequent convictions, type, and amount of sentences; the C.J.S. system costs per conviction.

4. One would also need estimates of the capital, labour, and other operating costs of running the programs being evaluated.

It would also be helpful to have estimates on:

5. Stolen property recovered,
6. Restitution enforced, and
7. Fines paid by convicted offenders.

Here again we are faced with other incommensurable effects of these programs that must be at least enumerated. Proxies for these other community effects might include: complaints received by neighbours regarding the C.R.C.'s; number of crimes committed; length of sentence deemed justified by the courts; number of newspaper articles praising or criticizing; the new programs; other "informed surveys" of public opinion.

This list is obviously open to expansion or contraction but it does give an indication of the extent to which available indices can be used to estimate the costs and benefits of C.R.C. type programs.

(vii) *Time Distribution of Costs and Benefits*

It is not enough to collect data on only the *magnitude* of the changes in the indices of costs and benefits outlined in the previous section. One must also have information on *when* the changes took place.

It is quite possible that if more policemen are hired to patrol one small area of a city, the crime rates in the streets of that area would fall. However, this may only result in the displacement of criminal activity to other parts of the city with no over-all reduction in the crime rate for the city. The net effect would be to displace crime in *space* only, with a net social loss approximated by the increase in the police budget.

Such a consideration would not apply to crime displaced in *time*. An axiom of our economic system is that a dollar's worth of cost or benefit now is worth more to an individual than a dollar in the future. In fact, this is one of the prime reasons for the existence of interest rates upon which our economy depends for smooth functioning. One must therefore "discount" costs incurred in the future at an interest rate that reflects this "time preference" and the length of time the cost or benefit is displaced from the present. This "time preference" may arise simply because individuals are impatient or feel more secure with the money in their pockets now or because if they had it now they could invest it and earn a profit on the investment in the interim.

For society, then, any delay of criminal activity because of a C.R.C. type program experience is a net social gain in a way that is not true for displacing criminal activity in *space*. Even if crime rates were higher for individuals after they leave the C.R.C., the fact that the activity has been delayed may override the nominal increase and the net result of the program may show up as a social benefit. Of course, it can be argued that prisons also serve the same purpose of delay (assuming the inmate does not commit crimes against other inmates and staff) but then one would have to compare the differences in institutional costs for the different programs—prisons and community residential centres—to achieve the same goal: the minimization of the discounted social costs from the operation of the criminal justice system.

(viii) *Time Horizon*

The final problem dealt with here is the length of time or "time horizon" for which data should be collected on residents and ex-residents of the alternative programs being considered. The length of time should be long enough to capture the significant changes in costs and benefits for which the program is likely to be responsible. Since one of the main concerns is the effect of the C.R.C.'s on recidivism, then the time period should be at least long enough to ensure that subsequent costs incurred by the criminal justice system are included. Since the available research into the effect of C.R.C. type institutions is minimal⁵, the problem of the best length of follow-up cannot be answered except by guesses. Since one could, from experience with other correctional programs, expect most ex-residents to recidivate within two years (if they recidivate at all), then two years would seem a reasonable "time horizon" to fix on the follow-up data collection.

SECTION 2

A Model for a Cost-benefit Evaluation of Community Based Residential Centres

The foregoing would suggest the following sequence of tasks that would have to be performed in a cost-benefit analysis of C.R.C.'s. It is obvious that it would have been impossible to conduct an evaluation meeting those criteria within the time and resources granted to the Task Force. A statement of what could be done is, however, necessary if the work of the Task Force is to be built on in the future.

The research proposed should at the outset be envisaged as attempting to provide—not an analysis of the immediate and short-term effects of C.R.C.'s in isolation but rather a "systems" analysis of programs (including

⁵For a discussion of the results of studies already done on the effectiveness of C.R.C.'s see, "The Evaluation of Community Based Residential Centres" prepared by Simmie Magid (under the supervision of Irvin Waller).

C.R.C.'s) all of which utilize similar processes to accomplish similar objectives. The object of the research per se would be to provide operational guidelines to correctional administrators on how limited funds should be allocated among the alternatives considered. This allocation would be based on relative effectiveness of each program in reducing the economic and social cost of crime and criminal justice.

1. The first steps in the analysis would be to define the different processes involved in the Community Residential Centre programs. Although one interpretation of this process has been described in section 1 (ii) of this paper, the reader is referred to the main report of the Task Force for others. Essentially what we are looking for is an operational description of what an economist would call a process or "production" relationship—a specification of the way inputs to C.R.C.'s (i.e. new residents and C.R.C. resources) are combined and processed to produce outputs (i.e. ex-residents). The net cost or net benefit of the programs would be measured by indicators describing the differences (as a result of these programs) in the well being of offenders experiencing the C.R.C. process, other offenders, and other members of society. A sample list of such indicators of the 'before and after' states of society can be found in Section 1 (v) and in Section 2 (vi) later in the paper.

2. Since the evaluative research model would be attempting to give estimates of the relative effectiveness of C.R.C. programs *compared to* the effectiveness of alternative programs, the next step would be to set out these alternatives. Although it would be best in a theoretical systems sense to adapt the widest possible framework for choosing alternatives (employment policies may be more effective than C.R.C.'s in reducing the cost of crime), time and resources would probably dictate that the research only consider alternatives within the Penitentiary and Parole System (i.e. level 4 and 5 of section 1 (iv)). As stated before, these would include:

1. Immediate release without supervision into the community (either before or after sentencing in the courts).
2. Immediate release with supervision after sentencing in the courts (probation).
3. Unconditional release from an institution,
 - (i) before termination of sentence.
 - (ii) at termination of sentence.
4. Release on Mandatory Supervision.
5. Release on Day Parole or Work Release.
6. Release on National Parole (or on contract to a separate agency).
7. Release to a Federal Penitentiary Community Release Centre.
- 8.-14. All of the above except that in addition the offender experienced the C.R.C. process.

Unless the project had sufficient funds available, the next step would be to choose a subset of this list of alternatives to be evaluated. It would also probably be relevant to break down the category, "C.R.C. programs" if one expected or was interested in differences among the different models of operation or strategies open to operators of C.R.C.'s.

3. Now since what we are interested in is the relative effect of those alternative programs, it is necessary to ensure that whatever data we subsequently collect (on ex-offenders going through each program) would reflect differences in the effects of the programs and not differences in the the particular offenders that went through. Two alternative methods are theoretically possible.

