Corrections in British Columbia

Pre-Confederation to the Millennium

Edited by
Brian Mason
Colin J. McMechan
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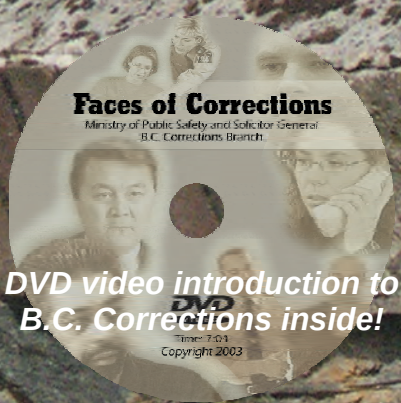

DVD video introduction to B.C. Corrections inside!

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Cover image of Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre, Jim Bisakowski (2003)

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Acknowledgments

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Corrections in British Columbia: Pre-Confederation to the Millennium reflects the involvement of many Corrections Branch management and staff. The editors thank Paul Pershick and Celia Quigley of the Justice Institute of B.C. for facilitating its publication. Jim Bisakowski of Desktop Publishing Ltd. prepared the layout and cover design.

For more than 150 years, history was made by generations of public servants who committed themselves to a career with the B.C. Corrections Branch. This printed record captures some of the most significant milestones of their commitment.

Chapter 1

Era of Colonial Rule (1849-1870)

Vancouver Island—The colony

From the first lockup to convict labour on the chain gang, the criminal justice system of British Columbia emerged during the colonial period of the mid-1800s.

The first thing to settle was disputes between employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Then there were skirmishes between original inhabitants and new arrivals. As more and more people arrived in the area known as the province of British Columbia, conflicts were inevitable. The first calls for law and order had to be answered.

Administrators—such as the secretary of state, governor, members of the House of Assembly and chief justices—attempted to establish a system of justice similar to that in Britain and other Hudson's Bay Company territories. In B.C., however, this system was slow to develop. One reason was a lack of funds. Another factor was general political disorganization.

258 loaves of bread;

41 pounds of fine biscuits;

40 pounds of oatmeal;

1 pound of tea; and

4 pounds of sugar.

The first recorded list of provisions for the earliest gaol in British Columbia—Hudson's Bay Company barracks, Fort Victoria.

In 1821, before colonization, the Hudson's Bay Company was granted a royal licence for exclusive trade with the Indians. The initial term of the licence was 21 years, although an extension for a longer term was made in 1838. This licence was based on the Royal Charter granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 by the British Crown.

The charter gave the company exclusive trade and commerce in the region it controlled known as Rupert's Land. Clauses within the charter gave the governor and his council power to enact laws and ordinances for the government of the Canadian West. They also imposed punishments, such as fines and imprisonment, that were in keeping with the laws of England. Lesser officials, such as chief factors in charge of isolated posts, could try criminal cases and award fines and punishments.

During this time, justice matters were limited to internal disputes within the Hudson's Bay Company, whose employees were the only white settlers. The Court of Upper Canada had jurisdiction for the administration and execution of justice in serious matters.

These matters applied to:

- Civil cases exceeding £200; and
- Criminal cases involving any charge or indictment for a felony in which the sentence included capital punishment or transportation.[1]

In practice, this court was not used.

Changes in the administration and execution of justice began to occur when Vancouver Island became a colony on January 13, 1849. The charter remained in effect, with the intent that legislative authority would be established among the settlers. The governor and his officials would also develop a colony within five years and dispose of land to the settlers at a reasonable price.

An act providing for the administration of justice was passed. It replaced two previous acts for Vancouver Island, which:

1. Extended jurisdiction of the courts of justice in the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, to include the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences in adjoining provinces; and
2. Regulated the fur trade, and established criminal and civil jurisdiction within certain parts of North America.

The new *Imperial Act* stated:

> It shall be lawful for Her Majesty from Time to Time to make Provision for the Administration of Justice in the said Island, and for the Purpose to constitute such Court or Courts of Record and other Courts, with Jurisdiction in Matters Civil and Criminal, and such equitable and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, subject to such Limitation and Restrictions, and to appoint and remove, or provide for the Appointment and Removal of such Judges, Justices, and such Ministerial and other Officers, for the Administration and Execution of Justice in the said Island, as Her Majesty shall think fit and direct.

The act transferred responsibility for justice from the courts of Upper Canada to the colonial government.

A decision was made to appoint a governor of the colony from outside the Hudson's Bay Company, due to controversy over the company's monopoly of Vancouver Island. Richard Blanshard became the first governor of the colony in July 1849. He administered the colony without aid of either council or assembly until just prior to his departure.[2]

1 The term "transportation" implies forced relocation to a penal colony. The practice of transportation was used under the laws of Upper Canada. In England, it was widely used to commute a sentence or as a sentence in its own right. In Canada, some convicts were transported to England, although the majority were sent to Australia and Tasmania. After the American War of Independence, British convicts were transported to these two penal colonies. In 1853, use of transportation in Canada was discontinued. English prison authorities also considered using British Columbia as a penal colony.

