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UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR  
The School of Social Work

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF RELEASED OFFENDERS

by

Peter Croxall and  
Thomas J. Hall

A research project presented to the School  
of Social Work of the University of Windsor  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Social Work.

September, 1971

Windsor, ONTARIO, CANADA

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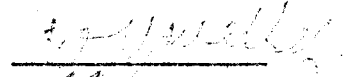
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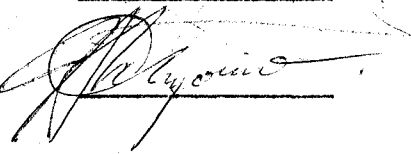
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Special thanks are extended to the members of our Research Committee, Professor B. J. Kroeker, Dr. L. E. Buckley, and Dr. W. Y. Wassef, whose guidance and direction proved invaluable. We are especially grateful for the patience of our Committee Chairman, Professor Kroeker. His knowledge of the correctional field was of great help in preparing the study.

We also wish to thank Mr. Jean-Paul Lupien, the District Officer in charge of the Windsor office of the National Parole Service, for his permission to use parole files for this study. Mr. Lupien also kindly allowed us to use the offices and facilities of the National Parole Service in Windsor while the data was being collected.

A special note of thanks is due to our patient typist, Mrs. Joy Taylor. Her frequent willingness to drop her many other duties in favour of our study was most appreciated.

## ABSTRACT

It was hypothesized in this study that there was no relationship between the employment experiences of released offenders following their most recent release from prison, and either their pre-prison academic education, skill training, and employment experiences, or their in-prison academic education, skill training or employment experiences.

The sample used consisted of all ninety-seven persons on parole and being supervised by the National Parole Service in Windsor, Ontario, in April, 1971.

The data on these persons was collected from files maintained by the National Parole Service. Information from the files was collected on forms, using a checklist which asked specific questions about the employment experiences, skill training, academic education, marital status and criminal history of the parolees. The data was transcribed onto cards and analysed with the aid of a computer.

It was found that there was little relationship between either pre-prison or in-prison academic education, skill training, or employment experience and the employment experiences of the parolees following their most

recent incarceration. There were three important and related exceptions. Those who had received some sort of skill training prior to their most recent incarceration; those who had worked more than 75 per cent of the time prior to their most recent incarceration; and those who were arrested first after the age of nineteen, all had significantly better post-release work histories.

The persons in this sample were generally found to be uneducated, with little skill training, poor work histories and lacking in continuing and meaningful relationships.

It was recommended that increased emphasis be placed on skill training programs for parolees, and that present programs which allow inmates to pursue further skill training in the community be expanded. It was also recognized that only a small number of the parolees received assistance in finding employment from community agencies. It was recommended that more attention be given to this important aspect of a released offender's life. It is readily deducted from the content of the study that it is vital that society accept that all programs for offenders both in the institution and the community, be rehabilitative rather than merely being punitive or custodial.



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I INTRODUCTION

1. Crime and Unemployment

This study examines the employment experiences of released offenders in relation to their education, skill training, and previous employment experience. Its purpose is to study some of the factors which might affect these employment experiences. The importance of the study derives from the fact that crime is a social problem of vast proportions, and also that being employed is a key value in our society, sanctioned by a complex system of societal rewards and buttressed by a great many societal expectations.

What sort of employment experiences do released offenders have? What sort of skills do they possess? Do released offenders have the skills to function in a work-oriented society? Finally, are their employment experiences in accordance with the skills they possess?

(i) The Problem of Crime

There has been a steady increase in the rate of reported crimes in Canada in the past few years. From 1957 to 1968, for example, the crime rate (reported crimes per 100,000 population) increased by almost eight per cent

per year.<sup>1</sup> The rate of breaking and entering was 688.0 per 100,000 in 1967 and 814.6 per 100,000 in 1968.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, possession of stolen goods was reported at a rate of 38.4 per 100,000 in 1967 and 43.4 per 100,000 in 1968.<sup>3</sup>

The actual number of people involved is perhaps a more meaningful indication of the problem than are a number of rather abstract rates. In the fiscal year ending March 31, 1970, slightly over 4,000 persons, or about one out of every 5,000 Canadians, were admitted to Canada's federal penitentiaries.<sup>4</sup> In the fiscal year 1968/69, 11,725 persons were in the custody of Ontario's provincial reformatories at some time during the year,<sup>5</sup> and in the same year, some 65,518 people moved through Ontario's provincial jails.<sup>6</sup> These last two figures together, represent about one out of every one hundred

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<sup>1</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Crime Statistics 1968, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 14. Hereinafter referred to as D. B. S. Crime Statistics.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Correctional Institution Statistics: 1969-70. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, March, 1970), p. 22. Hereinafter referred to as D. B. S. Institution Statistics.

<sup>5</sup>Ontario, Department of Correctional Services, Annual Report 1969, (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1969), p.67.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

persons in Ontario. Thus we can see that crime is a social problem of major proportions.

(ii) Work and Unemployment

Since crime is a significant social problem, we will have to learn to deal with it effectively. One way is by looking at the criminal himself, and seeing what can be done to help him adapt to societal expectations. One of the most important of these expectations is that a person have steady employment as a means of maintaining himself, not that he resort to crime. Work and employment are seen as positive values which contribute to society's well-being. Weber in his book, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,<sup>7</sup> was one of the first to point out how deeply rooted is the value of work in our society.

Gainful employment is generally held to be good and is socially encouraged and perhaps even demanded. Those who do not work are held to be lazy and shiftless, regardless of whether they are able to work, or able to gain employment. However, most jobs in our industrialized society, require a degree of skill or training, or both. Usually, if an employer is to choose between two people, he will choose the better qualified person, providing their personal characteristics are equal. Thus, when jobs

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<sup>7</sup>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1930).

are scarce, it is usually the marginally qualified persons who have most difficulty gaining employment. "Qualified" may mean the skills and abilities which the person possesses, or it may mean suitable personal qualifications, such as appearance, attitude, behaviour and so on. These latter judgements are frequently subjective evaluations, and thus leave ample room for personal bias.

Thus those persons who are both poorly skilled and who possess the kinds of attributes which may evoke an employer's bias may have great difficulty finding employment. Even a highly skilled and capable person may have difficulty gaining employment if he is a person against whom an employer might be negatively biased.

This problem may be even more relevant during periods of high unemployment. Since Canada has rarely had a record of full employment, such persons may therefore be disproportionately affected. At present, for example, the situation in Canada is particularly acute, the unemployment rate having risen from 4.6 per cent of the labour force in January, 1969 (on a seasonally adjusted basis) to 6.6 per cent in January 1971.<sup>8</sup> This represented over 668,000 persons unemployed out of a total labour force of 15,222,000 people.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canadian Statistical Review (Ottawa: Information Canada, March, 1971), Vol. 46, #3, p. 7. Hereinafter referred to as "Statistical Review."

<sup>9</sup>Canada, Statistical Review, p. 40.



In this study we are concerned with the social prejudice that may be directed against ex-offenders. Persons with any sort of institutional experience may tend to be regarded as somehow different, or not as good as other people. Thus ex-offenders, and more specifically, parolees, may suffer from a degree of social stigma which might affect their employment possibilities.

(iii) Employment and the Criminal

The relationship of employment to a satisfying life cannot be underestimated. Without regular employment, a person's social worth and self-image diminishes since he becomes less able to provide the material needs for himself and his dependents. His feeling of self-worth may then suffer. Lacking the work skills or acceptable personal attributes to gain or maintain regular employment, an individual may well resort to an alternative way to provide for himself or to maintain his self-worth; namely criminal behaviour. We are not trying to say that unemployment necessarily leads to, or causes crime. However, if released offenders who are able to work are instead employed, we may prevent the potential problem of these persons turning to crime as a last resort.

Slightly over four thousand (4,057) adult males were admitted to Canada's federal penitentiaries during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1970. Almost 60 per cent or 2,408 of these offenders were unemployed at the time

of their arrest.<sup>10</sup> This, of course, is a far higher rate of unemployment than is found among the adult male population generally, which is approximately 6 per cent.

If the offender is to be successfully reintegrated into society, he must learn to comply with societal norms, on the one hand, and on the other hand, society must learn to adjust its expectations to the reality of the problem. For our society, this will require that it permit ex-offenders to acquire and hold jobs in its midst.

For the offender, the increased employment opportunities will require that he learn the skills needed to acquire and hold steady employment. Thus in each instance it is implied that the ex-offender has acquired suitable and necessary qualifications for employment. In regard to this matter, the Ouimet Committee Reports that:

An ex-offender, to have any chance at all, must be able to make a legitimate living for himself and his family. This can revive his self-respect, and give him a feeling of belonging to the law-abiding community. It also gives him an opportunity to make friends - most likely fellow-workers - who have no connection with his past life.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>D. B. S. Institution Statistics 1969-70, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup>Canada, Department of the Solicitor-General, Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections: Toward Unity, Criminal Justice and Corrections (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 331. (The Ouimet Report) Hereinafter referred to as "Ouimet Report".

Similarly, in the United States, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, stated:

The kind of job a person holds determines to a large extent, the kind of life he leads. This is true not merely because work and income are directly related, but also because employment is a major factor in an individual's position in the eyes of others and indeed himself. Work is therefore directly related to the goals of corrections.<sup>12</sup>

It follows from these quotes, that not only must the individual be willing and able to take the responsibility for finding and holding this meaningful employment, but that society must be willing to grant him such an opportunity so as to enhance his self-respect.

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<sup>12</sup>U. S. A., The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 32. Hereinafter referred to as "Task Force Report, 1967".

2. Canada's Treatment of Offenders

(1) Incarceration

Recently, T. George Street, chairman of the National Parole Board, remarked that Canada sends proportionately more people to prison than does any other Western nation.<sup>13</sup> Edwards pointed out that in 1960, Canada already had the second highest incarceration rate among the Western countries: 164 persons per 100,000 population.<sup>14</sup> Norway had the lowest, with a rate of 44 per 100,000, while the United States has an incarceration rate of 200 persons per 100,000 population.<sup>15</sup>

(ii) Parole: Its Purpose and Value

In the fiscal year ending March 31, 1970, 3,750 male inmates were discharged from Canada's federal penitentiaries.<sup>16</sup> Of these, 1,733 or about 23 per cent were granted a form of release known as parole.<sup>17</sup> In 1969, 1,241 male and female inmates in Ontario's provincial reformatories, were also discharged on parole.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Toronto Daily Star, (Toronto) October 9, 1970, p.9.

<sup>14</sup>J. L. Edwards, "Sentencing, Corrections and the Prevention of Crime", Canadian Journal of Corrections, Vol. 48, No. 3, (July 1966), p. 180.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>16</sup>D.B.S., Institution Statistics, p. 28.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>18</sup>Ontario, Department of Correctional Services, Annual Report 1968/1969 - Ontario Plan in Corrections (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 67.

In the past, society usually felt that a criminal could be justly punished if he was sentenced to jail for his offences. Recent increases in the crime rate and growing public awareness of crime as a social problem have led to agitation for a different and improved way of dealing with the problem. When one considers that the majority of inmates return to society and that recidivism rates are high, then the importance of rehabilitation and of helping the ex-offender live a satisfying, law-abiding life, is clear. One attempt at helping the offender re-adjust to societal expectations and demands is through the parole system.

T. George Street, chairman of the Canada's National Parole Board, summed up the value of parole when he wrote:

The only way the public can be properly protected, is by reforming offenders. Therefore, it is now generally accepted that in a modern correctional system, the emphasis should be on reformation rather than on punishment alone...

It's simply a case of trying to correct as many offenders as possible and helping those who want to help themselves if they seem to deserve it.<sup>19</sup>

Parole is generally regarded as a means by which an inmate is released from prison and allowed to serve the balance of his sentence in the community. Parole supervision has a dual purpose: the reformation and the rehabilitation of the inmate and the protection of society.

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<sup>19</sup>T. George Street, Brochure on Parole (Ottawa; National Parole Board, 1967), p. 1.

Parole is seen as an opportunity for the parolee to test his ability to lead a law-abiding life. It also offers the ex-inmate counselling and services which would help to facilitate his reintegration into the community. Of the importance of parole, the Ouimet Report stated the following:

"The offender who is to succeed in becoming a law-abiding and, hopefully, contributing citizen, must do so in the outside community... The Committee believes that the most important aspect of parole is its efficacy, when well administered, in assisting the successful re-adjustment of the offender into community living".<sup>20</sup>

Parole also represents a less costly form of treatment. It is estimated that in 1969, it cost between \$4,900 and \$5,500 to maintain a federal inmate for one year.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, when a man is released on parole, the cost to the public for supervision and guidance is approximately \$500. per parolee.<sup>22</sup>

(iii) The Development of Parole in Canada

(a) Ticket of Leave Act: Parole has as its origin the ancient royal prerogative of granting clemency to hostages and prisoners. In Canada, as Miller has pointed out,

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<sup>20</sup>Canada, Ouimet Report, p. 331

<sup>21</sup>Canada, Annual Report of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1969 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 48. Hereinafter referred to as "Solicitor General".

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

"Prior to 1898, some persons were released from custody by order of the Governor General upon the advice of the Crown. This was possible as an expression of the royal prerogative of mercy. However, most, if not all, of these releases were unconditional, as there was no one to enforce any conditions. It is safe to say, that such releases were approved mainly, if not exclusively, because of humanitarian considerations and were properly described as exercises of clemency".<sup>23</sup>

Canada's first parole legislation was passed in 1898 and was called the 'Ticket of Leave Act'. Under the terms of this Act, conditional releases could be granted to any person serving a term of imprisonment. Conditional release could be granted only by the Governor General of Canada on the advice of a cabinet minister, usually the Solicitor General. The Salvation Army was the most active organization involved in the care of released offenders when the Ticket of Leave Act came into effect. One of its officers, Brigadier Archibald, was appointed the first Dominion Parole Officer in 1905.

(b) Provincial Parole: Several years later, Ontario in 1916 and British Columbia in 1948, were granted authority by Federal legislation to impose indeterminate sentences. Provincial parole boards in these two provinces were given jurisdiction to grant parole to an inmate serving the indeterminate part of the sentence after he had served the definite portion of his sentence.

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<sup>23</sup>F. P. Miller, "Parole" in W. T. McGrath (editor), Crime and Its Treatment in Canada (Toronto: MacMillan, 1965), p. 329. (Hereinafter referred to as "Parole").