First, if "base expectancy" tables for offenders with different characteristics had been developed for Canadian ex-offenders, we could use the difference between the individual's observed behaviour (after treatment in a particular program) and his "predicted" behaviour with no "treatment" (using the base expectancy scales) as a measure of the differential effects of each program. Unfortunately current tables of this sort are not as yet available for the Canadian environment. Such tables where they exist for other jurisdictions have also only been developed for measuring recidivism—only one of the many of the costs and benefits in which the research would be interested.

The second method would be to ensure that the groups of offenders going through each of the alternative programs exhibited roughly the same characteristics on entry to the programs. Any observed differences in overall indices could then be attributed to differences in the programs and not to differences in the offenders since each program could be assumed to have treated much the same group of offenders.

The second method would thus suggest that we identify a group of offenders who are eligible for pre-release or post-release programs (and for whom we will subsequently collect data on their individual experiences) and then assign each of them randomly to one of the programs.

4. After processes, indices of costs and benefits, and the relevant alternatives have been identified and a random sample of offenders have been selected and assigned, the project would move into the data collection phase. This phase would follow each "cohort" of ex-offenders through the particular program to which they were assigned recording changes in the levels of the indicators of costs and benefits listed in Chart 1.⁶ This monitoring of the levels of the indicators would be done at the beginning of the test period and at regular intervals thereafter. The length of these intervals would depend on

⁶An explanation of the rationale behind using these indicators can be found in Section 1 (v).

CHART 1

Indicators of Costs and Benefits of Alternative Programs (To be evaluated at regular intervals)

Specific to the Individual ex-offender.

1. hourly wages from paid employment
2. number of hours worked per week
3. welfare and unemployment benefits received
4. any subsidies on room and board in the C.R.C.'s (or alternatives)
5. any subsidies on medical and health care
6. child support payments
7. restitution for previous crimes
8. income taxes paid
9. sales taxes paid
10. number of subsequent convictions
11. type and amount of sentence imposed for each; i.e. length of prison sentence or amount of fine
12. estimates of the benefits (i.e. loot obtained as a result of such criminal activity)
13. stability and type of living arrangements
14. marriage or breakdown of marriage or equivalent
15. number of jobs held over a year
16. number of hours devoted to community service
17. number and type of conflicts with neighbours or acquaintances
18. number of close friends maintained

Specific to other Ex-offenders (same as above)

19. hourly wages from paid employment
20. number of hours worked per week
21. welfare and unemployment benefits received
22. any subsidies on room and board in the C.R.C.'s (or alternatives)
23. any subsidies on medical and health care
24. child support payments

25. restitution for previous crimes
26. income taxes paid
27. sales taxes paid
28. number of subsequent convictions
29. type and amount of sentence imposed for each; i.e. length of prison sentence or amount of fine
30. estimates of the benefits (i.e. loot obtained as a result of such criminal activity)
31. stability and type of living arrangements
32. marriage or breakdown of marriage or equivalent
33. number of jobs held over a year
34. number of hours devoted to community service
35. number and type of conflicts with neighbours or acquaintances
36. number of close friends maintained

Specific to the Rest of Society

37. the average profit made on an hour's labour of C.R.C. residents or "graduates"
38. medical bills as a result of crimes committed by offenders in the C.R.C. type group
39. property stolen by these offenders
40. the C.J.S. system costs per conviction
41. estimates of the capital, labour, and other operating costs of running the programs being evaluated
42. stolen property recovered
43. restitution enforced
44. fines paid by convicted offenders
45. complaints received by neighbours regarding the C.R.C.'s
46. number of crimes committed
47. number of newspaper articles praising or criticizing the new programs
48. other "informed surveys" of public opinion

(This list could, of course, be modified after more detailed investigation.)

how quickly the indices would be expected to change but one would expect quarterly questionnaires or interviews to suffice for most indices. This follow-up would have to be continued long enough to capture all the longer-run effects (costs and benefits) of the alternative programs. Experience would indicate a follow-up of about two years. (This latter fact alone made it impossible for the Task Force to conduct a valid cost-benefit evaluation of C.R.C.'s).

5. The actual method of obtaining this data would of course depend on the particular alternative program and particular indicator being considered. Some data could be obtained from "bookkeeping" records, but it is expected that most will have to be obtained by questionnaires and interviews to the various sectors of society concerned.

One of the main benefits of any descriptive or evaluative research derives from the involvement of practitioners in the "process" of the research itself. Therefore, wherever possible, the staff and residents of the various programs should be involved in all stages of the research—including the research design and data collection phases. There will be instances where this might involve a certain lack of uniformity of approach—especially in the data collection phase—but this "cost" should be weighed against the "benefit" of involving the personnel in the research before deciding either for or against any method.

6. When a change was recorded in a particular index, relating to an offender who entered a particular program, the monetary equivalent of the change would be discounted back to the base year and added or subtracted to the costs and benefits already assigned to the particular program. In that way allowance would be made for the differences in the time distribution of costs and benefits incurred between programs. (See Section 1 (vii) for the need to allow for the "time" factor.)

If we relied on quarterly monitoring of the indicators related specifically to program number m , and

I_j^n represented the level of indicator (for program m)

j at the end of the n^{th} quarter, and there were k such indicators,

and i was the rate of interest thought best indicative of society's "time preference"

then the net cost or benefit of program m (C_m) after a two year follow-up could be represented by

$$C_m = \sum_{j=1}^k \sum_{z=1}^8 \left[\frac{(I_j^z - I_j^{z-1})}{(1+i)^z} \right]$$

As mentioned before, many of the indicators cannot be translated into "dollar terms" so that they cannot be

meaningfully added to other indicators. The net cost or benefit of a program would then be represented by two sets of figures—the first being a sum of those costs and benefits that can be expressed in dollars and the second set consisting of a listing of the values of the incommensurable indices.

7. 8

$\sum_{q=1}^8$ is a mathematical notation for the sum of the different values of the expression in brackets taken when $q=1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7$ and 8 .

In the expression above we are thus summing the changes over each of the 8 quarters for each indicator and then summing those sums for indicators 1 to k .

The term $(I_j^z - I_j^{z-1})$ represents the change in indicator j

during the z^{th} quarter and the term $\left(\frac{1}{(1+i)^z}\right)$ ensures that this change is "discounted back" at interest rate i to

the beginning of our follow up period. Since $\left(\frac{1}{(1+i)^z}\right)$ decreases as the quarter in question, (z), increases the "present value" of costs or benefits felt in the future would be lower than the present value of the same change if it had been felt in a more immediate quarter.

At the end of the follow-up period, the department would then have estimates of the long-run net costs or net benefits of each of the alternative programs. By comparing the relevant net costs or net benefits, the relative efficiency of the different alternatives could be estimated as an aid to formulating policy.