2 At this time, he appointed a provisional council of three men (James Douglas, James Cooper and John Tod) to act until the Imperial Government appointed another governor.

First lockup: One of the original buildings of Fort Victoria (date: unknown) BC Archives (C-08973)

Governor Blanshard settled the administration of justice during this period because, as he explained, there were no colonial funds for this purpose. Justice matters were mostly disputes between the Hudson's Bay Company or the Puget Sound Agricultural Company and their respective servants.[3] Fines were usually given in such cases. There were no prisons, peace officers or funds except what was supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company. Consequently, difficulties resulted with enforcement.

The first gaol or lockup[4]—the Hudson's Bay Company barracks—existed as early as 1852. The Hudson's Bay Company kept a record of accounts for all gaol-related purchases in the 1850s to obtain reimbursement from the British government.

The Hudson's Bay Company began accounting for rent for the gaol in the fiscal year beginning November 1, 1853. The account book also contained expenses incurred for the administration of justice. Many services were paid on a contract basis. For example, constables were paid fees for flogging,[5] summoning witnesses, transporting prisoners and making arrests.

3 By 1853, there were only 450 white settlers on Vancouver Island.

4 The term lockup refers to facilities consisting of two or three cells found in almost every community by the turn of the century. They were used to house prisoners awaiting trial prior to sentencing or transportation to a gaol after sentencing. Gaols were larger, more secure facilities, staffed by designated gaolers. Sentenced prisoners were housed in these facilities along with remand prisoners.

5 Corporal punishment has been used for centuries to enforce social discipline. This punishment applied to petty criminals prior to the use of prisons. "After capital punishment, flogging was the most frequently used punishment in England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries," according to Cecilia Blanchfield, author of *Crime and Punishment: A Pictorial History*. "Under the French regime in Canada, 95 people—15 of them women—were publicly whipped." During the colonial period of British Columbia, this form of punishment was sometimes used. Flogging and hangings generally took place in public.

In 1853, James Douglas was appointed Blanshard's successor while retaining his position as chief factor for the Hudson's Bay Company on the northwest coast. This dual role caused political conflict, although it provided financial backing for the government to develop the colony. Douglas subsequently nominated Roderick Finlayson, another company officer, to replace him on council.

Law and order was necessary to maintain economic and social development. A municipal police force—the Victoria Voltigeurs—was set up for Vancouver Island by Governor Douglas. The governor, who became the force's commander-in-chief of Vancouver Island, obtained substantial funding for the force from the Hudson's Bay Company. Visiting naval vessels protected settlers from the Indians and the Royal Navy was on call to protect the colony from outside invaders.

British law was in force in the colony, although laws were passed to suit local circumstances, provided they did not contravene principles of British law. For example, one of the first laws passed was a licence law to raise revenues for colonial government expenses. In justice matters, Governor Douglas continued the practices established by Blanshard.

An example of how justice was executed under Douglas's regime happened in early 1853, at the beginning of the colonial period. The case involved the murder of a shepherd, Peter Brown, by two Cowichan Indians on an outlying company farm. Douglas received information that one of the natives was in Saanich and the other had fled to Nanaimo.

Douglas mounted an expedition. Captain Kuper of *H.M.S. Thetis* was in Esquimalt Harbour and offered his assistance. One hundred and thirty seamen and marines were made available. The governor "added ten Victoria Voltigeurs, resplendent in their tasselled caps, sky-blue capotes, buckskin trousers, and broad scarlet sashes from which hung the powder-horns for their guns."[6] The *Beaver* and the *Recovery*, both vessels of the Hudson's Bay Company, joined the expedition, and the entire force soon arrived at Cowichan.

Douglas described the events at Cowichan (or Camegin):

> Arrived at Camegin this morning—great excitement among the Indians who shunned the vessels. By a canoe, which at length ventured alongside, I despatched (a) messenger to the Camegin chiefs inviting them to a conference, in which I hope to be able to prevail upon them to surrender the murderer quietly and without recourse to coercive measures, which I consider justifiable only as a last recourse; indeed every motive of sound policy and humanity dictates a quiet settlement of this difference.
>
> The messengers returned in the evening with the intelligence that the chiefs of the Camegins agreed to hold a conference near the mouth of the river, where they will meet us tomorrow morning, instead of coming on board the boat, which they fear to do. We have accordingly made arrangements to leave the ship at 8 o'clock tomorrow to meet them, with our whole force.

6 Smith, Dorothy Blakey, *James Douglas, Father of British Columbia* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971).