(c) The Remission Service: The Administration of the Ticket of Leave Act was the responsibility of officers in the Canadian Department of Justice, which in 1913 became a separate branch, known as the Remission Service. Between the years 1924 - 1931, the Remission Service was reorganized. The office of Dominion Parole Officer was absorbed by the head of the Remission Service and rules of practice were formulated.

During the Second World War, "special war purposes tickets of leave" were distributed to selected prisoners in order to enable them to join the armed forces or to work in industry.<sup>24</sup>

The post war years saw further growth and development in the provision of services for inmates and parolees. There was also a growing recognition in the lay community of the value of parole.

In 1957, the Remission Service opened four new regional offices; Winnipeg, Toronto, Kingston and Moncton, to add to its two already existing offices in Montreal and Vancouver.<sup>25</sup>

(d) The National Parole Board: As the Remission Service expanded into six regional divisions, parole administration became more complex. In 1956, the federal Minister of Justice appointed Mr. Justice Gerald Fauteux, of the Supreme Court of Canada to head a committee to

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 331.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 332.



study the existing parole system and to make recommendations.<sup>26</sup> The committee's findings resulted in the recommendation that a national parole authority for Canada be established as an autonomous quasi-judicial body.

The Fauteux Report's recommendations also led to the eventual passing into legislation of the Parole Act (1959), which in turn established the National Parole Board, separate from the Department of Justice.<sup>27</sup>

The National Parole Board, composed of nine members, one of whom is Chairman, is appointed by the Governor in Council. Each member of the Parole Board is appointed for a period of ten years. The parole Board is an autonomous body with the Chairman, T. George Street, reporting directly to the Solicitor General. The Parole Board has jurisdiction over any adult inmate who is serving a sentence under any federal statute or under the Criminal Code in either a federal or provincial institution.<sup>28</sup>

(e) The National Parole Service: The National Parole Service is, as it were, the handmaid of the National Parole Board. The Parole Service assists the Parole Board by preparing cases for the Board's decision. Its function

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<sup>26</sup>Canada, Department of Justice, Committee Appointed to Inquire Into the Principles and Procedures Followed in the Remission Service of the Department of Justice of Canada, Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1956) p. (1), (Fauteux Report).

<sup>27</sup>Miller, "Parole", p. 334.

<sup>28</sup>T. George Street, Canada's Parole System, Ottawa: National Parole Board, 1968. p. 3.

is twofold:

1. The investigation of cases that are to be presented to the Parole Board.
2. The supervision of parolees.

The National Parole Service has a staff of over 275 employees, in over thirty regional and district offices located in the larger urban areas across Canada.<sup>29</sup>

The Parole Service does not directly supervise all parolees under its jurisdiction. Fortunately, especially in its early years, it has been ably assisted by such agencies as the John Howard Society, the Elizabeth Fry Society, the Salvation Army, and various provincial probation services, as well as occasional private citizens.

In September 1970, the Windsor District Office of the National Parole Service was opened. Two Parole Officers are working out of this office and they supervise about one hundred parolees in the counties of Essex and Kent.

Prior to the opening of the Windsor Office, the National Parole Service supervised local parolees from their London Office, which was opened two years previously. Both the Windsor and London Offices are attached to, and developed out of, the Hamilton Regional Office.

The new Windsor Office demonstrates the effort of National Parole Board to decentralize and expand its services. The establishment of a local office affords the National Parole Service the opportunity of involving

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<sup>29</sup>Canada, "Solicitor General", p. 50.

itself more directly and more effectively in the parole supervision process. The Parole Officer's responsibilities are more helpful when he is familiar with his parolee's milieu, and with the community's resources and services. By offering direct supervision and counselling to local parolees, the National Parole Service is able to offer a more viable service.

(f) Mandatory Parole: Under the present parole system, prisoners with a record of good behaviour, who are serving a sentence of two years or more are eligible for parole after nine months of incarceration. Most prisoners serving a sentence of three years or more usually serve one-third of their sentence or four years, whichever ever is the lesser, before they are eligible for parole. The above conditions do not apply to inmates serving a sentence of preventive detention (i.e. Habitual Criminals and Dangerous Sexual Offenders). Such offenders are reviewed annually by the National Parole Board.

Until a recent amendment to the National Parole Act, in August 1970, an inmate in a federal penitentiary could choose to accept parole or to serve his full sentence less time earned for good behaviour while in custody. This amendment to the Parole Act introduced mandatory parole, which makes parole release mandatory for all inmates during the period of earned remission.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

Those inmates who preferred to serve their full time rather than accept parole supervision with its accompanying responsibilities, will now be obliged to demonstrate their willingness to reintegrate themselves into society. Mandatory parole also offers the community a more comprehensive system of surveillance of released offenders.

(iv) Parole Supervision

The purpose of parole as it is generally accepted, hinges on two goals or objectives; the rehabilitation of the offender and the protection of society. In actual practice, parole supervision operates along a continuum between therapeutic treatment and strict surveillance.

Once an inmate is granted parole and is released from prison, he must report to his parole officer immediately upon returning home. Before he is released, however, the released offender must sign his Parole Agreement. The Parole Agreement has ten conditions, which are as follows:

1. To be under the authority of a representative of the National Parole Service.
2. To proceed at once to the place of residence and to report at least once a month to the nearest police station.
3. To accept supervision and assistance from the supervisor named on the certificate.
4. To remain in the area of residence designated on the agreement and to obtain permission of his supervisor before moving to another area.
5. To endeavour to maintain steady employment and to report to the supervisor any change or termination of employment or any other change of circumstances such as accident or illness.

6. To obtain advance approval from the Regional Representative, through the supervisor, if the parolee wishes to:
  - (a) purchase a motor vehicle;
  - (b) incur debts by borrowing money or installment buying;
  - (c) assume additional responsibilities such as marrying;
  - (d) own or carry fire-arms or other weapons.
7. Abide by all instructions given by the supervisor with regard to employment, companions, hours, intoxicants, operation of motor vehicles, medical or psychiatric attention, family responsibilities and court obligation.
8. To abide by any special condition.
9. To immediately notify the supervisor if arrested or questioned by peace officers regarding any offence.
10. To obey the law and to fulfill their legal and social responsibilities.<sup>31</sup>

The Parole Agreement is straightforward and the conditions outlined are flexible enough to allow for a somewhat 'tailored' approach to parole supervision.

Of particular interest to our research is condition number five, namely the parolee's obligation to endeavour to maintain steady employment. Steady employment is generally recognized as good encouragement for an ex-convict to stay 'clean'. Moreover employment enables the ex-convict to satisfy his material needs while at the same time developing his self-respect.

For many offenders, release from prison means certain financial hardships. Most have insufficient

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<sup>31</sup>Canada, Laws, Statutes, etc., Statutes of Canada 1958, Vol. I., "The Parole Act and Regulations", 7 Eliz. II, C. 38. (Hereinafter referred to as Canada, "Parole Act").

personal savings to help them through this period. In the federal penitentiaries, there is little chance for an inmate to amass enough savings to sustain him for more than a few days. An inmate who is admitted to a penitentiary is automatically a Grade 1 prisoner and receives twenty-five cents per working day, ten cents of which is placed in savings while the remaining fifteen cents is for canteen purchases. The prisoner must remain three months on Grade 1, at the end of which time he may be upgraded to Grade 2 and then received thirty-five cents per working day, ten cents of which goes into his savings. After another three months the prisoner may again be upgraded to a Grade 3 prisoner and earn forty-five cents per working day, fifteen cents of which goes into savings. Finally after about nine months of incarceration, an inmate may be promoted to a Grade 4 prisoner and receive fifty-five cents per working day, twenty cents of which is placed into savings. Upon release the inmate has his savings supplemented, if necessary, so that he has at least ten dollars savings. Sometimes, transportation to his residence is also provided.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>See for example, W. T. McGrath, "Prison Pay and Discharge Provision in Canada", Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, Vol. 7 No. 1, January, 1965, pp. 55-65. (Previous issues known as Canadian Journal of Corrections).

## (v) The Limitations of Parole

The National Parole Board reports that in 1969, there were 4,373 inmates in federal penitentiaries eligible to be considered for parole. Of these, 1,089 or 25 per cent were reviewed automatically, even though they did not apply for parole. The balance of the inmates eligible to be considered for parole (3,284) did apply and of these 1,877 or 57 per cent were granted parole.<sup>33</sup>

In the provincial institutions parole cases are not reviewed automatically. An application must be submitted either by the inmate himself, or someone also on his behalf. Of the 4,397 applications received by provincial parole boards, 3,062 inmates (or about 70 per cent) in provincial institutions were granted parole.<sup>34</sup>

The same Annual Report also noted the fact that the National Parole Board has granted parole to 28,883 inmates since it came into existence in 1959. During the same eleven year period only 3,310 parolees (or 11.5 per cent) had been returned to prison before their parole expired. Of these, 1,564 parolees had their parole revoked for misbehaviour or for the commission of a minor offence, while 1,746 had parole forfeited for the commission of an indictable offence. Therefore the propor-

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<sup>33</sup>Canada, National Parole Board: Annual Report, 1969, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970) p. 4.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

tion of parole completions to parole releases is 89 per cent.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, when we examine the recidivism rate of the adult male inmates who were sentenced during 1969 to Canada's penitentiaries we find that imprisonment alone seems to have done a relatively poor job of rehabilitating offenders.<sup>36</sup>

Of the 4,057 inmates sentenced to penitentiaries across Canada in 1969, 257 had three previous penitentiary commitments, 253 had four, and 528 had from six to ten previous penitentiary commitments. Moreover 70 per cent or 3,189 of those sentenced during the same year had previously served at least one prison term.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>36</sup>D. B. S. Institution Statistics, 1969-70, p.26-27.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.



### 3. Survey of Relevant Research

#### (1) Poverty and Crime

During the past century, many studies have been undertaken to examine the relationship between crime rates and periods of economic depression and crime rates and socioeconomic class. Some of these studies might be noted here, since they have some bearing on the present study.

In 1941, Warner and Lunt conducted a survey of the adult criminals in an east coast city.<sup>38</sup> They found that while unskilled and semi-skilled workers constituted only 57 per cent of the city's population, 90 per cent of arrests during a seven year period were arrests from these two occupational groups. In another study, Caldwell<sup>39</sup> found that 33.4 per cent of male delinquents and 52.7 per cent of female delinquents in Wisconsin correctional institutions, came from homes where either one or both parents were unskilled. This was a considerably higher percentage in both cases than the percentages from other occupational categories.

Sellin<sup>40</sup> summarized and appraised some of the earlier studies which examined the relationship between crime

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<sup>38</sup>William L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 373-377.

<sup>39</sup>M. G. Caldwell, "The Economic Status of Delinquent Boys in Wisconsin", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 37, (September 1931), pp. 231-239.

<sup>40</sup>Thorsten Sellin, Research Memorandum on Crime in Depression, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937) see also W. A. Bonger, Criminality and Economic Conditions, Trans. H. P. Horton, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1916).

and economic conditions. He felt that no definite conclusions could be drawn from these studies because the methods used were poorly devised and the indices of both crime and business conditions varied widely.

However, Sutherland and Cressey<sup>41</sup> also review some earlier studies<sup>42,43,44</sup> concerning the relationship between crime and economic conditions. Their conclusions, briefly summarized by the researchers are as follows,

1. The general crime rate does not increase significantly in periods of economic depression.
2. Property crimes involving violence show a tendency to increase in periods of depression, but property crimes involving no violence show only a very slight and inconsistent tendency to increase in depression periods.
3. Crimes against the person show no consistent relationship to the business cycle.
4. Juvenile delinquency tends to increase in periods of prosperity and to decrease during periods of depression.

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<sup>41</sup>Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Criminology, 8th edition, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1970), pp. 225-226.

<sup>42</sup>Albert H. Hobbs, "Relationship Between Criminality and Economic Conditions", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. 34, (May, 1943), pp. 5-10.

<sup>43</sup>James F. Short Jr., "A Note on Relief Programs and Crime During the Depression", American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, (April, 1952), pp. 226-229 also see James F. Short Jr., "A Social Aspect of the Business Cycle Re-examined: Crime". Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Vol. 20, (April, 1952), pp. 36-41.

<sup>44</sup>Lowell J. Carr, Delinquency Control, (New York: Harper, 1950), pp. 83-89. See also Paul Wiers, "Wartime Increases in Michigan Delinquency", American Sociological Review, Vol. 10, (August, 1945), pp. 515-523 and also David Bogen "Juvenile Delinquency and Economic Trend", American Sociological Review, Vol. 9, (April 1949), pp. 178-184.

There may be an element of bias in official criminal statistics and some conflicting evidence in the conclusions of studies that have attempted to establish a relationship between crime and socioeconomic class and crime and economic conditions. But both Sutherland and Cressey<sup>45</sup> and Wilensky and Lebeaux<sup>46</sup> agree that crime and delinquency seem to be basically working class phenomena.

However, Sutherland and Cressey point out that it is the social accompaniments of poverty and not economic need per se which results in criminal activity.<sup>47</sup>

(ii) Unemployment, Crime and Recidivism

Much time and money has been spent over the last few decades or so, researching the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour. Comparitively little effort has been devoted, however, to examining the rehabilitation of criminals and the prevention of criminal behaviour. Only three research studies have been found which seem particularly relevant to the one aspect of rehabilitation with which this study is particularly concerned, namely the employment problems of released offenders. Before examining these studies, however, we will briefly review another study on the relationship of unemployment and crime; one which has particular relevance to our study.

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<sup>45</sup>Sutherland and Cressey, Criminology, p. 220.

<sup>46</sup>H. L. Wilensky and C. N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. 189.

<sup>47</sup>Sutherland and Cressey, Criminology, p. 227

Glaser and Rice<sup>48</sup> found that the frequency of property crimes committed by adults varies directly with unemployment. With respect to adults aged 21 through 24, the correlation coefficient was 0.51 and for ages 25 through 34, the coefficient was 0.72. However, these researchers also found that the frequency of crimes committed by juveniles varies inversely with unemployment - their findings showed a correlation coefficient of -0.62.