Of special interest would be not only differences (if any) in effectiveness (in a cost-benefit sense) among major groupings of programs such as C.R.C.'s and Community Release Centres, but also differences among alternative programs within these broader categories. If the processes involved in each program were adequately specified in the research model, one would have estimates of the relative effectiveness of different methods for operating these programs. Some of the differences in processes that would be interesting to practitioners and researchers would include:

1. the extent to which the different C.R.C.'s or alternative programs specialized in a particular type of offender
2. the differences in the type of program the alternatives offered (i.e. job training, job placement, volunteer work in the community, formal therapy, informal "rap" sessions, solely residential etc.)
3. the differences in training attitudes and motivation of staff

4. differences in types of funding and accountability for each centre
5. levels of operations and funding
6. degree of community involvement
7. extent to which the centres are self-supporting
8. extent to which a self-help strategy is adapted
9. differences in the length of existence of centres
10. whether or not centres operate in isolation from other centres or as part of a "chain"

The capability of the research to answer questions like those listed above would be determined in the earlier stages of the project design when decisions have to be made as to precisely what data should be collected on the operations and characteristics of each Centre. Discussions with other practitioners and researchers would, therefore, be mandatory before designing the final data collection instruments.

The last point is applicable to the whole research design outlined above. In fact, this paper should be looked at not as a final specification of the model to be used but as a catalyst and focus for developing such a model.

List of Known Community-Based Residential Centres in Canada

Newfoundland

No C.R.C.'s were identified in the Province of Newfoundland.

Prince Edward Island

Addiction Research Foundation of P.E.I.
University Avenue
Box 37
Charlottetown, P.E.I.

two houses: 140 Pownal St. South Drive
Charlottetown Summerside

Executive Director: Dr. L. H. Killorn, M.D.

REMARKS: Selectivity—male & female alcoholics
Programme—withdrawal unit, intensive care unit,
alcohol rehabilitation programme, short-term
accommodation and counselling

Bed space—rehabilitation unit:	19
withdrawal unit:	31
half-way houses:	24
	<hr/>
	74

Christian Challenge Home for Youth
44 Brighton Road
P.E.I.

Executive Director: Mr. Hugh Trainor

REMARKS: Selectivity—males in need (16-22)
Programme—short term accommodation and
spiritual counselling
Bed space—15

Nova Scotia

Salvation Army Men's Social Service Centre
2044 Gattingen Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Director: Captain Thomas Cambell

REMARKS: Selectivity—adult males
Programme—transient accommodation and coun-
selling
Bed space 114

Talbot House of North Sydney
R.R. 2
North Sydney, N.S.

Rev. John Grochh

REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male alcoholics
Programme—short-term accommodation and
counselling
Bed space 20

New Brunswick

Aware House Saint John, N.B.
87 Prince William Street
Saint John, N.B.

Executive Director: Mr. David Lutz

REMARKS: Selectivity—men and women with drug problems
(14-21)

Programme—intensive long-term therapeutic com-
munity living
Bed space 10

Foyer Inc. Moncton

Eaton Street

Moncton, N.B.

Director: Mr. Henri Landry

REMARKS: Selectivity—male and female adults
Programme—short-term accommodation and
counselling detoxification unit
Bed space 9

Quebec

L'accueil des Jeunes Inc.
1035 rue des Seigneurs
Montreal 108, P.Q.

Director: Mr. Y. Dornier

REMARKS: Selectivity—males (14-20)
Programme—short-term accommodation and
counselling
Bed space 24

Centre de Transition
154 Boulevard Queen N.
Sherbrooke, P.Q.

Director: Mr. R. Corriveau

REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics and drug dependents
(21 and over)
Programme—long-term intensive community
living, short-term accommodation and coun-
selling
Bed space 28

La Cité de Trois Rivières
620 Ste Geneviève
Trois Rivières, P.Q.

Director: Mr. Charles Morrissette

REMARKS: Selectivity—male and female adults particularly
short-term needy
Programme (unknown)
Bed space (unknown)

The Inn Sancta Maria Montreal
1636 Selkirk Avenue
Montreal 109, P.Q.

Director: Miss M. T. Fisher

REMARKS: Selectivity—females (18-35)
Programme—long-term residential accommodation
Bed space 8

J-O-C de Granby Inc.
317 Chapais Street
Granby, P.Q.

Director: Mr. Benoit Houle

REMARKS: Selectivity—males (18-30)
Programme—long- and short-term accommodation and counselling
Bed space 16

Maison Painchaud (Quebec City)
955 rue Richelieu
Quebec 4, P.Q.

Director: Mr. M. Roland Blais

REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (25-40)
Programme—short-term accommodation and counselling
Bed space 16

Les Oeuvres de la Maison du Père (2 houses)

Le Domaine du Père
Disraeli, P.Q.

La Maison du Père
1185 rue St. André
Montreal, P.Q.

Director: Rev. M. G. Laforte

REMARKS: Selectivity—males in need (25 and over)
Programme—short- and long-term accommodation and counselling
Bed space 35

The Old Brewery Mission
914 Clark Street
Montreal, P.Q.

Executive Secretary: Rev. J. W. McCarthy

REMARKS: Selectivity—homeless men and families
Programme—short- and long-term accommodation
Bed space 150

O.P.T.A.T. Centre de Traitement pour Alcooliques
et autres Toxicomanes

659 Boulevard Blanche
Hauterive
Domremy, Côte-Nord
Quebec

Executive Director:

REMARKS: Selectivity—males, females, families, alcoholics and drug dependents
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic community living
Bed space 28

Salvation Army Men's Social Service Centre
1620 Notre Dame West
Montreal, P.Q.

Brigadier D. E. Strachan

REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—accommodation, short-term and employment counselling
Bed space 58

Salvation Army Women's Receiving Home
4102 Dorchester St. W.
Montreal 215, P.Q.

Director: Captain Constance Green

REMARKS: Selectivity—females and families
Programme—short-term accommodation and counselling
Bed space 14 and family room

St. Edward's House Montreal
900 Sherbrooke Street East
Montreal 132, P.Q.

Board Chairman: Mr. Peter MacGibbon

Executive Director: Mr. Paul J. Coscarella

REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male ex-offenders
Programme—long-term residential accommodation and counselling
Bed space 11

St. Lawrence House (Montreal)
1056-62 Mackay Street
Montreal 107, P.Q.

Executive Director: Mr. F. R. Prévost

REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male ex-offenders
Programme—long-term accommodation and intensive counselling
Bed space 18-20

Spera Foundation Inc. (2 houses; 1 urban, 1 rural)
P.O. Box 940
Rawdon, P.Q.