> …at the suggestion of "Soseiah" the Camegin chief, who, with a number of his people, received us on landing, the sailors and marines were thrown a little back in order to conceal their numbers, as he expressed a fear that the Camegins would be afraid to come if they saw so large a force. These arrangements being completed and the ground occupied, we were prepared to receive the Indians as they arrived...
>
> At first one or two only appeared and then the main body... They landed a little beyond, and rushed up the hill, in a state of... excitement, shouting and dashing their arms about, like people who expected to be attacked. This was a most trying moment for the troops could hardly be restrained from firing a volley among them, which would have been attended with the most fatal effect. The excitement over, the murderer was produced by his friends armed cap à pie, and was heard in his defence, which went to declare that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge.
>
> I listened to all that was alleged in his defence, and promised to give him a fair hearing in Nanaimo. He was on those terms surrendered and sent on board the steamer under an efficient guard. I afterwards addressed the Indians who were assembled, on the subject of their relations with the Colony and the Crown.[7]

From Cowichan, the expedition proceeded to Nanaimo to bring the second Indian into custody. The Indians tried to barter, by payment of furs, for the life of this individual whose father was chief of the Cowichans. Douglas explained the requirements of British law and the son of the Cowichan chief was brought into custody with the help of the Voltigeurs police force. Both Indians were convicted and executed in Victoria.

Governor Douglas's application of British law in such matters was generally viewed as just. He was considered a loyal servant to the Queen who saw the importance of imposing an orderly system of law and government.

Another incident involved a white settler who was shot but not killed by a Cowichan Indian. Douglas formed a search party. While pursuing the offender, Douglas was shot because the gun misfired. He maintained his position and gave no order for his men to fire. The chief reacted by giving orders to his men to seize the offender and hand him over. On this occasion, Douglas was intent on making an example of the man, who was hanged after a short trial.

Increasing demands for justice led to the governor's appointment of three justices of the peace in March 1853. Their jurisdiction included petty disputes, civil and criminal cases. These magistrates did not act appropriately, according to Douglas, and their jurisdiction was restricted.

Later that year, the governor and his council set up a Supreme Court of Civil Justice. This court had jurisdiction in all matters of law and equity when the disputed amount exceeded £50 sterling. David Cameron,[8] Douglas's

7 Douglas, Sir James, private papers, second series, (C. 13) Bancroft Collection, cited in Sage, Walter N., *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1930), pp. 178-79.

8 The governor had faith in his brother-in-law's firmness and integrity, although he lacked the legal training and background that may have been considered suitable for this new position. Prior to this appointment, Cameron was a clerk at the Nanaimo coalfields of the Hudson's Bay Company.

brother-in-law, was appointed the superior judge of this court.

The judiciary was not formally instituted until April 4, 1856. By order-in-council, the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of the colony of Vancouver Island was created with Chief Justice David Cameron, a registrar and sheriff. The duties of the chief justice were extended to criminal cases by patent from the governor.

The colonial government expanded through the addition of a House of Assembly in June 1856. The establishment of the legislature was in accordance with British law and practice. This was accomplished by issuing a proclamation that divided the colony of Vancouver Island into five districts with an elected member representing each district.

The first legislation dealt with by the assembly was confined to matters of necessity. These matters included roads, schools, licences, revenue from land sales, timber duties, and royalties remitted to England through the Hudson's Bay Company for its land holdings. Issues of civil or criminal justice were not considered.

B.C.—The colony

The historic gold rush on the Fraser River that began in 1858 brought a huge influx of miners and American interests to Vancouver Island and the mainland. As a result, the colony of British Columbia was formed on the mainland to protect and secure British interests. Douglas was appointed governor of the new colony in September with the stipulation that he sever ties with the Hudson's Bay Company.

As happened upon colonization of Vancouver Island, the laws of Upper Canada were abolished. A system of justice similar to that on the island was set up. Under it:

- Authority was available for the governor, by proclamation under the public seal of the colony, to make laws, institutions and ordinances for peace, order and good government;
- Civil and criminal laws of England remained in full force as long as they were applicable to the local circumstances of the colony, and not altered by the Queen-in-Council, the governor or other legislative authority; and
- The Hudson's Bay Company's exclusive trading right with the Indians was revoked.

The facility for housing prisoners on Vancouver Island needed to be updated, mainly because of the volume of miners from California passing through Victoria en route to the Fraser River. Victoria was the commercial centre for the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. At the beginning of 1858, a new facility to house prisoners was established in Victoria at Bastion Square.

By the fall of 1858, it was apparent that the new colony of British Columbia needed judicial buildings and a jail. Due to the lack of facilities, mainland offenders had to be sent to Vancouver Island. Governor Douglas wrote to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Secretary of State for the British Colonies in London, pointing out these concerns. Sir Edward replied that revenue of the colony had to be utilized for

Bastion Square Gaol: Built in 1858, used as gaol until 1885 (1870s) BC Archives (D-07224)

judicial establishments. The British Government would not provide a grant.

Records for the Police and Prisons Department at Victoria were kept, starting in 1858. These records contained a list of charges, the magistrate's sentence, gaoler's report and accounts for the gaol and police. The first gaoler's report, which appeared on November 15, 1858, listed the number and type of prisoners:

- 8 confined in gaol;
- 3 admitted on bail;
- 5 insane men; and
- Several arrests for being drunk, or drunk and disorderly.