Glaser and Rice suggests that their findings explain why earlier studies failed to demonstrate the important relationship between crime and unemployment. Earlier researches had combined juvenile crime rates with adult crime rates. By so doing, the relationship of adult crime rates with unemployment was therefore decreased and probably even concealed.<sup>49</sup>

In a later work, Glaser deals more directly with the employment problems of released offenders. He suggests that:

"it seems reasonable to infer that employment was usually a major factor making possible an integrated style of life which included non-recidivism, successful marriage and satisfaction in other social relationships".<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Daniel Glaser and Kent Rice, "Crime, Age and Employment", in the Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, edited by Marvin E. Wolfgang, Leonard Savitz and Norman Johnston, (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1962), pp. 163-169.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>50</sup>Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, (New York, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1964), p. 333. Hereinafter referred to as "Parole System".

The most recidivistic category of offenses was found to be that of crimes against property not involving violence (larceny, burglary, auto theft, and forgery).<sup>51</sup> Glaser found, too, that those releasees who subsequently offended were much more often unemployed (31 per cent) during their first three months out of prison than were those who had no subsequent offenses (13 per cent).<sup>52</sup>

Some of the more concrete and relevant findings of Glaser's study are expressed in the following propositions:

1. Regular work during imprisonment for even as little as one year, would be the longest and most continuance employment experience that most prisoners, and especially the younger prisoners, have ever had.
2. Regularity of prior employment is more closely related, than type of work previously performed, to the post release success of prisoners in avoiding further felonies.
3. At present the post release employment of at least half the men released from prison does not involve a level of skill that requires an appreciable amount of prior training, but for the minority who gain skills in prison at which they can find a post release vocation, prison work and training is a major rehabilitative influence.<sup>53</sup>

These propositions are all backed by extensive research. Glaser's most important conclusion is in agreement

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 508.

with that of other researchers;<sup>54,55,56</sup>

"unemployment may be among the principal causal factors involved in recidivism of adult male offenders".<sup>57</sup>

A slight but significant departure from earlier studies on the relationship between crime and poverty, unemployment and recidivism, in Pownall's<sup>58</sup> more recent report concerning factual knowledge about released prisoner's experiences during the post-release period and the extent of unemployment among released offenders. While the Pownall study substantiated the findings of Glaser and some of the earlier studies, his research found that his sample of released offenders had a higher rate of unemployment than the previously mentioned studies. It was found that as a group, released offenders contributed significantly to the unemployment rate in the United States. A sample survey taken in June, 1964, revealed that only 83.3 per cent of the federal parolees and mandatory releasees were employed, while during the same period 94.8 per cent of the national civilian labour

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<sup>54</sup>Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior", American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, (April, 1959), pp. 164-176.

<sup>55</sup>R. K. Merton, "Social Conformity, Deviation, and Opportunity Structures: A comment on the Contributions of Dubin and Cloward", American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, (April, 1959), pp. 177-189.

<sup>56</sup>George A. Pownall, Employment Problems of Released Prisoners, Washington, D. C. : (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 3-4. (Hereinafter referred to as "Employment Problems").

<sup>57</sup>Glaser, Parole System, p. 508.

<sup>58</sup>Pownall, Employment Problems, p. 47.

force were employed.<sup>59</sup> In terms of unemployment, only 5.2 per cent of the American national labour force was unemployed, but 16.7 per cent of the parolees and releasees were unemployed. "Of those males who are employed", says the report, "a noticeably smaller proportion of released male prisoners than of males in the national labour force are employed on full-time jobs (63 per cent compared with 81 per cent) and a larger percentage are employed on part-time jobs (20 per cent compared with 9 per cent)".<sup>60</sup>

Pownall also included in his report a survey of unemployment in two American cities, Baltimore and Philadelphia. He compares the unemployment rates for released federal offenders with the unemployment rates of male persons in both of the cities' labour forces for October, 1965.

The unemployment rate of releasees in Baltimore of 13.7 per cent was over four times as great as the unemployment rate for males in the general Baltimore population. The rate of 15.0 per cent for released prisoners in Philadelphia was nearly five times as great as the unemployment rate for males in the general Philadelphia population.<sup>61</sup>

As for the kinds of jobs which released offenders obtain, Pownall's figures indicate that the majority, 66 per cent, were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs,

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

while nearly 80 per cent of those employed part-time were working in unskilled, service or operative occupations.<sup>62</sup> Pownall also points out that compared to the national median income of \$465.58 per month at the time of his study, the median monthly income for his sample of employed releasees was only \$250.00.<sup>63</sup>

Age and education also affect the employment status of released offenders. Offenders under age twenty had the highest degree of unemployment, 36 per cent, while the thirty-five to forty-four age group had the highest rate of employment.<sup>64</sup> The more education the offender had, the better his chances were for securing employment. Releasees with ninth grade or less had an employment rate of 79.9 per cent, but releasees with grade twelve or more had an employment rate of 90.8 per cent.<sup>65</sup>

Pownall also found that employment rates of released offenders varied with the extent of a releasee's criminal record. He suggests that having a long criminal record is also associated with having an unstable work pattern, limited prior work experience and little or no employable skills. Those inmates released without any prior prison commitments had a full-time employment rate of 49.7 per cent.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 83.



Employment experience significantly affects the releasees employment status. Pownall found that only 53 per cent of those who had never been employed before incarceration, had full time employment upon release. On the other hand, 76 per cent of those whose last job prior to incarceration had continued two years or more had full-time post-release employment.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, those ex-offenders who had been able to remain on any job for two years or more, prior to commitment, were employed 90 per cent of the time.

Releasees who had prior employment experience at jobs which require a greater degree of skill, were more likely to find employment at full-time jobs than were those releasees whose last job experience was in semi- or unskilled jobs.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

#### 4. Summary

The continuing rise in crime rates, especially in crimes against property, and the increase in recidivism, all seem to point to the failure of our correctional system in rehabilitating inmates and curbing criminal behaviour.

At the same time, more and more inmates are being released on parole. With the advent of mandatory parole, a more viable community corrections program must be developed, to meet social, psychological and economic needs of released offenders. Modern correctional theory places more emphasis on reintegration and treatment and less emphasis on punishment as a means of coping with the social problem of crime.

If the released offender desires to avoid associating with crime and criminal elements, his motivation must be sustained by the experience that law-abiding behaviour is indeed worthwhile and valuable. The ex-inmate, therefore, must be given the skills and other opportunities that would bring him economic security and self-respect. In other words, employment with a decent living wage, may be an effective means of curbing recidivism and preventing crime.

Therefore, this study aims to examine the released offender's skills, education and work experience and the relationship of these to his post release employment. Past studies indicate that these are important variables in

determining the releasees' employment opportunities.

The researchers believe that this study can contribute significantly to much needed information about the employment problems and difficulties of released offenders in Canada. In particular, it will give insight into the employment experiences of parolees in Essex and Kent counties in Ontario.

## II RESEARCH DESIGN

### 1. Purpose

As stated earlier, the major purpose of this research is to study the employment experiences of parolees in the Windsor area. It was reasoned that employment plays a major part in preventing crime generally and more specifically in reducing recidivism. Too, this must be employment that is consistent and in accord with the parolees' skills. The researchers realize that earnings are a part of satisfactory employment, but information on earnings was not generally available from our sample of files. The specific aims of this study are to determine the employment experiences of parolees, relate the significance of the pre-release skill training, academic education and employment experience of the offender to these employment experiences and relate the significance of in-prison academic education, skill training and employment to these same employment experiences.

In addition to an analysis of the employment status of the parolees, certain demographic data derived from the sample is also analysed. Specifically, parolees' marital status, number of dependents and criminal history is examined.

## 2. Hypothesis and Working Definitions:

(i) Hypothesis: The specific hypothesis of this study is:

The parolees employment experience since his most recent release is not significantly related to the skills, work experience and education he acquired before his most recent release, nor is it significantly related to the skills, experience and education the released offender acquired during his most recent incarceration.

To test the hypothesis, the types of training the offender received prior to his primary offense and his prior employment experiences were correlated and checked for significance against the categories of employment and employment experiences held following his most recent release. Multiple correlation analysis and the Chi-square test of significance were used. These operations were carried out by computer, using a program developed by the University of California in Los Angeles' Health Sciences Computer Facility (BIMED program number BMD08D).

### (ii) Working Definitions

Quite a number of terms in this study are used in special ways, and these will be defined first. The checklist items used as indicators of pre-prison academic education, skill training and employment; in-prison academic education, skill training and employment, and post-release employment will then be reviewed.

The sample used consisted of parolees, or more correctly paroled inmates. A parolee is defined as, "a person to whom parole, namely authority under the Parole Act to be an inmate at large during his term of imprisonment, is granted."<sup>1</sup> A parolee, then is a person who is released from prison to serve the balance of his sentence in the community. A parole supervisor is a "person appointed to guide and supervise a paroled inmate."<sup>2</sup>

Where reference is made to released offenders or releasees, it is meant, more generally, all persons who at some time in their life were incarcerated, but who are now in the community, either having completed their sentence, or in the process thereof in the community.

An inmate is "a person who has been convicted of an offence under an Act of Parliament of Canada and is under sentence of imprisonment for that offence."<sup>3</sup>

All those in the sample were on parole at the time the data was collected. The offence for which they were on parole, and for which they were incarcerated prior to parole, is referred to as the primary or most recent offence. Similarly, primary incarceration or prison term means the parolees' most recent period of incarceration prior to the period of parole he was serving at the time the data was collected.

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<sup>1</sup>Canada, "Parole Act". p. 319.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Academic education means primary, secondary, university or community college education not specifically connected with any well-defined skill or trade. Skill training means any type of course, given at a technical or vocational school or college, in prison, an apprenticeship or in any other form, where training for a skill or trade, as against academic education, as the primary goal. Employment experience is any type of work experience, either in the community at large or in prison.

When reference is made to pre-prison or pre-primary offence academic education, skill training or employment experience, the education, training and experience prior to the most recent incarceration is meant. Similarly in-prison education, training and experience means academic education, skill training and employment experience received during the parolees' most recent incarceration.

Post-release employment means employment held following the inmates release from prison and while the person is still on parole.

It was important in this study to be able to gauge whether or not the parolee was "satisfactorily" employed following release. Earlier comments indicated that this is important from the point of view of recidivism. The Pownall Study<sup>4</sup> indicated that certain aspects of post-release employment were important in this regard, and

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<sup>4</sup>Pownall, Employment Problems, p. 11.

these were used as guidelines for determining which items from our checklist we should use.<sup>5</sup>

Following Pownall, ten items from our checklist were chosen as being good indicators of post-release employment experiences. These were: number of jobs held since most recent release; reasons for immediate post-release employment; length of unemployment following last release before first job obtained; length of longest continuous unemployment; number of unemployment periods lasting one week or more since most recent release; where or how the first post-release job was obtained, how long it lasted, and why it was terminated; parolees employment status at the time the data was collected; and the parolee's regularity of employment since his most recent release.<sup>6</sup> In addition, type of post-release job desired and type of first post-release job obtained were used as checks on the types of jobs held following release.<sup>7</sup> This cluster of twelve items was considered to be most indicative of post-release employment experiences.

The first ten items referred to were checked for significance against the following items, which are clustered according to the overall variables of which they

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<sup>5</sup>See Appendix "A". The Checklist will be explained more fully below.

<sup>6</sup>Items 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43 (a), 43 (c), 43 (d), 46 and 48 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>7</sup>Items 36 and 43 (b) in the checklist, Appendix "A".



are most indicative:

- marital status, number and type of dependents.<sup>8</sup>
- criminal history: number of separate commitments: primary offence by type (Appendix "C"); predominant criminal behaviour by type (Appendix "D"); age of parolee at first arrest and age at most recent release from incarceration.<sup>9</sup>
- pre-prison academic education, skill training and employment experiences.<sup>10</sup>
- in-prison academic education, skill training and employment experiences.<sup>11</sup>
- length of most recent sentence and time served at release from most recent incarceration.<sup>12</sup>

In addition, type of post-release job desired and type of first post-release job obtained were correlated and checked for significance against type of pre-prison skill training, types of pre-prison employment and types of in-prison employment and skill training.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Items 4, 5 and 6 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>9</sup>Items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 in the checklist Appendix "A". Appendix "C" classifies offences according to the format used by the Canadian Dominion Bureau of Statistics while Appendix "D" classifies offences according to the format used by the Ontario Department of Correctional Services.

<sup>10</sup>Items 12, 14, 15, 17 (a ii), 20 (a), 21, 22 (a), 23, 25 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>11</sup>Items 28 (iii), 29, 31 (ii), 31 (iii), in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>12</sup>Items 33 and 34 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>13</sup>Items 17 (i), 19, 20 (b), 22 (b), 28 (i), 30 (i) and 31 (i) in the checklist, Appendix "A".

### 3. Population and Sample

This study looks to the employment experiences of released criminal offenders. Thus it was necessary to find a sample of released offenders about whom sufficient information regarding their post-release employment experiences was known to permit accurate statistical analysis. Earlier, reference was made to parole and its place in the Canadian corrections scene. Many people who are convicted and sentenced to prison are released before the expiry of their sentence, to serve the balance of their sentence in the community under the authority of the National Parole Board. The specific agency designated by the Board to provide supervision and guidance until final discharge is granted, might be the local office of the National Parole Service, the John Howard Society, or perhaps another community agency. The files that are maintained on these released prisoners, who are known as parolees<sup>14</sup>, cover the person's past history and institutional experience and also document the parolees current experience in the community.

Because ample information is available on such persons, it was decided to use an appropriate sample of parolees to investigate their post-release employment difficulties. The employment experiences of parolees

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<sup>14</sup>When we refer to parolees subsequently in this paper, we mean, unless otherwise noted, those released on parole, as explained in the introductory chapter. We are not referring to minimum parole, day parole, or any of the other varieties referred to earlier.

cannot be said to be truly representative of those of released offenders generally. Those who are not released from prison until the expiry of their sentence and who thus are not released on parole, are perhaps in a different category, since parole is a privilege that is granted partly due to an inmate's good behaviour. Investigation of parolee's experience may, however, cast some light on the difficulties faced by all released offenders and may provide directions for future research.

The study was based, then, on an analysis of all active files maintained by the National Parole Service in their Windsor Office as of April 15, 1971. A total of 97 files were considered active on that date. All the files used, concerned male parolees. This sample represents almost all the male parolees in Essex and Kent counties on that date. Some 35 National Parole Service cases were supervised by the local branch of the John Howard Society on this date. Also a small number of cases (approximately 6) were supervised by the local office of the Ontario Department of Correctional Services for the National Parole Board on this date. Though it might have been useful and convenient to include such cases in our study, it would have introduced other variables - namely differing agency approaches to the parolee - which would have been difficult to incorporate.