Board Chairman: Mr. G. George Sand

Resident Director: Mr. Gerald Burton

REMARKS: Selectivity—male and female (15-25) drug addicts
Programme—intensive therapeutic community living for those with drug problems
Bed space 35

Welcome Hall Mission
1490 Antoine St.
Montreal 101, P.Q.

President: Mr. D. A. Selby

Superintendent: Mr. W. G. McNairn

REMARKS: Selectivity—males and females, families (male alcoholics in rehabilitation programme)
Programme—short-term accommodation, counselling, alcoholic treatment programme
Bed space 42 transient
12 rehabilitation programme

Ontario

Beverley Lodge

69 Beaty Avenue

Toronto 156, Ontario

Director: Mr. John MacNeil

REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (16-21)
Programme—long-term accommodation, employment and personal counselling
Bed space 13

Bon Accord Farm

Addiction Research Foundation

R.R. 1

Elora, Ontario

Program Director: Mr. D. F. Collier

REMARKS: Selectivity—chronic male (21-60) alcoholics
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic community-type living
Bed space 25

Charity House
634 Chilver Road
Windsor, Ontario
Director: Rev. P. A. Charbonneau
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics (25-55)
Programme—short-term accommodation and
long-term intensive therapeutic community-
type living
Bed space 25

Chimo House
221 Primrose Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario
Executive Director: Mr. Yvon Guindon
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders
Programme—long-term accommodation and
intensive counselling
Bed space 14

Clifton House
2 Montcrest Blvd.
Toronto 6, Ontario
Executive Director: Mr. Philip van de Ven
REMARKS: Selectivity—males (14-21) primarily ex-offenders
Programme—long-term accommodation and
educational counselling
Bed space 60

Mary Coffey Home
145 John Street
London 12, Ontario
Director: Mr. John H. McGuffin
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics (21 and over)
Programme—short- and long-term accommoda-
tion
Bed Space 27

Crossroads
R.R. 2
Essex, Ontario
Director: Dr. Malcolm Miller
REMARKS: Selectivity—drug abusers (16-21) male and female
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity-type living
Bed space 25

Crossroads Centre Inc.
505 N. Lillie Street
Thunder Bay, Ontario
Director: Murray J. Slater
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—long-term accommodation and
intensive counselling
Bed space 20

Delisle House
22 Delisle Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
Directors: Mr. and Mrs. Ed Kothinger
REMARKS: Selectivity—male and females (16-21)
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity-type living
Bed space 8

Etobicoke Girl's Residence
99 Ninth Street
Toronto, Ontario
Executive Director: Sister Sandra MacDonald
REMARKS: Selectivity—single female students (16-19) who
cannot live at home
Programme—long-term accommodation and
counselling
Bed space

La Fraternité—The Fraternity
112 Riverside Drive
Sudbury, Ontario
Director: Sister Marie Dubord, S.C.O.
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders and families
Programme—residential accommodation and
counselling, short- and long-term
Bed space 7

Friendship Concept
199 Daly
Ottawa, Ontario
Executive Director: Mr. W. M. (Mac) Doraty
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders
Programme—long-term accommodation and
intensive counselling
Bed space 16

Fraternity House—Maison Fraternité
12 Ladouceur
Ottawa, Ontario
K1Y 2T1
Executive Director: Aurèle Doucet
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics (to 60 years)
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity-type living
Bed space 10

Elizabeth Fry Society of Kingston
185 Hawthorne Avenue
Kingston, Ontario
President: Mrs. Monica Freedman
House Mother: Mrs G. Lowell
REMARKS: Selectivity—female ex-offenders
Programme—accommodation and short-term
counselling
Bed space 5

Elizabeth Fry Society, (Toronto Branch)
215 Wellesley St. E.
Toronto 282, Ontario
Executive Director: Phyllis Haslam
REMARKS: Selectivity—females in conflict with the law (16
and over)
Programme—long-term accommodation and
intensive counselling
Bed space 14

Good Shepherd Centre
P.O. Box 302
85 MacNab St. N.
Hamilton, Ontario
Chairman, Advisory Board: Mr. J. A. Riddell
Director: Brother Stanley MacNeil, BGS
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics and transients over 25
Programme—short-term residential accommoda-
tion and counselling
Bed space 4

Harbour Rescue Mission Men's Residence
325 James St. N.
Box 368
Hamilton, Ontario
Executive Director: Mr. Martin H. Boughan
REMARKS: Selectivity—males (21 and over) with alcohol or
related problems
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity-type living and short-term residential
accommodation
Bed space 70

The Homestead
78 Admiral Road
Toronto 180, Ontario
Administrator: Major Peacocke
REMARKS: Selectivity—females with drug and alcohol problems
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic community-type living
Bed space 25

House of Friendship
23 Charles St. E.
Kitchener, Ontario
Executive Director: Mr. Gerry J. Vandeworp
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics (35-60)
Programme—long-term accommodation and counselling
Bed space 8

House of James
185 Earl St.
Kingston, Ontario
Executive Director: Rev. Brien Thrasher
REMARKS: Selectivity—male and female
Programme—family milieu, alcohol treatment, counselling
Bed space 40

Bob Hutcheon
5765 Montrose Road
Niagara Falls, Ontario
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders and people in need
Programme—accommodation and counselling
Bed space 3

Inasmuch House
506 York Street
Hamilton, Ontario
Director: Mr. Martin Boughan
REMARKS: Selectivity—women (16 and over), children
Programme—temporary emergency shelter
Bed space 22

The Inn
1687 Wyandotte Street, East
Windsor 15, Ontario
Executive Director: Miss Irene L. Girard
Board Chairman: Mr. Pat Shea
REMARKS: Selectivity—female ex-offenders (16-25)
Programme—long-term accommodation and intensive counselling, employment counselling
Bed space 11

Kenora Fellowship Centre
208 Water Street
Kenora, Ontario
Chairman: Mr. W. Goss
House Director: Mr. S. T. Robinson
REMARKS: Selectivity—males, females and families, particularly native peoples
Programme—short-term residential accommodation, urban skills
Bed space 18

The Harold King Farm
P.O. Box 31
Keswick, Ontario
Directors: Mr. and Mrs. Harold King
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders
Programme—accommodation and intensive counselling
Bed space 14

Leone Residence for Women
509 Kildare Road
Windsor 14, Ontario
Executive Director: Mrs. G. Punter
President: Mr. Leo D. Morningstar
REMARKS: Selectivity—unwed mothers and destitute females
Programme—accommodation and counselling
Bed space (unknown)