These offenders were generally discharged or fined the equivalent of £1.25 sterling. Fined offenders were sometimes ordered to pay costs. Other common offences included selling liquor without a licence, gambling and assault. Most prisoners were confined in gaol for a couple of days or a week, up to three months.

Although the use of transportation was discontinued in 1853, there was at least one attempt to revive it as punishment in the colony.[9] For example, on September 14, 1858, William King was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to transportation.

When thousands of people began arriving on Vancouver Island and the mainland for the gold rush, Governor Douglas was eager to transport prisoners from the colony. However, no prison was strong enough to confine sentenced offenders for any length of time. Douglas wrote to Colonial Secretary Lytton asking whether the

9 Reference taken from Hudson's Bay Company, Victoria Affairs, October 1852-December 1859, Administration of Justice Account. AC 15 H86. PABC.

British Government would pay for the removal of Vancouver Island criminals to Australia. Lytton responded that the colony's prisoners would have to be sentenced to hard labour.

Lockups were set up to deal with the influx of miners. These lockups held offenders awaiting trial and certain prisoners sentenced to short terms. Tenders were called for the first lockup, in addition to a small church, parsonage and courthouse. These tenders occurred in the town of Fort Langley in November 1858. By year-end, a second lockup was constructed at Lytton.

The justice system on the mainland continued to evolve, with the following appointments:

- Matthew Baillie Begbie[10] became Chief Justice of British Columbia in September 1858;
- Chartres Brew,[11] an inspector in the Irish Constabulary in Cork, set up the B.C. Police force. He became Inspector of Police and Chief Gold Commissioner;
- Wymond O. Hamley became Collector of Customs;
- Warner Reeve Spalding was appointed Justice of the Peace and stipendiary magistrate in April 1858. He arrived in New Westminster in December 1859;
- Judge Begbie set up a judicial system similar to what was developed for Vancouver Island in 1853 by Chief Justice Cameron; and
- George Hunter Cary was appointed Attorney General of British Columbia the year after Judge Begbie arrived.

Meanwhile, concern was expressed about the huge influx of miners unaccustomed to the rule of British law. A regular military force—a detachment of 165 Royal Engineers from England—was requested in the summer of 1858 to help maintain law and order. Colonel R.C. Moody, the Commanding Officer, arrived in advance of the majority of his troops in December 1858. His effort was in vain. Sir Edward Lytton, British Secretary of State, vetoed the Royal Engineers on the basis that a local force should be set up.

Douglas formed a new constabulary to contend with the legion of gold miners. The organizational structure consisted of a superintendent, chief constable, sergeant, five constables and staff to maintain the gaol at Victoria. All prisoners were initially brought to this gaol for trial and incarceration. The constabulary became known as the B.C. Provincial Police.

To assist with the administration of justice, the *Goldfields Act* was proclaimed in 1859. Gold commissioners and assistant commissioners were appointed to grant licences for mining. Assistant gold commissioners were placed in each mining community, where they performed a variety of duties.

In the absence of judicial or executive authority, the gold commissioner acted as both governor and judge. As a stipendiary magistrate, each commissioner carried out the judicial duties of a justice of the peace. Another responsibility was settling mining and civil disputes involving sums less than the equivalent of $200 in sterling. The gold commissioner collected

10 Begbie was selected by the colonial secretary and commissioned by Queen Victoria to be a judge in the colony of British Columbia. Prior to his arrival in British Columbia, he served at the bar in London.

11 Brew had been an inspector in the Irish Constabulary in the city of Cork, a position he had held since 1857.

miners' licences, registered mining claims and supervised local mining boards. He was also assistant commissioner of lands, collector of revenue, Indian agent and coroner.

To expedite matters relating to the administration of justice, Governor Douglas established a small debts court in December 1859. The court, at which a stipendiary magistrate presided, was for the collection of debts and claims not exceeding £50. Individuals who could not pay fines sometimes received a gaol sentence and were housed with other prisoners.

With a growing population, a larger and better ventilated gaol was required. In 1859, a committee, which was appointed to investigate conditions and discipline at the public gaol in Victoria, recommended a new gaol. It would include a prison hospital, and separate the convicted from the remanded population.

The governor responded to the committee's suggestions in the legislature. He acknowledged that the confined nature of the gaol made it inappropriate for a hospital. However, the owner of the building—the Hudson's Bay Company—would not consent to its expansion.

Convict labour

As early as 1859, convict labour was utilized on Vancouver Island to assist with the cost of government. It was viewed as a means of occupying prisoners' time and reducing opportunity to plot escape. Some prisoners were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. At the Victoria gaol, these prisoners assisted with the construction and maintenance of government buildings, roads and other public works.

There were difficulties, mainly caused by prisoners trying to escape. The chain gang system was adopted in response to these attempts. Prisoners were shackled together with leg irons and marched through the streets to work sites. They were also employed as maintenance workers at the gaol.