In essence, then, the sample we used was the total population of parolees in the counties of Essex and Kent as of April 15, 1971, who were supervised through the Windsor office of the National Parole Service.

#### 4. Data Collection

Data was collected from the files with the use of a checklist.<sup>15</sup> The checklist was designed to examine the following items: the employment experiences of the parolees, both prior to and after their most recent incarceration; the background and social characteristics of the parolees; and their employment and training experiences while in prison. The checklist was made up largely by the two researchers of this study though about one fourth of the items were derived or adopted from the Pownall study.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the files contained the following materials, and these were the usual source of our data:

(i) Cumulative Summary - of the offender's criminal, social, academic, work and prison history, along with an assessment of the environment to which he would return if paroled. Different parts of the summary are prepared by various people and submitted to the National Parole Board while the offender is still in prison in order to assess whether parole should be granted to the offender.

(ii) Parole supervisors' post release reports - prepared approximately every three months while the person is on parole. These cover such things as the parolees work and social situation, his financial position, response to counselling and so on.

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<sup>15</sup>See Appendix "A".

<sup>16</sup>Pownall, Employment Problems, pp. 248-284.

(iii) Institutional reports - there are usually a number of reports on file from the penitentiaries where the offender has been incarcerated. These comment on his adjustment to prison, skills learned, and so on.

(iv) R. C. M. P. reports - almost all files had a report from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Statistics Office. This is a comprehensive outline of the person's known criminal history.

Information was coded from the parolee's file on to computer coding forms and then key-punched on to cards. The tabulations presented in this study were produced from the processing of these cards. Each researcher completed about fifty of these forms, and spot reliability checks were carried out by each researcher on the other's data collection. Information was not always documented in a consistent manner or order and occasionally contradictory information was contained on the files, which required further assessment to determine which information was correct. Also it was not always clear which information on the files had been verified and which had not. Information on the files was assumed to be factual and accurate, but the researchers had no way of verifying the accuracy of this information. In about ten per cent of the files, information on employment was not kept in a consistent manner. Information on the institutional experience and training of some parolees was missing. Generally, however, there was enough information for the researchers to make

an appropriate coding, but on some ten per cent of the files, some inferences had to be made. When no information was available at all, this was so coded.

### III FINDINGS

#### 1. Employment Experiences of Released Offenders

In this section, we will examine the employment experiences of our sample of parolees. Later sections will relate our findings on marital status; pre-prison academic education, skill training and work experience; and in-prison academic education, skill training and work experience to the findings discussed in this section.

Out of the ninety-seven parolees included in the research project, twenty-two had never been employed since release while the remaining seventy-five had found some kind of employment for a period lasting one week or more. At the time of the study, thirty-five parolees were unemployed, while forty-three were employed, seven were students, four were classified as unable to work, and the employment status of eight was not known. The number who had not gained employment at any time following release, (22 out of 97 or 22.7 per cent), is very high when compared to unemployment rates that normally prevail in Canada. At the time of the study, the employment rate in Canada was unusually high<sup>1</sup>, and this seemed to be reflected in the findings. It was noted that twenty-two of the sample never held a job of any kind, while thirty-five parolees

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<sup>1</sup>6.6 per cent in January, 1971, see p. 4 above.

(over 36 per cent) were unemployed at the time of the study. This extensive unemployment rate occurred at the same time as the high rate of nation-wide unemployment. This may indicate how vulnerable our sample was to economic fluctuations, and thus to lack of job opportunities. Item 38 in the checklist (Appendix "A") asked what reason was given for a parolee's immediate post-release unemployment. The results showed that twenty-five of the sample were thought by their parole supervisors to have had immediate post-release unemployment specifically because of prevailing economic conditions.

Seventy-three of the sample had a job within two months following release. However, while most of the parolees were employed within a few weeks after release, the employment pattern of most of the sample was extremely inconsistent. Only thirty-two held only one job during their post-release period; the rest had either never held a job at all following their release (twenty-two), or had been in two or more jobs. More specifically, fifteen held two jobs, seven held three, nine held four, six held five or more, and information was not available for seven. The thirty-two who held only one job did not necessarily work throughout their post-release period. It was determined that only thirteen of the ninety-seven worked steadily and without interruption from the time of their release to the time the data was collected for this study.



The same lack of consistency obtains in relation to the amount of unemployment experienced by the sample. Seventy-one of the sample had one, two or three unemployment periods and twelve had four or more periods of unemployment. Thirteen cases had no unemployment periods, as noted above, while in one case, the number of unemployment cases was not clear. Most of these periods of unemployment were more than three weeks in length. Sixty-nine of the parolees had unemployment periods longer than three weeks, while thirty-one of the sixty-nine had unemployment periods of three months or more. Only sixteen of the sample managed to retain their first job for six months or more, as noted in Table 1.

TABLE 1

## RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE;

LENGTH OF TIME FIRST JOB HELD FOLLOWING  
MOST RECENT RELEASE FROM PRISON

Length of Time	Number of Parolees
No employment since release	22
Up to one month	15
One month to less than three months	25
Three months to less than six months	15
Six months to less than one year	8
One year to less than two years	6
Two years or more	2
Not known	4
Total	<u>97</u>

Item 48 of the checklist was designed to give some idea of the overall employment experiences of the parolees. This item showed that only forty-two of the ninety-seven parolees, or less than half, could be classified as having

been regularly employed - that is to say, employed more than 75 per cent of the time since their release. Twenty-four parolees were employed between 50 and 75 per cent of the time since release, while thirty-one were employed less than 50 per cent of the time.

Most of the parolees who secured employment had done so through their own efforts or with the help of their family or friends (Table 2). Significantly, of the seventy-five parolees who had worked at least once since release, only thirteen found jobs through community agencies (trade unions, Canada Manpower Centres or parole officers).

TABLE 2

## RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE:

## FIRST POST-RELEASE JOB - WHERE OR HOW OBTAINED

Source of Employment	Number of Parolees
No job	22
Parole officer	4
Canada Manpower Centre	7
Trade union	2
Family and/or friends	21
Own efforts	36
Other	2
Not known	3
Total	<u>97</u>

The major occupational categories which were used in classifying the types of jobs held by the parolees at various times and in classifying the types of training they received, were service occupations, manufacturing and industrial occupations, construction occupations and other

occupations, which included skilled occupations and employment in agriculture, forestry and fishing<sup>2</sup>. Table 3 indicates the types of employment acquired by the sample upon their release.

TABLE 3

## RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE:

TYPE OF FIRST POST-RELEASE EMPLOYMENT  
OBTAINED BY PAROLEES

Type	Percentage
Service occupations	33.0
Manufacturing and Industrial occupations	22.7
Construction and related occupations	16.5
Agriculture, Fishing and Logging	2.1
Skilled jobs	0.0
No employment	22.7
Type not known	3.0
Total	<u>100.0</u>

Few parolees (16.5 per cent) managed to gain employment in such high-paying areas as construction and none acquired skilled jobs. Ten of the twenty-two who found jobs in the manufacturing and industrial area managed to find work only in relatively low-skilled assembly-line or processing occupations. Overall, then, of the seventy-five parolees who worked at some time following release, forty-four (59 per cent) worked at jobs that could be classified as low-skilled and presumably, therefore, as low-paying.

As a whole, the sample had a very poor work record. The overall rate of unemployment was high; very few held

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix "B" for a more detailed breakdown.

only one job, and even fewer held one job throughout the time that they were on parole; most had some periods of unemployment and some had many long periods of unemployment. Most of the jobs that were found were low-skilled and thus presumably low-paying. Only forty-two of the sample were classified as having been employed more than seventy-five per cent of the time since their release. When one thinks of regular employment, one usually thinks of a position that is held without interruption for an extended period of time. It is clear that our sample was not so employed. ✓

2. Marital Status, Criminal History, Age  
and Post-Release Employment

The researchers were interested in noting if there might be any immediate relationships between marital status, age of the parolee, number of dependents, criminal history and the parolees post-release employment experiences. It was felt that a person's marital status might reflect on his stability and thus on his ability to hold a job. Similarly, if a person has dependents, this might influence him to seek employment more vigorously. We wondered if the person's criminal history might have some effect on his employment; perhaps by influencing an employers decision in regards to hiring a parolee.

The variables concerned with parolees marital status, number of dependents and type of dependents (items 4, 5 and 6 in the checklist) were correlated and checked for significance against the ten post-release variables selected as being indicative of post-release work experience.<sup>3</sup>

It was found that about half the parolees (46) were married or living in a common law relationship, while fifty-one were single, divorced, widowed or separated. Of the ninety-seven, eighty-nine were twenty years old or older; and the eight who were younger than this were all single. Thus, of the eighty-one who were twenty years old

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<sup>3</sup>Items 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43 (a), 43 (c), 43 (d), 46, 48 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

or older, forty-six or 53 per cent were married and forty-two or 47 per cent were single. This is a far higher rate of single males than the Canadian male population as a whole. Seventy-six per cent of Canadian males over the age of twenty are married - only 24 per cent are single.<sup>4</sup> Most of the parolees who were married had both a wife and children (31 of 46), and most of them (34 of 46) had four or less dependents.

There were no statistically significant relationships between marital status, type of number or dependents and the ten post-release variables mentioned above. For example, in looking at the relationship between the number of jobs held by the parolees and their marital status we found the following:<sup>5</sup>

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARITAL STATUS AND NUMBER  
OF JOBS HELD BY PERSONS RELEASED ON PAROLE

	Number of Jobs Held			Total n
	No Job	One Job	Two or More Jobs	
Married (and common-law)	9	18	17	44
Not married	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>47</u>
Total	22	32	37	91*

$$x^2 = 2.0, \quad P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 91 (job status was not known in 6 cases)

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<sup>4</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book 1970, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup>The relationship between variables 37 and 4 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

Similarly, in the relationship between marital status and regularity of post-release employment, we found the following:<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARITAL STATUS AND REGULARITY OF POST-RELEASE EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS RELEASED ON PAROLE

	Percentage of Time Employed Following Release			Total n
	More than <u>75 %</u>	50 % to <u>75 %</u>	Less than <u>50 %</u>	
Married	20	12	8	40
Not married	22	12	12	46
Total	42	24	20	86*

$$x^2 = 0.04, \quad P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 86 (in 11 cases, parolees were ill or at school)

This table shows that there was very little difference in overall level of employment between parolees who were married and those who were not.

When the researchers looked at the relationship between the post-release variables and whether or not the parolee had dependents, the same lack of statistical significance was discovered.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>The relationship between variables 4 and 48 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>7</sup>The relationship between variables 5 and 37 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

TABLE 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF JOBS HELD FOLLOWING RELEASE  
AND DEPENDENTS OF RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE

	Jobs Held Following Release			Total n
	No Job	One Job	Two or More Jobs	
Parolees with dependents	7	18	15	40
Parolees without dependents	15	14	22	51
Total	22	32	37	91*

$$\chi^2 = 3.79, P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 91 (job status not known in 6 cases)

This table shows that parolees who had dependents, had a slightly better work record, as determined by number of jobs held, than did parolees without dependents, even though the relationship was not statistically significant.

None of the other relationships between the variables dealing with marital status and those dealing with post-release employment were statistically significant - in all cases the Chi-square value was well below the 0.05 level of significance. Nevertheless, the researchers could not escape the impression that there was a relationship between marital status and post-release work experience, with those who were married seeming to have a better work history. For example, in Table 4 there is quite a definite trend for those who are married to hold only one job, as against no job or more than one job. Those who were married had less immediate post-release unemployment and were less affected by the prevailing economic conditions (high unemployment) than were those who were single.



Table 7 illustrates:<sup>8</sup>

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARITAL STATUS AND ONE REASON FOR  
IMMEDIATE POST-RELEASE UNEMPLOYMENT FOR  
RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE

	Post-Release Unemployment Because of Economic <u>Situation</u>	No Immediate <u>Unemployment</u>	Total <u>n</u>
Married	9	14	23
Not married	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>24</u>
Total	25	22	47*

$$\chi^2 = 3.08; P < 0.05$$

It can be seen from this table that those who were married had less unemployment because of the economic situation, and also that more married parolees had no immediate unemployment than did those who were not married.

The parolee's criminal history was another area that while not directly related to the specific area of this study, was also analysed because the researchers felt it might have a bearing on post-release employment. The variables relating to criminal history were checked for significance against the ten post-release variables.<sup>9</sup>

About one third of the sample (32 parolees) had

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<sup>8</sup>The relationship between variables 4 and 38 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>9</sup>Items 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 in the checklist, Appendix "A". These are type of most recent offence, predominant type of criminal behaviour, number of separate commitments, age at first arrest, and age at release of most recent offense.

only one commitment, which in this case meant that their primary (most recent) incarceration was their only sentence in a federal or provincial institution. About two-thirds of the parolees (67) had had only three incarcerations or less, counting the most recent.

By far the greatest number were characterized as having committed offences primarily against property - seventy-six out of the ninety-seven. Only eleven were characterized as having committed offences primarily against the person, while ten were characterized as having offended primarily against public morals and decency or public order and peace.<sup>10</sup> A more comprehensive breakdown of the most recently committed offences of the parolees shows the following:<sup>11</sup>

TABLE 8

## RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE:

## MOST RECENT OFFENCE COMMITTED

Offence	Number
Manslaughter	3
Rape	4
Other sexual offences	2
Wounding with intent and inflicting bodily harm	6
Assault	1
Robbery (with violence)	18
Break and enter	21
Theft of motor vehicle	3

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<sup>10</sup>See Appendix "D", for a more complete breakdown of the offence categories used.

<sup>11</sup>See Appendix "C", for the offence classification used in this table.

TABLE 8 - Continued

Offence	Number
Theft over \$50	11
Theft under \$50	4
Possession of stolen goods	4
Fraud	12
Possession of offensive weapon	1
Other criminal code offences	6
Violation of other federal statutes	1
Total	<u>97</u>

Again, the preponderance of offences were those against property.

The age of our sample is also of some interest. Seventy-four parolees were born later than 1936 - which makes them under thirty-five years of age. Forty-one were under twenty-five at the time the data was collected. The bulk of the sample was arrested first for an adult offence in their sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth year, (44 parolees), while only sixteen were first arrested after they were age twenty-five. Also, most of the parolees (seventy-seven) were under the age of thirty-four at the time of their most recent release. Fifty-three were under age twenty-seven at the time of their most recent release.