Metropolitan Toronto Department of Social Services
Family and Veteran's Residence
674 Dundas St. West
Toronto, Ontario
Supervisor: Mrs. Linda Joss
REMARKS: Selectivity—families and single females in need of temporary accommodation/veterans
Programme—providing short-term emergency accommodation, short-term counselling
Bed space 30 veterans
100 family members

Metropolitan Toronto Department of Social Services
Single Men's Service, Seaton House
325 George St.
Toronto 2, Ontario
Commissioner: Mr. John G. Anderson
REMARKS: Selectivity—male indigents
Programme—hostel service
Bed space 600

10 Madison
10 Madison Avenue
Toronto 180, Ontario
Director: Mr. Ben Garrett
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—long-term accommodation and therapeutic-type living
Bed space 19

New Beginnings (Essex County)
P.O. Box 1054
Windsor 14, Ontario
Executive Director: Mr. Jean-Paul Gravel
President: Mr. Alphonse C. Maloche
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (14-20)
Programme—accommodation and intensive counselling
Bed space 10

Oolagen House
33 Dalton Road
Toronto 179, Ontario
Executive Director: Mr. J. A. Wakeford
REMARKS: Selectivity—males and females (15-19) involved with drugs
Programme—providing long-term intensive therapeutic community-type living
Bed space 6

Oshawa Men's Hostel
74 King St. West
Oshawa, Ontario
Director: Mr. Norman S. Drake
REMARKS: Selectivity—male transients
Programme—short-term accommodation and counselling
Bed space 21

Residential Treatment Centre

414 Dufferin Avenue

London 14, Ontario

Director: Dr. Robert Brook, M.Div., Ed.D.

House Director: Mr. Michael Schliech

REMARKS: Selectivity—male and female (15-25) drug abusers

Programme—long term intensive therapeutic community type living

Bed space 30

Rockhaven

299 Elm Street East

Sudbury, Ontario

Director: Mr. Diedrich P. Neufeld

REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics

Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic community-type living

Bed space 16

St. Joseph's Mission

166 Arlington Avenue

Ottawa, Ontario

Director: Rev. Henry Pleau

REMARKS: Selectivity—homeless males

Programme—short- and long-term accommodation and employment counselling

Bed space 42

St. Leonard's House (Peel)

Box 338

Brampton, Ontario

Director: Mr. Charles Bell

REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (18 and over)

Programme—accommodation and intensive counselling

Bed space 21

St. Leonard's Society of Brantford

135 Elgin Street

Brantford, Ontario

Director: Mr. Peter G. Willis

REMARKS: Selectivity—male adult ex-offenders

Programme—accommodation and intensive counselling

Bed space 8

St. Leonard's House

430 William Street

London, Ontario

Executive Director: Rev. R. A. Dungey

REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (21 and over)

Programme—accommodation and intensive counselling

Bed space 15

St. Leonard's House (Toronto)

63 Bellwoods Avenue

Toronto 3, Ontario

Director: Mr. Frank T. Edwards

REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (21 and over)

Programme—long- and short-term offenders, counselling

Bed space 11

St. Leonard's House

491 Victoria Avenue

Windsor, Ontario

Executive Director: Mr. L. A. Drouillard, B.S.W.

REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (18-40)

Programme—providing accommodation and intensive counselling

Bed space 20

Salvation Army

184 Church Street

St. Catharines, Ontario

Administrator: Brig. Garfield Hickman

REMARKS: Selectivity—male transients 18 and over

Programme—short-term residential accommodation and employment counselling

Bed space 41

Salvation Army House of Concord

Concord, Ontario

Director: Brig. Archibald MacCorquodale

REMARKS: Selectivity—male probationers (16-20)

Programme—accommodation, job training, counselling

Bed space 110

Salvation Army Men's Hotel

135 Sherbourne Street

Toronto, Ontario

Administrator: Brigadier C. Bonar

REMARKS: Selectivity—males (16-60)

Programme—short-term accommodation, counselling

Bed space 400

Salvation Army Rehabilitation Centre

496 Richmond Street West

Toronto, Ontario

Administrator: Brigadier Frederick Farr

REMARKS: Selectivity—males (20-55), particularly alcoholic problems

Programme—providing accommodation and employment counselling

Bed space 60

The Salvation Army Men's Social Service

185 Horton St.

London 15, Ontario

Administrator: Brig. Karl Hagglund

REMARKS: Selectivity—males (18-70)

Programme—accommodation and short-term spiritual counselling

Bed space 82

Salvation Army Men's Social Service

171 George Street

Ottawa, Ontario

K1N 5W5

Administrator: Brig. Fred Smith

REMARKS: Selectivity—males (16 and over) transients

Programme—short-term accommodation, counselling

Bed space 93

Sancta Maria House

102 Bernard Avenue

Toronto 5, Ontario

Executive Director: Bette Wickham

REMARKS: Selectivity—females (16-21) particularly ex-offenders

Programme—accommodation and intensive counselling

Bed space 7

Serenity House

39 Cathcart

Ottawa, Ontario

Director: Sister Bertrand

REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics

Programme—long-term accommodation and counselling

Bed space 8

Stopover Hostel and Counselling Centre
40 College Street
Toronto, Ontario
Counsellor—Coordinator: Mr. Paul Unterman
REMARKS: Selectivity—male transients (16-25)
Programme—short-term residential accommodation
Bed space 60 winter, 100 summer

Street Haven at the Crossroads
87 Pembroke Street
Toronto 2, Ontario
President: Rev. David Busby
Vice-President: Miss Peggy Walpole
REMARKS: Selectivity—adult females involved with drugs
and/or alcohol
Programme—accommodation and short-term
counselling
Bed space 10

Teen Challenge
650 Broadview Avenue
Toronto 6, Ontario
Executive Director: Rev. A. G. Richards
REMARKS: Selectivity—Alienated males (16-21)
Programme—accommodation and intensive spir-
itual counselling
Bed space 20

Turning Point
225 Wharnclyffe Rd. North
London 75, Ontario
Director: Mr. J. S. Clark
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—accommodation and short-term
counselling
Bed space 8

Union Mission for Men
35 Waller Street
Ottawa, Ontario
Superintendent: B. P. Hemsley
REMARKS: Selectivity—transient males
Programme—short-term accommodation, special
section for long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity-type living
Bed space 112

Fred Victor Mission
139 Jarvis Street
Toronto, Ontario
Director: Rev. Keith Whitney
REMARKS: Selectivity—male transients
Programme—short-term accommodation
Bed space (unknown)