Prisoners sentenced to hard labour received a more substantial diet than individuals serving time without labour. Nevertheless, some able-bodied prisoners complained that the amount of food was inadequate, according to a letter from Chartres Brew to the colonial secretary in August 1861. Enclosed in this letter was a scale of rations for prisoners at New Westminster.

The daily rations included:

- 1½ pounds of bread;
- 6 ounces of meat (made into soup with vegetables);
- 3/4 of a pound of potatoes;
- 1 pint of coffee in the morning; and
- 1 pint of tea at night.

Prisoners serving a sentence with hard labour were allowed double the amount of meat. Surprisingly, "lunatics" were fed the same as prisoners at hard labour.

Prison conditions

The first gaol housing sentenced prisoners on the mainland was built in New Westminster in 1860. It was located on Clarkson Street and had 12 cells measuring approximately five feet by seven, as well as living quarters for the warden. Until this time, offenders who received a sentence of imprisonment were sent to the Victoria Gaol at Bastion Square.

Following construction of the New Westminster Gaol, there were administrative difficulties. Although the gaol was completed in September, with a capacity for about 30 inmates, prisoners from the colony of British Columbia were still held in Victoria.

Resentment surfaced because Victoria was utilizing these prisoners on its chain gang, while B.C. paid for their support. Meanwhile, New Westminster needed these prisoners to clear land and build roads.[12] The municipal council at New Westminster decided to ask the governor to order the immediate transfer of all British Columbia prisoners in the Victoria Gaol to the New Westminster Gaol.[13] The need to appoint a gaoler for this facility was also mentioned in the letter.[14]

Added pressure came from the Grand Jury's Report for November 1860, reported in the *Colonist*. It suggested that British Columbia criminals be brought from Victoria to New Westminster where their labour could be used to construct roads.

There were more complaints about conditions at the Victoria Gaol in February 1861. It had not been renovated or replaced, and could no longer meet the requirements of the colony. The *British Columbian* described the gaol at Victoria, located in the centre of the city's business district, as a "miserable wooden rookery."

In July 1861, the Grand Jury reported a need for designated accommodation for females and the insane. One year later, on July 23, 1862, it was reported that there were 19 people in gaol, four of whom were lunatics, and one a "raving madman."

An extension was eventually built in the winter of 1862-63 that increased capacity by 50 people. The extension included 10 new cells and an upper room, 22 by 32 feet, for use as a chapel. The building of a chapel shows the importance placed on providing inmates with religious programs when funds were not available for other purposes.

During the summer of 1861, it became evident that the gaol at New Westminster was also too small to suit conditions in the expanding colony. Chartres Brew wrote to the colonial secretary proposing an expansion. The renovation would add four to six cells, a room to accommodate the assistant gaoler, and a separate kitchen for the prisoners.

12 From an editorial in the *New West Times,* September 22, 1860.

13 According to a letter from Chartres Brew to the colonial secretary dated October 31, 1860.

14 James Douglas appointed Captain John Pritchard as gaoler on the recommendation of Chartres Brew.

The most prevalent crimes during this period were larceny,[15] assault, being drunk and disorderly, and selling spirits to Indians. Murder, felony,[16] horse stealing and stabbings were also committed.

Fines were a common punishment. For example, the court record book of Fort Hope shows the types of dispositions made. Drunkenness, a common offence, was usually handled with a fine of one dollar. A person who was particularly "boisterous" and "incapable" was fined double. Imprisonment was imposed on offenders who could not pay fines.

There was little accountability in terms of the administration and operation of gaols and lockups. Select committees and committees of inquiry, composed of members of the Legislative Assembly, formed to inspect the government's operations. These committees sometimes inspected gaols at New Westminster and Victoria, but did not investigate lockups.

Grand juries, composed of judges and members of the general public, investigated complaints regarding road conditions, gaols and government buildings. They tended to be more critical and outspoken in their reports on the gaols than committees appointed by the government. Their reports were published in the newspapers, which often created pressure for change.

Judge Begbie inspected gaols and lockups where assizes were held. In general, however, checks on the operations of gaols and lockups occurred infrequently during the colonial period. There was little contact between personnel of different facilities and no uniform system of rules and regulations.

Gaols and lockups in mining and frontier communities were notorious for their lack of security. Most facilities were hastily built along the gold rush route without the permanency necessary for even moderate security. Not only did the cells lack security, they were also unsanitary and unpleasant.

Judge Begbie gave the following report:

> At Fort Yale and Douglas there are gaols; but they are unfit for confining even one of the lower order of animals—mere dark cells—open to the weather, unfurnished, without any means of warmth, and as insecure as they are inhuman. That at Fort Yale has been recently improved, in one very important particular, by having a small palisaded enclosure, etc. But it is still very insecure—in particular the state of the fireplace in the outer room is such, being a large open place, with a chimney aperture about 2 feet square at the top and about 10 feet high, that an active prisoner might dash up it in an instant.[17]

Given the rudimentary construction, it was not unusual for prisoners to escape by burrowing under the floor or climbing up the chimney. Escapes were common even in prisons with sturdy construction. To prevent escapes, Judge

15 Larceny, a common law crime of stealing, was replaced by theft. It does not appear in the *Criminal Code of Canada*, R.S.C. 1970, C-34.