There was only one statistically significant relationship between any of these items on criminal history and post-release employment. It was found that those who were arrested first at a later age (age nineteen or older) had a greater probability of holding a job than did those arrested first under the age of nineteen. The relation-

ship was significant to the 0.05 level.<sup>12</sup> There seemed to be no significant relationship between the number of commitments a parolee had, and whether or not he could find work upon release.

The observations from this section which have relevance to the question of post-release employment can be briefly summarized. The sample is basically a youthful one that has been engaged in minimal criminal activity, most of it directed against property, since their middle teens. There is no evidence from our sample that would justify the popular connotations of violence and consistent anti-social behaviour associated with the word "criminal". The parolees' criminal history had little effect on their post-release employment experiences. Only the relationship between post-release employment and prior criminal history proved to be statistically significant as is detailed on page 55.

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A greater number of the parolees than would be expected were not married. The work history following release of those who were married and who had dependents was very little better than those who were single, and none of the relationships were significant.

The picture which begins to emerge then, from these findings and the preceding section, is that our

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<sup>12</sup> $\chi^2 = 4.78, P. < 0.05$ . This is the relationship between variables 7 and 37 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

sample could be characterized as being a group of people who were low-skilled, with uneven work histories, who lacked positive and enduring relationships with others, and who even had unsuccessful criminal histories. ✓  
Apparently, these are people who are generally immature and inadequate in a number of areas, not hardened "criminals" with a clear sense of their mission to thwart societal values.

3. Pre-Prison Academic Education, Skill Training,  
Employment Experience and Post-Release Employment

(i) Pre-Prison Academic Education: A person's first experience with formal education is normally during childhood. In Ontario, by the age of sixteen, a person has normally completed elementary education and is well into secondary education. This first formed academic education provides the ground-work for all later education and training.

The bulk of the parolees in this study did not make it to high school. Sixty-two (64.0 per cent) of the ninety-seven parolees received grade nine education or less in their childhood years. Only seven (7.2 per cent) of the sample completed high school, and of this group, only three (3 per cent) went on to higher education. The balance (eighteen persons or 18.5 per cent) had some high school beyond grade nine. Only seven of the sample had any further formal academic education other than that which they received in high school, and in only one of these cases was the education at the post-high school level. Thus eighty-nine, (or 91.8 per cent of the sample) had no formal academic education beyond that received as a child; which in the bulk of the sample was meagre.

(ii) Pre-Prison Skill Training: The same general picture is found in examining the skill training of the persons in the sample. Seventy-five persons (or 77.5 per cent) had no formal skill training prior to their most

recent incarceration. Eight of the remaining twenty-two (8.2 per cent) had received formal skill training during prior prison terms, so that only fourteen had taken any skill training on their own initiative in the community. It will be recalled that sixty-five persons in the sample had at least one incarcerations prior to their present one, so that one wonders what opportunity or encouragement is provided to institutional inmates to take skill training either in prison or in the community following their release. Of the twenty-two who had some formal skill training, seven had some training in the machine trades occupations. The remaining fifteen were spread over many of the remaining occupational categories.<sup>13</sup>

(iii) Pre-Prison Employment Experiences: Item 20 (a) in the checklist (see Appendix "A") was designed to determine how long the parolee had worked on the longest job he had ever held prior to his most recent incarceration. It was found that four of the parolees had not worked at all prior to their most recent incarceration. In twenty-two cases (22.7 per cent) the length of the parolees' longest pre-primary offence job was not known. This usually meant that the person's job history was vague. Because of this, such facts as "length of longest pre-primary offence job held" were impossible to determine.

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<sup>13</sup>See Appendix "B", for a fuller outline of the occupational categories.

Only nine (9.3 per cent) had managed to hold a job for longer than five years, while thirty (31.0 per cent) had managed to hold the same for a period of between one and five years. The balance (23 parolees, or 21.8 per cent) had only held jobs for less than twelve months in duration.

Item 22 (a) in the checklist (Appendix "A") asked for the length of the parolees' last job before his most recent incarceration, and again most of the jobs were found to be of short duration. Information was not available in twenty-five cases, again because of vague job histories, and of the remaining seventy-two parolees (74.3 per cent), forty-four (45.3 per cent) had worked less than twelve months at their last job before their most recent incarceration. Only twenty-four (24.8 per cent) worked more than one year, and as mentioned earlier, four did not work at all prior to their most recent prison term.

Only thirty-seven parolees, (or 38.2 per cent) were employed immediately prior to their most recent incarceration. Twenty-seven (27.8 per cent) had been unemployed, with two of this group having been unemployed for over a year. In thirty-three (34.0 per cent) cases, it was not known whether or for how long the parolee had been unemployed, but again the reason for this was because the parolee's work history was so vague.

In approximately six of these thirty-three cases was there doubt as to whether the parolee had been



employed or not. In the remaining cases it was clear that the parolee had been unemployed, but the length of time of this unemployment was in doubt.

Thirty-four (35.1 per cent) of the sample were found to have worked relatively regularly, (that is three quarters to full-time) in the two years prior to the commencement of their most recent incarceration. In only five cases was it impossible to determine how regularly the person had worked. In the remaining fifty-eight cases, the parolees' work histories were very vague, as has already been mentioned. However, it was clear that they had not been working steadily. To reiterate, only thirty-four parolees or (35.2 per cent) could be classified as having worked at a job as a full-time employed person.

(iv) Statistical Findings: As in the other sections dealing with findings, there were few statistically significant relationships and no high correlations between the variables.

There was no significant correlation between the type of post-release job desired by the parolees or the type of job they first found upon release and any of the following: type of skill training taken prior to primary incarceration; predominant type of employment held prior to last incarceration; type of longest pre-primary offence job held or type of last pre-primary offence job held. For example, the correlation between the type of skill training

taken prior to the present incarceration and the type of first job held following most-recent release was - 0.07; while the correlation between the predominant type of work held prior to the most recent incarceration and the type of the first job held following the most recent release was - 0.02.

There were no statistically significant relationships between the parolees' pre-prison academic education and their post-release work experiences. For example, in Table 9, the relationship between the parolees' pre-prison academic education as the number of post-release jobs held is illustrated.<sup>14</sup>

TABLE 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF JOBS HELD FOLLOWING MOST RECENT INCARCERATION AND PRE-PRISON ACADEMIC EDUCATION FOR PERSONS ON PAROLE

Pre-Prison Academic Education	Number of Jobs Held			Total <u>n</u>
	No <u>Job</u>	One <u>Job</u>	Two or More <u>Jobs</u>	
Grade 7 or less	8	12	12	32
Grade 8 or more	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>58</u>
Total	21	32	37	90*

$$\chi^2 = 0.5; P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 90. In seven cases, information was not available about one or both of the variables.

Of the thirty-two who had grade seven education or less, eight (25.0 per cent) did not work, twelve (37.5 per cent) held one job and the same number had two or

<sup>14</sup>Items 12 and 37 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

more jobs. About the same percentages of those who had grade eight education or more held no job, one job or two or more jobs, (22.4 per cent, 34.5 per cent and 43.1 per cent respectively).

The relationship between the parolees' pre-prison academic education and their regularity of employment following their most recent incarceration is illustrated in Table 10.<sup>15</sup>

TABLE 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRE-PRISON ACADEMIC EDUCATION AND  
REGULARITY OF POST-RELEASE EMPLOYMENT  
OF PERSONS ON PAROLE

Pre-Prison Academic Education	Regularity of Employment Following Release			Total n
	Employed more than 75% of the time	Employed 50% to 75% of time	Employed less than 50% of time	
Grade 9 or less	31	17	18	66
Grade 10 or more	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>20</u>
Total	42	24	20	86*

$$\chi^2 = 3.9, P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 86 (Information not available on one or both variables in 11 cases).

Eleven of those who had more than grade nine education were regularly employed, while only two were employed less than 50 per cent of the time. Too, a total of thirty-five of those who had grade nine education or

<sup>15</sup>Items 12 and 48 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

less were not regularly employed, versus thirty-one who were employed more than 75 per cent of the time. So few (7.2 per cent) of the ninety-seven parolees had any further academic education,<sup>16</sup> that this variable was not tested for significance against post-release employment experiences.

There were two statistically significant relationships between skill training received by parolees prior to the most recent incarceration and the parolees' post-release employment experiences.<sup>17</sup> Tables 11 and 12 illustrate.

TABLE 11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SKILL TRAINING RECEIVED PRIOR TO MOST RECENT INCARCERATION AND JOB STATUS OF RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE

	Job Status at Time of Study		Total n
	Not Working	Working or Student	
No skill training prior to most recent incarceration	31	33	64
Skill training prior to most recent incarceration	$\frac{4}{35}$	$\frac{16}{49}$	$\frac{20}{84^*}$
Total			

$$\chi^2 = 4.4, P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 84 (In 6 cases, parolees were unemployable and information was lacking in 7 cases).

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<sup>16</sup>Item 14 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

<sup>17</sup>Table 11 is the relationship between items 17(a ii) and 46 in the checklist, and Table 12 is the relationship between items 17 (a ii) and 48 in the checklist, Appendix "A"

Clearly, proportionally more of those persons who had some skill training prior to their most recent incarceration were working at the time of this study (sixteen out of twenty or 75 per cent) than were those who had not had any skill training, (thirty-three out of sixty-four or only 51.5 per cent).

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SKILL TRAINING RECEIVED PRIOR TO MOST RECENT INCARCERATION AND REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT FOLLOWING MOST RECENT RELEASE OF PERSONS ON PAROLE

	Regularity of Employment Following Most Recent Incarceration			Total n
	Employed more than 75% of the time	Employed 50% to 75% of time	Employed less than 50% of time	
No skill training prior to most recent incarceration	32	20	23	75
Skill training prior to most recent incarceration	$\frac{16}{48}$	$\frac{4}{24}$	$\frac{1}{24}$	$\frac{21}{96}^*$
Total				

$$\chi^2 = 8.3, P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 96 (In one case, information was not available.)

Table 12 shows that while sixteen out of the twenty-one who had some formal skill training were employed over 75 per cent of the time following release (76.2 per cent), only thirty-two of the seventy-five who had no formal skill training, or 42.6 per cent, worked regularly following their most recent release.

This seems to be the only area of the study where there is some clearly positive relationship between prior employment-associated experiences and post-release employment experiences. Those who received some skill training prior to their most recent incarceration had a better chance of holding employment following release than those parolees who did not have this training. Seven items concerning academic education, skill training and employment experience prior to most recent incarceration were tested for significance against the ten post-release items,<sup>18</sup> and three were statistically significant.

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<sup>18</sup>Pre-prison academic education, pre-prison skill training, length of longest pre-primary offence job, regularity of employment during two years prior to most recent incarceration, length of last job prior to most recent incarceration, length of longest continuous employment period prior to most recent incarceration, and length of time parolee was unemployed prior to most recent incarceration (items 12, 17 (a ii), 20 (a), 21, 22 (a), 23 and 25 in the checklist, Appendix "A") were checked against number of jobs held following release, reasons for immediate post-release unemployment, length of unemployment following most recent release, length of longest continuous unemployment, number of post-release unemployment periods, length of time first post-release job was held, reasons for quitting first job, where and how first job was obtained, job status at time of study and regularity of post-release employment. (Items 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43 (a), 43 (d), 46 and 48 in the checklist, Appendix "A")

Two of these concern the relationship between skill training the parolees' received prior to their most recent incarceration, and their work experiences following their most recent release. Considering the generally inconsistent and patternless character of the parolees' employment history and the factors associated therewith, this fact seems to be of some importance and possibly merits further attention.

The other significant positive relationship was that between the parolees' regularity of pre-prison employment and number of jobs held following release.<sup>19</sup> Table 13 illustrates:

TABLE 13  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REGULARITY OF PRE-PRISON  
EMPLOYMENT AND NUMBER OF JOBS HELD  
FOLLOWING RELEASE OF  
PERSONS ON PAROLE

Number of Jobs Held Following Release	Regularity of Pre-Prison Employment			Total n
	Employed more than 75% of the time	Employed 50% to 75% of time	Employed less than 50% of time	
None	4	8	8	20
One	17	10	4	31
Two or more	12	19	4	35
Total	<u>33</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>86*</u>

$$\chi^2 = 11.4, P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 86 (Information not available in 11 cases).

<sup>19</sup>Items 21 and 37 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

Those who were regularly employed (that is more than 75 per cent of the time) prior to their most recent incarceration, appeared to have a better chance of holding only one job than did those who worked less regularly (seventeen out of forty-one or 41.5 per cent). This group also had less chance of not holding a job (four out of twenty or 25 per cent) than did others, while those who were irregularly employed (between 50 per cent and 74 per cent of the time) held the best chance of holding two or more jobs following release, (nineteen out of thirty-five or 54.3 per cent ).

(v) Summary: The parolees in this sample were found to have had little academic education beyond the elementary level, and very little skill training, prior to their most recent incarceration. Their work histories prior to their most recent incarceration were characterized by jobs of short duration and low skill, and a great many were unemployed both at the time they were arrested in connection with their most recent incarceration, and quite often before this only thirty-four (35.1 per cent) of the sample could be said to have worked at all regularly prior to their most recent incarceration; that is, held a job in the usual sense of being employed full time at the same occupation over an extended period of time.

There was no similarity between the types of jobs parolees held before their most recent incarceration, and those held after release. Also there was no similarity



between the types of skill training taken prior to the most recent incarceration and the types of jobs held following release.

However, there was a significant relationship between whether a parolee had taken some skill training, of whatever type, before his most recent incarceration, and whether or not he held a job and worked regularly following his most recent release. In view of the lack of other statistically significant positive relationships, these findings are of some importance. They point out one definite area of the parolees' lives that has some significant bearing on whether or not they find satisfactory employment following release from prison. There are implications here for skill training programs offered both in prison and in the community, and the inducements offered to offenders to undertake such skill training.

Also, those who worked regularly (from three-quarters to full-time) during the last two years prior to their most recent incarceration, had a better chance of working regularly following release than those who had not worked regularly. Those parolees who did not work regularly prior to incarceration, thus cannot be expected to work regularly following release. More effort should possibly be expended in encouraging such parolees to take further skill training, as an alternative to work, especially since skill training seems to have an effect on regularity of employment.

The first part of the hypothesis can, with an important reservation, be held to be valid. Overall, there is little relationship between the work related experiences of parolees before incarceration and their employment experiences following release. Pre-prison academic education had no bearing on these employment experiences, and neither did most of the pre-prison employment indicators, and there was no similarity in types of jobs parolees held before or after their most recent incarceration. Significantly, however, regularity of employment prior to the most recent incarceration, did have a bearing on post-release employment experience, as did the fact of some skill training of whatever type.