Hamilton Wesley House
401-403 King St. West
Hamilton, Ontario
Director: Mr. W. M. Carson
REMARKS: Selectivity—males and females in need of
counselling
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity-type living
Bed space 20

Western Ontario Therapeutic Community Hostel
37 Ridout St. S.
London 16, Ontario
Programme Director: Dr. Harold E. Mountain, M.D.,
C.R.C.P. (C)
REMARKS: Selectivity—families
Programme—short-term family crisis counselling
and intervention
Bed space 15

Manitoba

Akludlik
Fort Churchill, Manitoba
Regional Superintendent,
N.W.T. Dept. of Social Development: Mr. P. Nicholas
REMARKS: Selectivity—Indian and Eskimo outpatients from
reservations
Programme—short-term accommodation while
waiting transportation farther north
Bed space 25

Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba
1039 Louise Avenue
Brandon, Manitoba
House Director: Mr. F. Elliot
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—accommodation short-term and in-
tensive counselling
Bed space 18

Grosvenor Place
900 Grosvenor Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3M 0N4
Director: Mr. C. N. Friesen
REMARKS: Selectivity—male first offenders (as adults) 18-25
Programme—accommodation and intensive
counselling
Bed space 7

Pembina House
Ninette, Manitoba
Director: Mr. L. Kuzenko
REMARKS: Selectivity—males and females, 16-35 from so-
cially deprived environments
Programme—educational, vocational and social
programmes to prepare individual for adaption
to urban life
Bed space 61

River House (Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba)
588 River Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3L 0E8
Supervisor: Mrs. Isabel Goodall
REMARKS: Selectivity—female alcoholics
Programme—individual counselling, group meet-
ings, short-term accommodation
Bed space 17

United Church Halfway Houses of Winnipeg (2 houses)
794 Dorchester Avenue
House Director: Mr. G. V. Clauson
United Church Halfway House of Winnipeg
739 McMillan Avenue
House Director: Mr. A. H. Neelon
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders
Programme—accommodation and short-term
counselling, family environment
Bed space 12

X-Kalay Foundation of (Manitoba) Inc.,
 3514 Pembina Highway
 St. Norbert, Manitoba
Director: Mr. Charles Green
 REMARKS: Selectivity—socially handicapped males and females, families
 Programme—intensive therapeutic community living
 Bed space 100

Saskatchewan

John Howard Society Regina
 2100 College Avenue
 Regina, Saskatchewan
Director: Mr. Stewart Hunter
 REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male parolees
 Programme—long-term accommodation and counselling
 Bed space 9

Kamyatin (Saskatoon)
 917-4th Avenue North
 Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Board Chairman: Mr. Duncan Chelsom
 REMARKS: Selectivity—male youth, 16-20
 Programme—accommodation and short-term counselling
 Bed space 7

Myers House
 1506-15th Avenue
 Regina, Saskatchewan
Supervisor: Mr. Roy Mohr
 REMARKS: Selectivity—males with alcoholic problems
 Programme—accommodation (4-5 weeks) with intensive alcoholic programme
 Bed space 19

P.R.I.D.E. House (Regina)
 (Proposed)
Director: Mr. Stanley J. Klyne
 635 King Street
 Regina, Saskatchewan S4T 4C8

Salvation Army Men's Social Service
 Saskatoon
 339 Avenue "C" South
 Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Administrator: Major A. D. MacMillan
 REMARKS: Selectivity—adult males in need
 Programme—2 programs alcoholic rehabilitation and itinerant accommodation and counselling
 Bed space 8 rehabilitation
 45 transient
 53

Salvation Army Men's Social Services (Regina)
 1845 Osler Street
 Regina, Saskatchewan
Administrator: Brigadier A. S. Hagglund
 REMARKS: Selectivity—males in need, 16-20
 Programme—2 programs: rehabilitation and transient accommodation
 Bed space 10

Saskatoon Alcoholism Society (Hope Haven)
 30-5th Avenue North
 Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Managing Director: Mr. R. A. Barker
 REMARKS: Selectivity—males and females with alcoholic problems
 Programme—intensive four week rehabilitation programme
 Bed space 17

Alberta

Belmont Rehabilitation Centre
 Box 657
 Station C
 Edmonton, Alberta
Superintendent: Mr. M. Letersky
 REMARKS: An alcoholism treatment centre and day parole administration unit for inmates from the Alberta Correctional system

Concern Society
 1114-6th Avenue S.W.
 Calgary, Alberta
Executive Director: Mr. Lawrence A. Oshane (Society President)
 REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders, parolees and families
 Programme—social and economic re-integration of the ex-offender through a supportive situation
 Bed space 5 men and 2 families

Elizabeth Fry Society of Alberta (Proposed)
 1005-8th Avenue S.W.
 Calgary 3, Alberta
Executive Director: Mr. Vernon Loepky
 REMARKS: Selectivity—female ex-offenders (18-25)
 Programme—accommodation and short-term personal counselling
 Bed space 12

Gunn Welfare Centre
 Gunn, Alberta
Executive Director: Mr. E. T. McCullough
 REMARKS: Selectivity—single, unemployed, elderly transient males
 Programme—(unknown)
 Bed space 118

Halfway House Edmonton
 10024-106th Street
 Edmonton, Alberta
Supervisor: Mr. R. P. G. Peterson
 REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
 Programme—short-term residential accommodation, counselling
 Bed space 14

Hilltop House
 9807-107 Street
 Edmonton, Alberta
Supervisor: Mrs. Cathy Stacher
 REMARKS: Selectivity—females with problems
 Programme—accommodation and employment counselling, personal counselling
 Bed space 18

John Howard Society Ramsay House
1031-9th Street S.E.
Calgary, Alberta
Executive Secretary: Mr. R. A. Shebib
Resident Director: Mr. Tom Kelly
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders, parolees
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic community type living
Bed space 10

Howard Manor
8539-88 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
Resident Director: Mr. Cliff Pope
Executive Director: Mr. John Ramoutar
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders
Programme—accommodation and employment counselling, personal counselling
Bed space 12

Jellinek House
11229-100 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
Executive Director: Mr. J. Clarke Grindell
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic community type living
Bed space 16

McDougall House
9936-103 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
Executive Director: Mrs. Janet Dilke
REMARKS: Selectivity—female ex-offenders, alcoholics, drug abusers
Programme—accommodation with home-like atmosphere, counselling
Bed space—can accommodate 20 but prefer not more than 14

Oasis House
1510-22nd Avenue S.W.
Calgary, Alberta
Executive Director: Lois Gerstman
REMARKS: Selectivity—single females (16-25), families without funds
Programme—accommodation and short term personal counselling
Bed space 25