16 Felony is a term used to distinguish more serious offences from lesser offences or misdemeanours. This term ceased to be used with the proclamation of the *Criminal Code of Canada* in 1892. Instead, serious crimes are punishable by indictment and less serious offences by summary conviction.

17 Source unknown.

First Courthouse and Gaol of the Cariboo: Williams Lake (1930s) BC Archives (A-04060)

Begbie recommended that confined prisoners be shackled with leg irons and handcuffs.

Changes in the colonial government occurred early in 1864. James Douglas opened the first Legislative Council of British Columbia in January. Later in the year, Douglas retired from his position as governor of the two colonies. Meanwhile, the British Government decided to separate administration of the two colonies.

Two governors were appointed:

- Arthur Edward Kennedy for Vancouver Island; and
- Frederick Seymour for British Columbia.

Separation and segregation of offenders was practically non-existent in the colonial period. Remand prisoners, petty offenders and offenders who committed more serious crimes were housed in the same gaol. Although few were imprisoned, male juvenile offenders were occasionally kept in the same gaol as adults.

Women were not sentenced to gaol during the colonial period, although some women were locked up. In fact, no women were imprisoned with the exception of Indian women who were confined "for their own protection and the public decency" until they were sober.[18] Because there were no institutions for the insane, so-called lunatics were kept with the prison population.

The government officially recognized the importance of religious programs for prisoners in 1865. Although a chaplain provided services to the Victoria Gaol almost since its inception, these services were not formally recognized in the colonies until this date.

18 Dispatch from Governor Frederick Seymour to the colonial office in London, May 1, 1865.

By the mid-1860s, approximately 11 lockups (generally consisting of two cells) existed in both colonies. Most of them were located in mining communities. Although sentenced offenders were usually housed at the gaols in New Westminster or Victoria, sentences of about a week's duration were served in lockups.

A lockup built at Quesnellemouth (later called Quesnel) in 1865 had a larger than usual capacity. In the building plans, it was described as a wooden structure with measurements of:

> ...20 X 22 feet ...4 cells with divisions of 2 inch lumber well braced and spiked and frontage of same thickness as sides. Doors of each cell to have a strong iron bolt and a strong larger Padlock—to be different. A bar across each door of cells. Doors to open outward—5 iron gratings on sides of cells.

Lockups were also built at Yale, Osoyoos Lake and Saanich in 1865.

In 1866, the two colonies united to form the colony of British Columbia with Victoria as the capital. Steps were taken to co-ordinate the justice administrations that were earlier established in the two colonies.

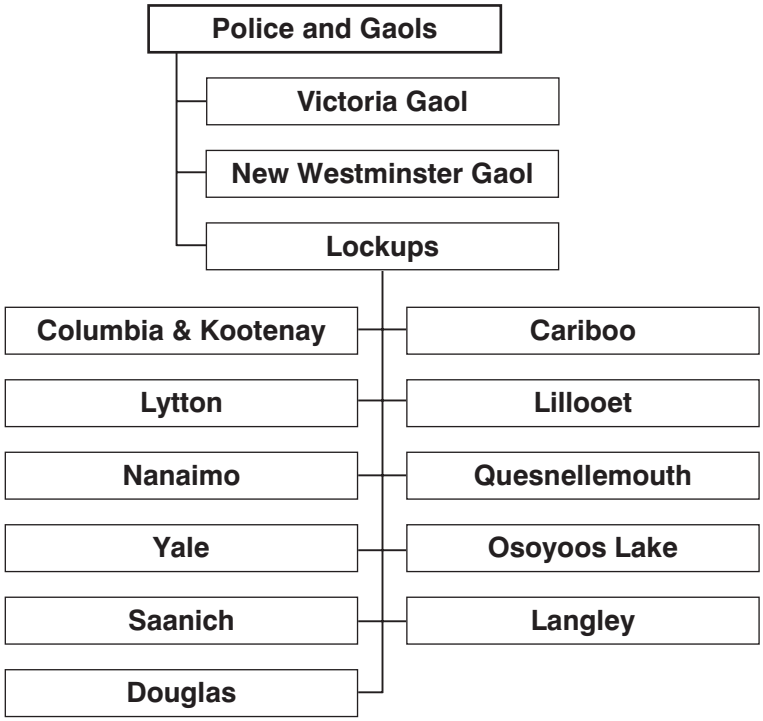
Disciplinary problems were evident in the gaols during the colonial period, both with inmates and staff. As an example, the chain gang was under the supervision of one guard, but the work was not being properly done. Because the chain gang at New Westminster was under the control of the Department of Land and Works, Chartres Brew proposed that a person from this department should be appointed to supervise and direct its work.[19] Staff turnover also appeared to be an issue. In May 1869, a gaoler was discharged for neglect of duty and a new gaoler was appointed at New Westminster.