#### 4. In-Prison Academic Education, Skill Training, Work Experience and Post-Release Employment

In this section we will review the in-prison training and experience of the parolees in our sample, and then comment on the relationship between this training and experience and post-release employment.

The majority of our sample, seventy-two out of the ninety-seven, received no formal skill training while serving their most recent sentence. There was no clear pattern in the training received by the other twenty-five; training was distributed across the whole range of occupational categories. Similarly, seventy-six of the sample received no academic schooling while serving their most recent sentence. Eight completed grades eight or nine, seven completed grades ten or eleven, two completed grade five, and only one completed grade twelve. Most of those in the sample had time enough to undertake some academic schooling or skill training. Seventy of the parolees had served more than ten months at the time of their most recent release. The question is, perhaps, were they given the encouragement and opportunity?

When we examine the types of work those in the sample performed while in prison, we find the same sort of pattern that obtained when we looked at categories of jobs held following the parolees' most recent release. Of the forty-three who had both been incarcerated before and worked in prison before, twenty-five worked in service

industries, ten in occupations classified as manufacturing and industrial, six in construction occupations; one in agriculture and one at a skilled occupation.

Similarly, fifty-two of the ninety-seven worked in service occupations during their most recent incarceration, while seventeen worked in manufacturing and industrial occupations, seventeen in construction occupations, nine in agricultural occupations and two did not work.

Sixty-nine of the sample worked at least six months in prison while serving their most recent incarceration. An attempt was made to gauge the attitudes of the parolees while they were working in prison. A parolees' attitude was determined from the comments made by the institution and by his immediate work supervisor on his behaviour, as reported on the institution's report to the Parole Board, which were on file. We found, however, that the comments tended to be rather standardized, which reflected the five point scale used to rate the prisoners.<sup>20</sup> Forty-two of the sample were rated as "very co-operative" while they worked during their most recent incarceration; forty-eight were rated "co-operative"; only four were rated "unco-operative" and another three as "actively un co-operative".

The researchers felt that such a distribution

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<sup>20</sup>Behaviour on the job was rated by the institution as being very co-operative, co-operative, ambivalent, unco-operative or actively unco-operative.

reflects the difficulty faced by most people in classifying so subjective an area as "attitude". It may also reflect the fact that, if a prisoner is rated poorly on his attitude by his work supervisor, then his privileges in prison are curtailed. However, there may be another reason for the consistently high attitude ratings. We have seen that most of our sample are quite immature and inadequate in the outside world. In the more structured setting of the institution, however, the controls in prison might lead them to behave in a quite acceptable manner.

Again, there were no significant relationships between the variables reviewed above and those reviewed in the section on post-release employment experiences. For example, the relationship between academic schooling received in prison during the most recent incarceration and jobs held on release was checked for significance.<sup>21</sup>

TABLE 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACADEMIC SCHOOLING RECEIVED DURING MOST RECENT INCARCERATION AND JOBS HELD ON RELEASE BY RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE

	Jobs Held on Release			Total <u>n</u>
	<u>No Job</u>	<u>One Job</u>	<u>Two or More Jobs</u>	
Did not receive schooling in prison	19	23	32	74
Received schooling in prison	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	<u>22</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>89*</u>

$$x^2 = 4.84, P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 89 (Information was not available on 8 cases).

<sup>21</sup>The relationship between items 29 and 37 in checklist, Appendix "A".

But while the afore mentioned relationship is not significant, it can be seen that seven out of the fifteen who had schooling held one job on release, or 46 per cent, while only twenty-three of the seventy-four who had no schooling held only one job, or 31 per cent.

Similarly, there was no significant relationship between the regularity of employment following release and academic schooling received during the most recent incarceration.<sup>22</sup>

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACADEMIC SCHOOLING RECEIVED DURING MOST RECENT INCARCERATION AND REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT FOLLOWING RELEASE BY RELEASED PERSONS ON PAROLE

	Regularity of Employment			Total n
	More than <u>75%</u>	50% to <u>75%</u>	Less than <u>50%</u>	
Did not receive schooling in prison	6	7	3	16
Received schooling in prison	<u>35</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>67</u>
Total	<u>41</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>83*</u>

$$x^2 = 1.50, P. < 0.05$$

\*n = 83 (Information not available in 14 cases).

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<sup>22</sup>The relationship between variables 29 and 48 in the checklist, Appendix "A".

The same lack of significant relationships was found between all the variables on in-prison academic education, skill training and experience and post-release employment experiences. In some cases, it was not really possible to carry out an accurate Chi-square test, for example in the relationship between attitudes and the post-release variables. Since almost all of the sample rated co-operative or better, it was felt that it would be trivial to test for a relationship between such very slightly different degrees of co-operativeness and post-release work experiences.

The researchers also checked to see if there were any significant correlations between the types of training received in prison, the types of jobs held in prison and the types of post-release jobs held.<sup>23</sup> The correlations in all cases were close to zero. For example, the correlation between the type of work experience during the sample's most recent incarceration and the sample's first post-release job was 0.0982. Other correlations were of that order. The computer was not programmed to calculate correlations between the types of skill training received during the most recent incarceration and post-release job types, because so few parolees had any skill training while in prison.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>The types of jobs held and the types of training received were rated according to Appendix "B".

<sup>24</sup>Seventy-two out of the sample of ninety-seven had no formal skill training in prison.

The researchers were forced to conclude in this section, as well as in earlier sections, that the parolees presented a very inadequate and inconsistent picture. Very few of them had any skill training or formal education in prison, even though most of them had sufficiently long sentences. Did they have the opportunity and encouragement to take such education or training, however?

While there were no significant relationships between training, education and work in prison and post-release employment, we did note a certain similarity in types of work performed in prison and on the "outside" following release. There was a distinct tendency to work in low-skilled jobs such as service industries. Of course, these are primarily the types of employment that might be easiest to provide in prison (cooking, cleaning, tailoring and so on), but they are presumably poorly paid jobs in the outside world.

We feel, too, that the lack of statistically significant relationships and inconsistent work patterns indicates a rather directionless inadequate life style on the part of the parolees. This is a group of people who have little to offer in the way of skills and education, and few resources to deal with the complex modern world. Their prison experiences had little effect either way on their post-release employment, so that the second hypothesis, that there is no relationship between in-prison academic education, skill training and employment, and post-release employment experiences, can be taken to be valid.



#### IV CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

##### (i) Conclusions

Regular employment is a strongly held value in our society. Other aspects of our life which are held to be good, such as academic education and skill training directly support and in turn are supported by the value of employment. In addition, certain other areas of a person's life both contribute to and benefit from his ability to work regularly. Family and other social relationships, help govern a person's ability to tolerate the emotional demands of work.

In addition to these factors, which interrelate closely with the value of work in our society, we are also concerned with the affect of incarceration on a person's work experience. Does incarceration have an affect on a person's ability to find regular employment upon release?

It is within the context of the relationships between these various factors, which have a bearing upon a person's ability to find and hold gainful employment, that the conclusions from this study of the employment experiences of parolees were formulated.

A person's first experience with academic education lays the foundation for all further academic education, skill training, and employment, about two-thirds (64.0 per cent) of the parolees in this study did not

make it to high school, and less than one-tenth (7.2 per cent) of the sample completed high school or better. Over nine-tenths (92.8 per cent) had no further academic education. Over three-fourths (77.5 per cent) of the sample had no skill training prior to their most recent incarceration, and over one-third (36.4 per cent) of the remaining parolees had taken what little skill training they had, during prior incarcerations.

Information concerning the parolees' job experiences prior to their most recent incarceration was generally vague and incomplete, on the records available to the researchers. What was clear, however, was that very few had managed to work on a full-time basis. For example, less than one-half of the sample (40.3 per cent) held any one job for more than one year at any time prior to their most recent incarceration. Of these, less than one-tenth of the sample (9.3 per cent), had held one job for more than five years. In fact, only a little over one-third of the sample (38.2 per cent), were employed immediately prior to their most recent incarceration. Only a little over one-third of the sample (35.1 per cent) could be classified as having worked more than 75 per cent of the time on a steady basis prior to their most recent prison term. In the majority of cases, jobs that were held were low-skilled and thus probably low-paying.

About one-half (5.3 per cent) of the sample were not married and this was found to be a far higher rate of

single males than among the adult male population of Canada as a whole, which is 24 per cent. In addition, the researchers noted, from written material on file, that there was a tendency for those parolees who were married to be involved in inharmonious marriages.

Thus the sample can be seen to have been poorly educated, lacking in skill training and having poor work records. Their apparant lack of stable social relationships presumably left them lacking in social and emotional support resulting in little motivation for regular and consistent work. This appeared to be the quality and the attitude of the sample as they came from prison. Therefore, in the immediate post-release period, at least, they could generally not be expected to be candidates for highly skilled and responsible positions, no matter what their experiences in the community might be.

One-third of the sample (33.0 per cent) had received only one prison commitment, which meant that their primary (most recent) incarceration was their only sentence in a federal or provincial institution. About another one-third (36.1 per cent) had only two or three incarcerations, the remainder (30.9 per cent) having had more than this. About one-tenth of the sample (11.3 per cent) could be characterized as having committed offences primarily against people, while another one-tenth (10.1 per cent) had been involved primarily in crimes related to public morals and decency or public order and peace.

The balance (78.6 per cent) had been involved in crimes against property.

It is apparant that our sample was not a group of accomplished "criminals", in the usual sense of the term. They had few commitments, mostly for relatively minor property offences, and all were on parole, which in itself is an indication that these people could not be considered particularly anti-social or violent. Clearly, the sample generally does not fit in with the common conception of the offender as a dangerous and consistently anti-social person, albeit a rather socially handicapped person.

About three-fourths (74.2 per cent) of the sample received no skill training while serving their most recent sentence, and about the same number (78.3 per cent) received no academic schooling. It was noted that most of the sample (over 70 per cent) had sufficiently long sentences to have become involved in some type of training or education. However, the data did not enable the researchers to determine if the parolees had received either the opportunity or the encouragement to partake of such experiences.

More than two-thirds of the sample (71.1 per cent) worked at least six months while serving their most recent sentence. But most of these jobs were low-skilled service positions, such as cooking, cleaning and tailoring.

Before their most recent incarceration, the parolees seemed to have had little prospect for regular employment. One would have hoped that their experience in the institution would have been able to add something to the parolee's employability, but unfortunately it apparently did not.

Given such a background, how did the parolees fare in the job market following their release from their most recent prison term? Again, the answer has to be that generally speaking, those in the sample did not come close to meeting the usual standards of regular employment. Twenty-two of those in the sample (22.7 per cent) never worked following release, and at the time of the study, thirty-five parolees (36.0 per cent) were unemployed. This was an extremely high rate of unemployment indeed. Of the seventy-five (77.3 per cent) who found some type of employment, only thirty-two (33.0 per cent) held only one job. Of this thirty-two, only thirteen (13.4 per cent) worked steadily and without interruption from the time of their release to the time of the study. Sixty-nine of those in the sample (71.1 per cent) had at least one period of unemployment that lasted longer than three weeks, and in about one-half of these cases there was more than one such period of unemployment following release.

Overall, only forty-two of the ninety-seven parolees (43.3 per cent) or less than one-half of the sample could be classified as having been regularly employed since

their release, that is employed more than 75 per cent of the time.

Less than one-half of the seventy-five who found some kind of work managed to obtain employment in jobs that required a specific skill. The remaining men held service jobs and low-level assembly-line jobs. None found employment in jobs that might be classified as "skilled". It was noted that this was an identical picture to that found when the parolees' pre-prison employment experiences and their in-prison employment experiences were examined. Jobs held were generally low-skilled and presumably low-paying. However, despite this overall similarity of types of work held, there were no statistically significant relationships between the specific types of jobs held by the parolees at any time before, during or after incarceration. In other words, a great many parolees held jobs in service occupations, but they tended to shift from one specific job to another within this area over the years. Furthermore, specific types of skill training taken at any time bore no statistically significant relationship to specific types of jobs held after release.

Thus the sample suffered from a high rate of unemployment, and when jobs were found, they were low-skilled and presumably low-paying jobs. Even in those jobs which did require some skill there was little correlation with former skills the parolee had learned.

One wonders how the parolees survived in society upon release, as they held only low-skilled jobs or no jobs at all. They must have obtained money somewhere, as one needs money to live in the community. It was clear, too, that a great many of the sample did not have family support to help tide them through their early release period. One wonders where money was obtained. There is a distinct possibility here that those who might not ordinarily have returned to crime, might have been tempted to do so because of economic pressures, especially if difficulty was encountered in obtaining help from appropriate community agencies.

In fact, a rather significant finding was that most of those who had found some type of employment had done so through their own efforts. Only thirteen of the seventy-five who had found at least one job (13.4 per cent) of the sample, had found this job through such community agencies as trade unions, Canada Manpower Centres or with the direct assistance of their Parole Officer. Community agencies are apparently not offering the parolee much assistance in finding suitable employment. Parolees in the sample had some success in finding jobs themselves, but not to the extent of finding full-time work.

A number of factors in the parolees' background, prior to their most recent release from prison, were examined to determine if any of these had any significant relationship to their ability to hold employment following

their most recent release. Parolees' marital status, or whether or not they had dependents, had no statistically significant relationship to the frequency or quality of their post-release employment. The researchers did note a trend, however, for those who were married to have a better work history following their most recent release, though this trend was not statistically significant. One might have presumed that parolees who were married and had dependents would have been more motivated to work regularly. The lack of a statistically significant relationship here might be presumed to result from marriage situations which did not in fact provide the motivation and support that one might expect from such a relationship.

Similarly, the extent of a parolee's criminal history had almost no relationship to his post-release employment, except for exception noted below. This is contrary to the finding from the Pownall study, reported on page 28 of this study, which found that employment rates of released offenders varied with the extent of a releasee's criminal record.

Three statistically significant relationships were found which taken together are of some importance. Generally, the amount or type of academic education which a parolee had prior to his most recent incarceration, the employment experiences which he had before his most recent incarceration, and his criminal history, bore no statistically significant relationship to his post-release



employment. Three specific factors in the parolees' history prior to their most recent incarceration did, however, have a statistically significant relationship to post-release employment. Parolees who were arrested first at age nineteen or older had a greater probability of holding a job following release than did those who were arrested first at an earlier age. Those who were employed more than 75 per cent of the time prior to their most recent incarceration had a better chance of holding a job upon release than did those who worked less regularly and those who had taken any type of skill training before their most recent incarceration had a better chance of holding a job and working regularly upon release than did those who had no skill training.