Project A.D.A.P.P.
10045-110 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
Executive Director: Mr. Douglas Dunn
REMARKS: Selectivity—males and females with drug problems
Programme—accommodation, employment counselling, therapeutic community style living
Bed space 24

Riverside Villa
721 Riverdale Avenue
Calgary, Alberta
House Mother: Mrs. Evelyn Schneidmiller
Secretary: Mrs. R. J. Gibbs, Riverside Villa Assoc.
REMARKS: Selectivity—adult female alcoholics and emotional problems
Programme—accommodation and intensive counselling, daily programme of therapy at Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission, A.A. meetings, personal counselling, employment assistance
Bed space 8

Single Men's Hostel
10014-105 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
Administrator: Mr. Dennis Barr
REMARKS: Selectivity—males in need
Programme—short-term accommodation, counselling, accommodation referrals
Bed space 240

Social Orientation Services
Mutchmor Place, 236 McKnight Blvd., N.E.
Calgary, Alberta
Executive Director: Rev. George Whitford
REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male recovering alcoholics
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic community type living, accommodation and short-term personal counselling, accommodation and employment counselling, industries
Bed space 12

Strike IV
8113-112th Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
Executive Director: C. Wendy Rycroft
REMARKS: Selectivity—male "hard core" unemployables
Programme—employment counselling and job assistance
Bed space 12

British Columbia

A.I.M.S. Allied Indian and Metis Society
2716 Clark Drive
Vancouver 12, B.C.
Executive Director: Mr. Stanley Hunt
REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male ex-offenders
Programme—re-adjustment to community life, intensive therapeutic living
Maximum bed space 10

B.C. Borstal Association—Dick Bell-Irving Home
554 West 21st Avenue
Vancouver, B.C.
Executive Director: Mr. J. A. Willox
House Parents: Mr. and Mrs. Kennan
REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders (16-22)
Programme—accommodation and employment counselling
Maximum bed space 8

Central City Mission
233 Abbott Street
Vancouver 4, B.C.
Executive Director: Rev. Stanley Higgs
REMARKS: Selectivity—males in need
Programme—multi-faceted; transient services, alcoholism treatment, domiciliary care, sheltered workshop
Maximum bed space 135

Cool-Aid, Victoria
953 Balmoral Road
P.O. Box 195
Victoria, B.C.
Director: Miss Kathleen Sharkey
REMARKS: Selectivity—youth (13-25 years)
Programme—short term accommodation and counselling, free medical and dental services
Maximum bed space 100

Dismis House Vancouver
1890 West 6th Avenue
Vancouver 9, B.C.

Directors: Mr. T. Mahood, Mr. Wm. Pick
REMARKS: Selectivity—male and female ex-offenders
Programme—long-term milieu, therapy
Maximum bed space 14

Dunsmuir House for Men
500 Dunsmuir Street
Vancouver, B.C.

Administrator: Brigadier E. A. Brunson
REMARKS: Selectivity—Adult males in need, some families
Programme—short- and long-term residential
accommodation, personal counselling
Maximum bed space 208

Elizabeth Fry Society of B.C.
2000 Ontario Street
Vancouver, B.C.

Executive Director: Mrs. Ethel Allardice
House Mother: Mrs. Pauline Fell
REMARKS: Selectivity—females (17-25 years) Particularly ex-
offenders
Programme—long-term residential accommoda-
tion, personal counselling
Maximum bed space 7

Hatfield's Living Society (Being Formed)
863 East 12th
Vancouver 10, B.C.

Mrs. Carolina Hatfield
REMARKS: Selectivity—males (16 to 22)
Programme—long- and short-term residential
accommodation
Maximum bed space 19

John Howard Society of B.C.
North Okanagan Branch
Howard House Men's Residence
3505, 34th Avenue
Vernon, B.C.

Manager: Mr. W. F. Hesketh
Supervisor: Mr. N. Relkov
REMARKS: Selectivity—unemployed transient males
Programme—short-term residential accommoda-
tion, personal counselling
Maximum bed space 45

Kiwanis House Society
101 Columbia Street
Kamloops, B.C.

House Manager: Mr. Stanley R. Bennett
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity living
Maximum bed space 16

Kwa-Win-Nah Halfway House Society
417-c Creed Road
Victoria, B.C.

(not yet in operation)
Contact Mrs. Flora H. Seeds or
Mr. S. J. Cornell, Vice-President
Proposed residential accommodation particularly
for Indian and Metis

Lower Island Association for Recovery of Alcoholics
614 Seaforth Avenue
Victoria, B.C.

Executive Director: Mr. Edgar McRac
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity living, A.A. milieu
Maximum bed space 12

Lower Mainland St. Leonard's Society
1030 Georgia Street
Vancouver, B.C.

Executive Director: Mr. R. Kelloway
Two Houses

1. Willingdon Home
5757 Willingdon Avenue
Burnaby, B.C.

Director: Mr. L. Creelman

2. 6775 Roberts Street
Burnaby, B.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Estergaard

REMARKS: Selectivity—male ex-offenders, parolees proba-
tioners only (14-22 years)
Programme—short- and long-term accommoda-
tion family environment, counselling
Maximum bed space 12

M.S.A. Halfway House Society
31250 King Road, R.R. No. 1
Abbotsford, B.C.

Manager: Mr. B. Bingaman
Board Chairman: Mr. George Schmidt

REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—short- and long-term accommoda-
tion with counselling
Maximum bed space 24

Maple Ridge Halfway House
22269 Calligan Street
Maple Ridge, B.C.

Director: Mr. W. Jourdain
REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male alcoholics
Programme—long-term intensive therapeutic com-
munity living, A.A. counselling, lectures, etc.
Maximum bed space 40

Prince George Activator Society
770-2nd Avenue
Prince George, B.C.

Executive Director: Mr. Dale Seddon
REMARKS: Selectivity—adult male and female ex-offenders
Programme—accommodation and employment
counselling, job training
Maximum bed space 31

Salvation Army Harbour Light
Rehabilitation Centre
516 Yates Street
Victoria, B.C.