During the colonial period, a system of administering justice was created that included courts and a police and prison department. Institutionalization increasingly became the means of dealing with the offender. Lockups and gaols were haphazardly constructed in response to the flow of people into mining areas. These facilities were part of the evolving justice system and viewed as a necessary development to keep law and order.

Other punishments were corporal punishment, fines, execution and transportation (in at least one instance). Fines were used for minor infractions or in conjunction with imprisonment. Executions occurred only in cases of murder. During this period, no white settlers were executed for murder, although some Indians received capital punishment.

19 From a letter to the colonial secretary, August 1, 1866.

Corrections System during Colonial Period



Chapter 2

Era of Punishment (1871-1949)

Confederation

Confederation in 1871 brought British Columbia into the fold of the new nation known as Canada. It also ushered in a new administrative structure to make the gaol system more efficient, disciplined and accountable.

The two-year rule was adopted to divide federal and provincial responsibilities for corrections. Under this rule, the federal government had responsibility for housing convicted persons to two years or more. The provincial government took individuals who were sentenced to anything less than two years.

The term 'penitentiary' referred to facilities established for federal prisoners. At the provincial level, prisons were not known as penitentiaries; they were gaols and lockups. An attorney general for British Columbia was appointed with responsibility for these facilities, excluding lockups under municipal authority. Administration of provincial facilities became the responsibility of the superintendent of the British Columbia Police force.

When British Columbia entered Confederation, there were three provincial gaols and about a dozen lockups scattered throughout the province. The largest provincial gaol (Bastion Square Gaol at Victoria) had a capacity for 50 prisoners. All prisoners, regardless of age, gender and crime, were held in the same facility.[1] Gaols inherited from the colonial period were not secure and many were dilapidated.

One condition of B.C.'s entrance into Confederation was an agreement by the federal government to build a penitentiary. British Columbia had a budget deficit (which the federal government agreed to assume), and could not afford to build such a facility. The British Columbia Penitentiary, however, was not completed until 1878. In the interim, offenders sentenced to two years or more were housed in provincial correctional institutions.

1 Up until the 1850s in Canada and the United States, persons convicted of criminal offences were housed in the same institutions. Efforts to establish separate facilities for juveniles began in the 1850s.

The Auburn system

The primary purpose of B.C. Corrections during this period was punishment. Reformation of the offender was viewed as part of the purpose of imprisonment, particularly of juvenile offenders. An American model of imprisonment—the Auburn system—heavily influenced corrections in British Columbia. It was quickly adopted in 1835 at Kingston Penitentiary, which became the model for the Canadian penitentiary system following Confederation.

The Auburn system emphasized the value of discipline and punishment for reforming the offender. Prisoners were placed in a highly structured work routine during the day and isolated in their cells at night. It was assumed "that rigid isolation from contaminating influences, punishing conditions, strict discipline and long hours of singular reflection, would deter further misdeeds and remake the convict in the image of a moral, industrious, temperate member of society."[2]

This focus in B.C. Corrections spanned almost 80 years. To control behaviour, there were highly structured routines, rules and regulations. To ensure that rules were followed, there were punishments for all infractions. To ensure that management acted properly, a system of reporting and accounting procedures were developed.

Methods of enforcing accountability were inconsistently applied. On the positive side, however, there were improvements in administration, such as:

- A formal system of reporting on the operation of the gaols was initiated;
- Investigative committees were appointed on a regular basis; and
- Prison architecture changed to reflect the new program structure and attention to security.

In the latter part of this era, policies were initiated that were less rigid and controlling over every aspect of behaviour. Programs were implemented that were less confining and assumed offenders could be more responsible for their actions. The "Gazoonie Gang" experiment, Borstal program, probation and parole are just a few examples.[3]

These programs marked the roots of rehabilitative philosophy,[4] which increasingly made an impact on the gaol system. At this time, however, programs did not reflect the official policy of custody. A shift to rehabilitation did not occur until the report of the B.C. Gaol Commission in 1950.

2 R.M. Zubrycki, *The Establishment of Canada's Penitentiary System: Federal Correctional Policy, 1867-1900* (Toronto: Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1980), p.17.

3 These programs are discussed later in this chapter.

4 This philosophical change included an individual treatment approach, which was reflected in corrections through training, education and counselling programs. For discussion of this policy shift, refer to the next chapter.

Growth and accountability in prisons

While the administrative structure for the punishment era developed, the number of gaols and lockups in British Columbia slowly increased. After Confederation, the Victoria Gaol was transferred from Victoria Municipal Police force jurisdiction to the B.C. Provincial Police force. Because many gaols and lockups in the province were neglected, inadequately staffed and lacked space to house prisoners, there was significant growth of facilities following Confederation.