Presumably, those who are in the community longer before their first arrest have a better chance to develop a more consistent employment pattern over a longer period of time. They apparently have more opportunity to take some skill training which insures them of better, more consistent jobs both before and after prison.

Skill training and employment experiences taken in prison had no apparent influence on the parolees post-release employment experience. Institutional skill training is apparently not used in the same way by parolees as is skill training received in the community. Once again, there remains the question regarding the inducements given inmates to benefit from skill training in prison, and how

the inmates themselves view this training. Is it perhaps an escape from prison routine, much as perhaps employment experience in prison is, rather than a genuine attempt on the part of the inmate to learn or rehabilitate himself. There is value in breaking the monotony of prison routine, but the findings of this study cause one to wonder whether, inmates and staff alike, are using the programs which are ostensibly rehabilitative primarily or merely for the purpose of easing the pressures and frustrations of confinement.

In summary, the sample was found to be relatively uneducated, quite lacking in work-skills and a consistent employment experience, and often without the support of enduring social or personal relationships. They were not particularly successful in crime, and could generally not be viewed as "dangerous" or avowedly anti-social. Employment experiences, education and training received in the institutions had little positive affect on their employability following their most recent release. However, those who had more time before their first arrest, that is those who were at least nineteen years of age at the time of their first arrest, seemed to have built a somewhat more consistent work history. Also, those who had acquired some skill training before their original incarceration seemed to fare better in the job market following release.

(ii) Recommendations

Skill training of whatever sort, providing it was taken in the community, proved to be a most significant element in a parolee's ability to hold steady employment upon his release. In view of this finding, much greater attention should be paid to this fact by those involved in the judicial, correctional, and training fields. For the released offender, and especially the parolee, attractive inducements should be provided to take further skill training as one way of increasing his chance of being regularly employed and thus presumably of reducing the chances of his recidivism. One attractive inducement might be the possibility of a program whereby length of parole could be reduced according to the amount of skill training taken while on parole.

This point is especially important for those parolees who did not work regularly before their most recent incarceration.

It has been shown that they had a poorer chance of working regularly following release than did those who worked more than 75 per cent of the time prior to their most recent incarceration. Therefore, for those who have not been able to hold steady employment, the alternative of skill training should be made most attractive.

In fact, all the machinery available to help the parolee upon his release perhaps needs to be vastly augmented. It is clear that those agencies involved in the

employment field and those involved in parole supervision need to work together very closely, with a view to finding appropriate employment or training for the parolee. One of the conditions of parole is that the parolee hold regular employment, but in practice this is obviously not adhered to. Little specific job finding help was given to the parolees in this study by the parole service, or by other community employment or corrections agencies.

Furthermore, adequate machinery to help the parolee financially upon his release should be ensured. It was not at all clear how a great many of the parolees in this study were managing to support themselves, since they generally had either no job at all or presumably a poorly paid one. Further research in this area is suggested. What financial resources do parolees have upon release? Do family or friends help them out? What about community agencies - what sort of financial help do they give to parolees?

This stress on programs to help the released offender upon his release seems especially important in view of the fact that by the time he is released, a considerable amount is known about him, and a considerable amount of time and money has been invested in him.

Clearly, in-prison programs of training and employment contribute little, at present, to the ability of the released offender to hold employment. It has already

been suggested that in-prison skill training programs might be used differently by the released offender from similar programs in the community. It is therefore suggested that the institutional training programs be assessed for effectiveness, and that they be augmented to meet the needs of the inmates more directly. Also an expansion of the already existing programs of allowing inmates to pursue training in the community, while they are still incarcerated is clearly indicated. It has been shown, that parolees, at least, are not prone to violent crimes against the person, and as such would not present an undue risk in the community. And skill training taken in the community has been shown to be used far more directly by the parolee in terms of getting a job.

Further recommendations centre around the need to discover more about the released offender. It has been shown that the persons in this sample were generally personally and socially inadequate and rather ill-equipped for coping with the complexities of modern life. What distinguishes this sample of inadequate persons from those men who also have similar backgrounds but who have not had difficulty with the law? The authors would suggest further research to determine what factor or factors leads a person to turn to crime as one way of trying to handle the pressures of his life.

More specifically, attention might be directed to differences in financial resources, and familial supports

between a group of parolees and a similarly poorly endowed group of non-offenders.

Finally, it seems clear that those in this sample had poor employment histories not just because they had criminal records. Their inadequacies extended to many areas of their lives. It is necessary for our society to decide what its goals are for the released offender. Is its objective to keep people out of trouble with the law, or to maintain them in steady employment. In either case, we are in danger of being handicapped for a long time with a program the remedies of which merely deal with specific symptoms. Quite probably, no single or specific program for any one symptom whether crime or unemployment, is going to be successful. Instead, the goal should be to provide more adequate programs of support in all areas of these person's lives, so that they can either learn to cope more effectively. Of course, such a program would not only apply to parolees, or released offenders, but to all who are having general difficulty in managing in society. For criminal activities and employment difficulties, are symptoms of problems, not problems in themselves.

## V SUMMARY

This study examined the employment experiences of a sample of ninety-seven adult male parolees in Essex county, Ontario; and attempted to determine if prior experiences in the parolees' lives had a significant bearing on their ability to hold steady employment following their most recent release.

The files of all those persons on parole in April, 1971, who were supervised by the Windsor office of the National Parole Service, were examined. A checklist (see Appendix "A") was used to derive certain information from these files. This information was key-punched onto computer cards and analysed.

It was hypothesized that no significant relationships existed between pre-prison or in-prison academic education, skill training and employment experiences and post-release employment experiences.

With three important exceptions, the hypothesis was held to be valid. It was found that those parolees who were arrested first at age nineteen or later; those who worked more regularly before their most recent release; and those who had taken some skill training prior to their most recent incarceration, all had a statistically significantly better chance of holding regular employment following release than did those who did not have such backgrounds.

In addition, it was found that those in the

sample were characterized by low skills, little academic education, poor work histories and low skilled employment. The parolees generally lacked positive and enduring relationships with others, and did not have criminal histories that indicated hardened anti-social character types. Those in the sample consisted mostly of immature and inadequate persons.

It was recommended that in addition to attractive inducements to released offenders generally to undertake skill training, in-prison training and employment experiences be made more relevant. Greater help needs to be given to released offenders to assist them in finding work upon their return to the community and in providing for their financial needs.

Further research should be conducted to determine what factors make some individuals turn to crime, while others, similarly inadequate, do not do so. In addition, more needs to be known about the effects of family and friends on a parolee's ability to hold a job. Of concern would be the effect his financial situation and that of his family has on his return to crime. Finally, broad-ranging programs, aimed at improving overall social functioning, need to be directed at all individuals experiencing difficulty in coping with modern life, so that they do not express these difficulties through behaviour resulting in, for example, crime or unemployment.



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APPENDIX "A" - CHECKLIST

A Identifying Information

1. Case number.
2. Name (family name first, plus initials).

These two items were recorded strictly for the convenience of the authors.

3. Date of Birth.
4. Marital Status at Release:
  - 0 - Married or Common-Law.
  - 1 - Single.
  - 2 - Widowed.
  - 3 - Divorced or Separated.
  - 4 - Not known or available.

This item represents the living status of the offender at release, not necessarily his legal status.

5. Dependents: Number.
  - 0 - None.
  - 1 - One to five.
  - 2 - Six or more.
  - 9 - Not known or available.

Total number of individuals who will presumably be supported by the offender upon his release.

6. Dependents: Type.
  - 0 - None.
  - 1 - Wife only.
  - 2 - Children only.
  - 3 - Other only.
  - 4 - Wife (including common-law) and children.
  - 5 - Children and others.
  - 6 - Wife and others.
  - 7 - Wife, children and others.
  - 9 - not reported or available.



B Pattern of Offenses

## 7. Number of separate commitments:

1 - 1  
 2 - 2  
 ⋮  
 9 - 9 or more.

Adult commitments to federal penitentiaries and provincial institutions. A commitment to serve several sentences concurrently is equal to one sentence. A new offense because of parole violation, equals an additional commitment.

## 8. Primary (most recent) offense: as per D. B. S. Crime Statistics (See Appendix "C").

Should there be a number of charges in connection with the offender's most recent incarceration, then the most serious charge or the one that brought the longest sentence was coded.

## 9. Predominant Criminal Behaviour: As per the Ontario Department of Correctional Services: (See Appendix "D").

The offender was coded in accordance with the largest number of offences which fell in any one of the 9 categories in appendix "D".

## 10. Age at first arrest

0 - 13 or less	5 - 25 - 28
1 - 14 - 15	6 - 29 - 34
2 - 16 - 18	7 - 35 - 44
3 - 19 - 21	8 - 45 - 60
4 - 22 - 24	9 - 60 +

## 11. Age at most recent release from incarceration:

0 - 17 or less	5 - 28 - 34
1 - 18 - 19	6 - 35 - 44
2 - 20 - 21	7 - 45 - 60
3 - 22 - 23	8 - 60 +
4 - 24 - 27	

C Preprison Education

Education and skills learned prior to most recent incarceration.

12. Preprison Academic Education completed by Grade:
- 0 - None.
  - 1 - Grade 1 - 5.
  - 2 - Grades 6 - 7.
  - 3 - " 8 - 9.
  - 4 - " 10 - 11.
  - 5 - " 12.
  - 6 - " 13 or preliminary year at university or first year community college.
  - 7 - More than one year post-high school.
  - 9 - Not reported or available.

This refers to the offender's first period of formal education as a child, by grade level as graded in his home province.

13. Year completed.  
Last two digits: where 00 = none  
and 99 = not known or available.
14. Other academic schooling prior to most recent incarceration. Grades completed as in Item #12.
15. Other academic schooling prior to most recent incarceration. Place:
- 0 - None.
  - 1 - Correspondence.
  - 2 - College or University.
  - 3 - Regular High School.
  - 4 - Adult Education Facility.
  - 5 - Other.
  - 9 - Not reported or available.
16. Year this schooling completed.
17. Formal skill training prior to most recent incarceration:
- (a) First skill:
    - (i) Category as per Appendix "B".

## (ii) Place taken:

- 0 - None.
- 1 - Technical or Vocational School
- 2 - Business College.
- 3 - Community College.
- 4 - Adult Education Facility.
- 5 - Prison.
- 6 - Correspondence.
- 7 - Apprenticeship
- 8 - Other.

## (iii) Completed Course:

- 0 - not applicable.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

(iv) Year completed: last two digits of the year;  
where 00 = None, and  
99 = Not known or available.

## (b) Second Skill:

- (i) Category (as above).
- (ii) Place taken (as above).
- (iii) Completed course (as above).
- (iv) Year completed (as above).

## (c) Other Formal Skill Training:

- (i) 0 - not known or applicable (none).
- 1 - Yes.
- (ii) Category (as above).

Note that the skill training received was matched as closely as possible with the occupational categories in appendix "B", and coded on that basis.

18. Predominant Province in which offender educated - first three letters of the Province,  
F. O. R. = elsewhere.

D Non-Prison Employment: Prior to Most Recent Incarceration

19. Predominant type of employment held prior to last incarceration. Again, the jobs at which the offender worked were matched with the categories in Appendix "B" The area in which the offender worked most in terms of time was coded.

Note that if a person is coded under, say, 11 (plumbing); this means he has some training or experience in plumbing. If he has worked as a qualified master plumber, he would be rated under category 20 - "skilled and qualified persons".

20. Longest job ever held in the community prior to most recent incarceration:

## (a) Length:

- 0 - Never worked.
- 1 - Up to 3 months.
- 2 - 3 to less than 6 months.
- 3 - 6 to less than 12 months.
- 4 - 1 year to less than 2 years.
- 5 - 2 years to less than 5 years.
- 6 - More than 5 years.
- 9 - Not known.

## (b) Category: Appendix "B".

21. Employment during last 2 years in the Civilian Community (or prior to last incarceration and after second to last incarceration).

- 0 - No legitimate employment
- 1 - Student 75 percent or more of the time.
- 2 - Unemployable because of illness or handicap, 75 percent or more of the time.
- 3 - Employed at one or more legitimate jobs less than 25 percent of the time.
- 4 - 25 percent to 50 percent of the time.
- 5 - 51 percent to 75 percent of the time.
- 6 - 76 percent to 100 percent of the time.
- 9 - Insufficient information.

22. Length and type of last outside job prior to most recent incarceration.

(a) Length:

- 0 - Never worked.
- 1 - Up to 3 months.
- 2 - 3 months to less than 6 months.
- 3 - 6 months to less than 1 year.
- 4 - 1 year to less than 18 months.
- 5 - 18 months to less than 2 years.
- 6 - 2 years plus.
- 8 - Not employable (hospitalized, retired, student, etc.).

(b) Category: Appendix "B".

23. Length of longest continuous unemployment period prior to last incarceration.

- 0 - Less than 1 month.
- 1 - 1 month to less than 3 months.
- 2 - 3 months to less than 6 months.
- 3 - 6 months to less than 12 months.
- 4 - 1 year or more.
- 5 - Not employable, (hospitalized, retired, student, etc.).
- 9 - Not sufficient information.

24. Attitudes in employment on the job held longest prior to most recent incarceration:

- 0 - Very co-operative.
- 1 - Co-operative.
- 2 - Ambivalent.
- 3 - Unco-operative.
- 4 - Actively unco-operative.
- 9 - None reported or available.

This was usually based on the inmates version of his work experience. In only a few cases, were there actual reports from employers.

25. How long was offender unemployed immediately prior to last incarceration?

- 0 - Not unemployed.
- 1 - 0 to less than 1 month.
- 2 - 1 month to less than 3 months.
- 3 - 3 months to less than 6 months.
- 4 - 6 " " " " 12 months.
- 5 - 12 months or more.
- 6 - Not employable.
- 9 - No available information.

26. Was this period of unemployment the same as time of release since second to last incarceration?

- 0 - Not known.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

27. Union affiliation at anytime?

- 0 - Not known or applicable.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

E Prison Employment

28. Prison employment prior to most recent incarceration.

(i) Main work detail, by category. (Appendix "B").