Director: Captain Bruce Harcourt
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—long-term accommodation and alco-
holic counselling
Maximum bed space 31

Salvation Army Harbour Light
835 Third Avenue
Prince George, B.C.
Director: Captain R. E. Wilson
REMARKS: Selectivity—male alcoholics
Programme—two programmes—short-term accommodation—intensive rehabilitative long-term accommodation
Maximum bed space 20

Salvation Army Kanata Residence
501-6th Avenue West
Prince Rupert, B.C.
Administrator: Captain Winnifred Branscombe
REMARKS: Selectivity—females and families in need
Programme—short-term residential accommodation
Maximum bed space 18

Salvation Army Men's Hostel
76 Bastion Street
Nanaimo, B.C.
Director: Captain F. Phelps
REMARKS: Selectivity—males in need
Programme—transient oriented, short-term residential accommodation and counselling
Maximum bed space 13

Salvation Army Men's Social Services Centre Victoria
525 Johnson Street
Victoria, B.C.
Director: Major R. H. Walker
REMARKS: Selectivity—males in need
Programme—principally short-term accommodation, personal counselling
Maximum bed space 58

Skeena Mental Health Centre
4-4554 Lazelle Avenue
Terrace, B.C.
Social Worker: Mr. Lyle Petch
REMARKS: Selectivity—mentally ill, mentally retarded and psycho-geriatric adults
Programme—long-term accommodation and treatment
Maximum bed space unknown

Teen Challenge of Western Canada
P.O. Box 4777
Vancouver, B.C.
Residence located at 343 No. 4 Road, Richmond, B.C.
Director: Rev. Maury Blair
REMARKS: Selectivity—males (18-25) particularly those with drug problems
Programme—long-term accommodation with intensive spiritual counselling
Maximum bed space 10

Victoria Hostel for Girls
1423 Fernwood Avenue
Victoria, B.C.
House Mother: Miss Johnson
REMARKS: Selectivity—females (16-25) in need
Programme—short- and long-term accommodation, personal counselling
Maximum bed space 12

X-Kalay Foundation Society, Vancouver Branch
26 West 7th Avenue
Vancouver, B.C.
Executive Director: Mr. David M. Berner
REMARKS: Selectivity—males, females and families
Programme—intensive group living, attack therapy
Maximum bed space 40 in Vancouver
20 at Salt Spring, R.R. No. 1, Ganges, Salt Spring Island, B.C.

List of Briefs and Submissions

Organizations

Allied Indian and Métis Society, Vancouver, British Columbia.

The Elizabeth Fry Society of Kingston, Kingston, Ontario.

Improvement Study Group of British Columbia Penitentiary; Roger Savard, Chairman, Chris Conway, Liaison Officer and Advisor, New Westminster, British Columbia.

Inmate Representative Committee, Prince Albert Penitentiary, Saskatchewan; Clifford Lurvey, Chairman.

London Committee on Corrections, London, Ontario; Mrs. Gretta Grant, Q.C., Chairman.

Le Personnel du Service des Libérations Conditionnelles du Bureau de Quebec, Quebec, Quebec; submitted by P. H. Perreault, M.C.A., Agent.

McGill Clinic in Forensic Psychiatry and St. Lawrence House (prepared jointly), Montreal, Quebec; prepared by J. Zambrowsky and A. Obert (respectively).

Poundmaker's Lodge, The Métis Society of Saskatchewan, Native Brotherhood of Indian & Métis of the Prince Albert Federal Penitentiary, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Resident Council, Headingly Correctional Institution, Manitoba; Brian Allen, Chairman.

St. Edward's House, Montreal, Quebec; Paul J. Coscarello, Executive Director.

St. Leonard's Society of Canada, Windsor, Ontario.

The Salvation Army, Montreal, Quebec.

U.B.C. Citizen's Participation Project in Federal Corrections,

University of British Columbia, School of Social Work, Vancouver, British Columbia; prepared by Barbara Eisinger.

Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, Vancouver, British Columbia; Bill Mussell, Executive Director.

Union of Ontario Indians, Toronto, Ontario; Fred Plain, President.

Western Ontario Therapeutic Community Hostel, Inc., London, Ontario; Harold Mountain, M.D., C.R.C.P. (C.) Programme Director.

Youth Housing System, Board of Directors, Toronto, Ontario; submitted by Don C. Morgan, Community Consultant, member.

Individuals

Brown, Vincent T., Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Le Chef, Département Fédéral de Justice et Police, Berne, Switzerland.

Clark, William, and Fuchs, Richard, S.H.A.R.E., St. John's, Newfoundland.

Davis, Mervyn, Executive Director, The John Howard Society of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Dombowsky, Ken, Work Training Analyst, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Dumaine, F., B.A., B.Ph., M.S.W., Assistant Director (IT), Special Correctional Unit, Quebec.

Ealing, David, Jaycees Group, British Columbia Penitentiary, New Westminster, British Columbia.

Fisher, W., Toronto, Ontario.

Goodyear, C. J., Magistrate, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Gray, W. J., Medical Superintendent, H.M. Prison, Aylesbury, Bucks., England.

Hallberg, Lief, Public Information Officer, National Swedish Correctional Administration, Stockholm, Sweden.

Knorr, Russell, J., inmate, Prince Albert Penitentiary, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Kolstad, Ragnar, Secretary General, Norges Vernesamband, Oslo, Norway.

Lachapelle, Jean, Donner Educational Project, British Columbia Penitentiary, New Westminster, British Columbia.

Lee, J. R. C., Assistant Director, Correctional Services, Province of New Brunswick.

Members of the Improvement Study Group of British Columbia Penitentiary, New Westminster, British Columbia:

Anonymous,
B. Barber,
L. W. Corbett,
P. Graham,
C. Gunn,
B. Klose,
J. MacDonald,
M. Pupeyre,
R. Savard—Chairman,
B. Waters,
J. Wydryk.

Pollock, Donald, Transformation Reg'd., St. Hubert, Quebec.

Price, Dorothy, Weston, Ontario.

Riendeau, E., St. Lawrence House, Montreal, Quebec.

Riley, James, Optimum Group, Mountain Prison, British Columbia.

Roach, T. F., Chairman, Métis Study Task Force, Edmonton, Alberta.

Roosenburg, A. M. and Hendritts, P. A. M., Dr. Henri van der Hoeven Kliniek, Utrecht, Holland.

Seven Step member, British Columbia Penitentiary, New Westminster, British Columbia.

Solomon, Prof. H., Ph.D., Sociology and Anthropology Department, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario.

Stacher, Catherine, Hilltop House, Edmonton, Alberta.

Stürup, G. K., M.D., Superintendent, The Herstedvester Detention Centre, Alberstslund, Denmark.

van Helmont, Le Directeur Général, Ministère de la Justice, Administration des Etablissements Pénitentiaires, Bruxelles, Belgique.

Whitford, Reverend G., Calgary, Alberta.

Zimmerman, W. M., Assistant Director, Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District, Ottawa, Ontario.

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