(ii) Length of time worked:

- 0 - Did not or could not work
- 1 - Up to 1 month.
- 2 - 1 month to less than 3 months.
- 3 - 3 months to less than 6 months.
- 4 - 6 months to less than 1 year.
- 5 - More than 1 year.
- 6 - One incarceration only.
- 9 - Information not available.

(iii) Reported attitude on work detail:

- 0 - Very co-operative.
- 1 - Co-operative.
- 2 - Ambivalent.
- 3 - Unco-operative.
- 4 - Actively unco-operative.
- 9 - None reported or available.

Since this was usually reported by the institution, it could be taken as valid.

F Primary (most recent) Incarceration -  
In-Prison Education and Employment

29. Academic Schooling: Grade completed:

- 0 - None.
- 1 - Grades 1 to 5.
- 2 - Grades 6 or 7.
- 3 - " 8 or 9.
- 4 - " 10 or 11.
- 5 - " 12.
- 6 - " 13, or equivalent.
- 7 - More than one year at the post-high school level.
- 9 - Not known.

Year completed: last two digits of the year,  
 where 00 indicates none and  
 99 indicates not known.

30. Formal skill training:

(i) Category (Appendix "B").

(ii) Completed:

- 0 - Not applicable.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

(iii) Year completed.

(iv) More than one skill?

- 0 - Not applicable.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

(v) Related to major skill training category?

- 0 - Not applicable.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

31. Work experience:

(i) Category: (Appendix "B").

(ii) Reported attitude:

- 0 - Very co-operative.
- 1 - Co-operative
- 2 - Unco-operative.
- 3 - Neutral.
- 4 - Actively unco-operative.
- 9 - Not sufficient information.

Again in this case attitudes were reported by the institution and were therefore assumed to be more objective than the prisoner's description of himself.

(iii) Length of experience:

- 0 - Did not or could not work
- 1 - Up to 1 month.
- 2 - 1 month to less than 3 months.
- 3 - 3 months to less than 6 months.
- 4 - 6 " " " " 1 year.
- 5 - More than 1 year.
- 9 - Information not available.

This was taken to be the length of the prisoner's major work experience.

(iv) More than one experience?

- 0 - Not applicable or known.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

(v) Related to main work detail?

- 0 - Not applicable or known.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

G Post-Release Information

Except when noted, the information in this section came from the parole officer's reports.

32. Most recent release date:

Last two digits of the year.

33. Months served at release:

- |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 0 - 0 to 9 months.   | 5 - 37 - 48 months.  |
| 1 - 10 to 12 months. | 6 - 49 - 60 months.  |
| 2 - 13 to 18 months. | 7 - 61 - 84 months.  |
| 3 - 19 to 24 months. | 8 - 85 - 120 months. |
| 4 - 25 to 36 months. | 9 - 121 plus months. |

34. Length of Sentence:

Time lengths as in Item 33.



35. Was a job arranged for the offender prior to his release?

- 0 - No job arranged.
- 1 - Yes: part of parole plan.
- 2 - Yes: not part of parole plan.
- 9 - Other or not known.

In theory, a job is supposed to be arranged for all persons before they are released on parole. In practice this is sometimes not closely adhered to. The intent of this question was to determine if, in fact, a specific job was waiting for the parolee, and whether or not this had anything to do with the fact of parole, or was a job the person had held before or was kept open for him by friends, relatives, etc.

36. Type of post-release job desired:

Category by Appendix "B".  
This item was taken as reported by the offender.

37. Number of jobs held since last release.

- 0 - 0
- 1 - 1
- .
- .
- .
- 8 - 8 or more.
- 9 - Not known

38. Reasons for immediate post-release unemployment:

- 0 - No unemployment.
- 1 - No reason reported.
- 2 - Not qualified.
- 3 - No tools or license.
- 4 - Not a union member.
- 5 - Have not tried hard enough.
- 6 - No jobs available - economic situation.
- 7 - Criminal record.
- 8 - Lack of references or contacts.
- 9 - Other or not known.

39. Length of unemployment following last release before first job; or if no job, total unemployment. Unemployed is to mean that, only if the person is employable (not hospitalized, retired or in school or cannot work because of illness or disability) and has not earned more than \$20 in one week including room and board or worked more than 15 hours per week.

- 0 - Not unemployed one week or before first job lasting one week or more.
- 1 - One week or more and less than 2 weeks.
- 2 - 2 weeks to less than 3 weeks.
- 3 - 3 weeks to less than 1 month.
- 4 - 1 month to less than 2 months.
- 5 - 2 months to less than 3 months.
- 6 - 3 " " " " 6 "
- 7 - 6 " " " " 1 year.
- 8 - 1 year or more.
- 9 - Not employable one week or more.

40. Length of longest continuous unemployment:

- 0 - Not unemployed one week or before first job lasting one week or more.
- 1 - One week or more and less than 2 weeks.
- 2 - 2 weeks to less than 3 weeks.
- 3 - 3 " " " " 1 month.
- 4 - 1 month to less than 2 months.
- 5 - 2 " " " " 3 months.
- 6 - 3 " " " " 6 months.
- 7 - 6 " " " " 1 year.
- 8 - 1 year or more.
- 9 - Not employable one week or more.

41. Length of last unemployed period - time lengths

- 0 - 9 as above.

42. Number of unemployment periods during current release period lasting one week or more:

- 0 = None
- 1 = 1 . . .
- 8 = 8 or more
- 9 = Not known or not employable.

43. First Post-Release Job:

(a) Where or how obtained:

- 0 - No employment since release.
- 1 - Probation or parole officer.
- 2 - Institution employment placement officer.
- 3 - Canada Manpower Centre.
- 4 - Union.
- 5 - Private Employment agency.
- 6 - Family or friends.
- 7 - Own efforts.
- 8 - Other: self employed, rehired by former employer, referred by former employer, etc.
- 9 - Not known.

(b) Type by category Appendix "B".

(c) Length of time held:

- 0 - No employment since release.
- 1 - Less than 1 week.
- 2 - 2 week to under 1 month.
- 3 - 1 month to less than 3 months.
- 4 - 3 " " " " 6 months.
- 5 - 6 " " " " 1 year.
- 6 - 1 year " " " 2 years.
- 7 - 2 years or more.

(d) Reasons for termination:

- 00 - No employment since release.
- 01 - Still on job.
- 02 - Discharged because laid off.
- 03 - Discharged because of alleged carelessness.
- 04 - Discharged " " " incompetence.
- 05 - " " " " offensive  
behaviour.
- 06 - Discharged because of alleged absenteeism.
- 07 - " " " tardiness.
- 08 - " " " offended.
- 09 - Other (including criminal record).
- 10 - Quit because pay too low.
- 11 - " " had better job.
- 12 - " " fatigued or job too hard or  
did not know how to do work.
- 13 - Quit because of boss.
- 14 - " " " others who work there.
- 15 - " " job boring.
- 16 - " " " insecure.
- 17 - " " no future.
- 18 - " " " offended.
- 19 - Other.

44. Longest Post-Release Job:

(a) Where or how obtained as in item 43:

(b) Type by category Appendix "B".

(c) Length as in item 43.

(d) Reasons for termination: - same as in item 43.

45. Last Post-Release Job
- (a) Where or how obtained, as in item 43.
  - (b) Type, by category Appendix "B".
  - (c) Length as in item 43.
  - (d) Reason for termination, as in item 43.
46. Current employment status:
- 0 - Has job not working.
  - 1 - Employed, working.
  - 2 - Unemployed and seeking.
  - 3 - Unemployed and not seeking.
  - 4 - Student.
  - 5 - Unable to work.
  - 6 - Other.
  - 9 - Not known.
47. Job search effort by presently unemployed ex-offender:
- 0 - Strong effort.
  - 1 - Good effort.
  - 2 - Some effort.
  - 3 - Little effort.
  - 4 - No effort.
  - 5 - Not available.
  - 6 - Employed or otherwise (student, etc.).
  - 9 - Not known.
- This was coded on the basis of the comments made by the parole officer. Of course, little could be done to verify the accuracy of such subjective impressions.
48. Regularity of employment and job search when unemployed over 25 percent of the time during over-all post-release period;
- 0 - Regular (unemployed 25 percent or less).
  - 1 - Irregular (unemployed 25-50 percent of the time) with extended job search indicated or assumed (at least 50 percent of the time unemployed).
  - 2 - Irregular with limited job search (less than 50 percent of time unemployed).
  - 3 - Casual (unemployed 51-75 percent of time) with extended job search.
  - 4 - Casual with limited search.
  - 5 - Negligible (76 percent to 100 percent of time unemployed) with extended search.
  - 6 - Negligible with limited search.
  - 7 - No legitimate employment or effort towards legitimate employment.

- 8 - Unemployed 75 percent or more of time due to hospitalization or real or perceived illness or handicap.
- 9 - Student 75 percent or more of time.

49. Union affiliation at present?

- 0 - Not applicable or known.
- 1 - Yes.
- 2 - No.

50. Was the longest job held:

- 0 - Not employed.
- 1 - The first (item 43).
- 2 - The last (item 45).
- 3 - Other (i.e. the longest; item 44).

This item was entered as an aid to calculation with the computer.

APPENDIX "B"Occupational Categories(A) Service

- 01 Restaurants, hotel occupations, short order cooks, busboys, waiters, barmen, take-out food operators.
- 02 Sales, clerical, stenographic, filing, stock-boy, department store sales, shipping and receiving, office appliance operators, computing and account-recording, message distribution operations.
- 03 Transportation and communication, taxi and truck and bus drivers, postmen, mail carriers.
- 04 Maintenance: caretakers, janitors, gardeners, municipal employees, street cleaners, domestic service; protective services.
- 05 Miscellaneous: barbering, other personal services; cleaners and apparel and furnishings service occupations: cleaners, pressers; shoe repair, clothing repair.

(B) Manufacturing and Industrial

- 06 Assembly-line: low-level repetitive jobs, processing occupations (in metals, foundaries, food, paper, petroleum, chemicals, wood, stone and related, leather and textiles all low-level)
- 07 Machine Trades Occupations: metal machine and metalworking; mechanics and machinery repairman stationary engineers; occupations in machining stone, wood, glass etc.; printing and related (not as in item 02).
- 08 Automotive and related trades and small engine repair.

- 09 Bench Work: fabrication, assembly and repair of small appliances, scientific and medical apparatus, watches, photographic equipment, etc. Electrical repair - benchwork type, fabrication and repair of wood, plastics, stone - related, and leather and textile (other than clothing - see item 05), on a bench.

(C) Construction and Related:

- 10 Electrical.  
11 Plumbing.  
12 Carpentry.  
13 Bricklaying and related.  
14 Excavating, grading, etc. plus general labour.  
15 Plastering and related (including tilers).  
16 Pipe fitters and steam fitters.  
17 Painting and decorating.  
18 Welding and related.

(D) Other:

- 19 Agriculture, fishing and logging.  
20 Skilled and qualified persons.  
99 Not known.  
00 None.

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Source: U. S. A., Department of Labour, Dictionary of Occupational Titles (1965) Vol. II. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965, pp. 1-2. The occupational classification was adapted from this source for this study to reflect Canadian conditions.

APPENDIX "C"Offence Classification(A) Homicides

- 01 Murder.
- 02 Attempted murder.
- 03 Manslaughter.

(B) Sexual Offences

- 04 Rape.
- 05 Other sexual offences.

(C) Assaults

- 06 Wounding - with intent and inflicting bodily harm.
- 07 Assaults (not indecent).

(D) Robbery

- 08 Robbery.

(E) Breaking and Entering

- 09 Breaking and entering.

(F) Theft

- 10 Theft of motor vehicle.
- 11 Theft over \$50.
- 12 Theft \$50 and under.
- 13 Have stolen goods.

(G) Other

- 14 Frauds.
- 15 Prostitution.
- 16 Gaming and betting.



- 17 Offensive Weapons.
- 18 Other criminal code offences.
- 19 Federal statutes.
- 20 Provincial statutes.
- 21 Municipal by-laws.

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Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Crime Statistics (Police) 1968 (85-205) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), pp. 115-119.

APPENDIX "D"Offence Classification

1. Crimes against the person.
2. Crimes against property.
3. Crimes against public morals and decency.
4. Crimes against public order and peace.
5. Liquor offences.
6. Traffic offences.
7. Other offences.

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Source: Ontario, Department of Correctional Services, Ontario Plan in Corrections: Report of the Minister 1969, (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 68.

VIJIA

VITA

Peter Croxall was born in Lincoln, England on February 15, 1944. He attended elementary school in England and in Canada. He graduated from John Rennie High School in Pointe Claire, Quebec, in 1962.

Following a year of work and travel in Europe, he returned to Sir George Williams University in Montreal, and graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in Economics and Political Science in May, 1966. After working briefly for the Economics Research Department at the Head Office of the Bank of Montreal in Montreal, Mr. Croxall entered the Masters of Business Administration Program at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on a scholarship. He found that he did not enjoy the program and withdrew after one semester.

After working for a few months at a treatment centre for emotionally disturbed adolescents in Ann Arbor, Mr. Croxall returned to Canada, and took a position with the Vocational Rehabilitation Services Branch of the Ontario Department of Social and Family Services, as a Rehabilitation Counsellor. After two years, he resigned from this position in order to resume his studies.

Mr. Croxall was admitted to the Master of Social Work Degree Make-up Year program in September 1969, and

became a candidate for the Master's Degree in September, 1970. He expects to graduate in October, 1971.

Mr. Croxall has also had experience with the Ontario Addiction Research Foundation as a Detached Worker. He is presently employed by the Roman Catholic Children's Aid Society for the County of Essex, in Windsor, Ontario, as a social worker.

VITA

Thomas J. Hall was born in Montreal, Quebec on August 28, 1939. He obtained his elementary and secondary school education from St. Leo's Academy, Westmount, Quebec.

Mr. Hall graduated from St. Patrick's College, Ottawa, with a Bachelor of Art's Degree in May, 1963.

After studying philosophy and theology for several years, he pursued a career as a high school teacher until September, 1969; when he was admitted to the Master of Social Work Make-up Year program and became a candidate for the Master's Degree in September, 1970. He expects to graduate in October, 1971.

Mr. Hall's first year field placement was with the Essex County Children's Aid Society in Windsor. He spent his second year's field placement working as a Parole Officer with the National Parole Service in their Windsor office.

He is presently employed by the Ontario Department of Correctional Services, as a Social Worker at Glendale Training School, Simcoe, Ontario.