Between 1871 and 1878, six lockups were built at Clinton, Comox, Cowichan, Esquimalt, Cassiar and Osoyoos. Four were newly established lockups and two replaced existing facilities. In 1873, John Boyd was appointed the first government agent and constable for the district of Kamloops. The courthouse, which included a gaol constructed of whitewashed logs, was built at the west end of the settlement.

With new lockups on the scene, and continuing emphasis on discipline and control, there was increased momentum to make them accountable. Select committees and commissions were more frequently appointed to visit and inspect the management and operation of gaols. For example, in 1872, a commission of inquiry was appointed to examine the state of the New Westminster Gaol. The following year, a commission was appointed to inspect the Victoria Gaol.

Over time, gaols acquired the ability to produce their own food through farming, and provisions through shops that were set up to make shoes and clothing. At the beginning of the era, however, food and provisions were supplied by contract. Consequently, provisions to the gaols were frequently checked.

The first select committee constituted for this purpose was appointed in 1875. It investigated a contract awarded at the Victoria Gaol and examined the quality of goods delivered. The committee found that the contract was appropriately awarded to James Fell & Co. based on information available to the provincial secretary. The quality of goods delivered was satisfactory.

It was recommended that the character of the goods should be frequently and carefully examined by a government authority. In 1878, two select committees were appointed to investigate supplies to the gaols—one for Victoria and one for New Westminster. Both committees again found that supplies were satisfactory.

Chain gangs and prisoners at work

To improve administration and discipline, regulations governing the conduct of prisoners were imposed for gaols and lockups in B.C.

Although use of chain gangs dates back to 1859, it was not until September 1878 that an act was passed providing for the employment

of prisoners sentenced to hard labour outside of gaols.

The act described the conduct of prisoners in such situations: Prisoners were "...subject to all the rules, regulations, and discipline of the gaol... and to any regulations made by Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council under the first section of the *Act of Canada*."[5] It was stressed that these prisoners had to be supervised at all times by an officer of the gaol.

Following passage of this act, more emphasis was placed on using the sentence of imprisonment with hard labour. Prisoners given this sentence were employed either on the chain gang, or at more arduous work around the gaol.

Work on the chain gang involved:

- Construction and repair of roads;
- Clearing forests; and
- Maintenance of government buildings.

Employment at the gaol consisted of:

- Picking oakum[6] (reserved for individuals incapable of more arduous tasks);
- Chopping wood;
- Cooking;
- Washing clothes; and
- Odd jobs concerned with prison maintenance.

The "proper management of Gaols"

Once the British Columbia Penitentiary opened in 1878, there were more administrative changes in the provincial system. Inmates serving federal sentences in provincial gaols were transferred to this institution. In fact, the new warden, Arthur McBride, personally escorted them there. After taking up his new responsibility, McBride went to Victoria and brought 12 convicts back to the penitentiary on the Hudson's Bay Company steamer. The following day, 11 more convicts were transported from the New Westminster Gaol to the B.C. Penitentiary.

In 1879, another select committee was appointed to visit the Victoria Gaol. The committee found the gaol to be in good order and operating more efficiently than previously, although it was overcrowded. In his report, the chairman of the committee stated:

> It is impossible to suppose that there can be sufficient fresh air in a cell 12 by 6, 8 feet high, when occupied by five prisoners; and therefore, from a sanitary point of view, it is strongly recommended that new buildings should be erected as soon as possible. Notwithstanding the overcrowding, the prisoners were found to be in a cleanly state.

5 This quote refers to "An Act to provide for the employment without the walls of Common Gaols, of prisoners sentenced to imprisonment therein" passed by the federal government in 1877. Section 1 refers to the power to make regulations to prevent escapes and preserve discipline when prisoners were employed outside the gaol.

6 Loose fibre produced by shredding old rope that was used particularly for caulking. This task was reserved for convicts and paupers.

During the same year, administrative accountability was intensified with the passage of "an Act to provide for the proper management of Gaols." This act outlined the powers of the superintendent of police, which were fairly broad. He was given authority to:

- Make rules and regulations for the management, discipline and police of the gaols throughout the Province, and for fixing and prescribing the duties of the officers and servants employed therein...;
- Suspend or discipline an employee of the gaols for misconduct which included behaviour he found incapable, inefficient or negligent in the execution of his duty, or whose presence was deemed injurious to the gaol. For example, an employee could be disciplined for bringing into the gaol any liquor, tobacco, opium, snuff or cigars for any convict, except where provided for under gaol regulations; and
- Inspect prisons or anyone employed within them at any time.

All convicted prisoners in the province sentenced to hard labour were allowed a ration of tobacco, prior to implementation of the *Prison Regulations of the Dominion of Canada*. After the regulations were adopted, this ration was discontinued. Not surprisingly, this led to more prisoner complaints and more requests to enter the gaol infirmary. In a letter dated October 13, 1875, the surgeon of the New Westminster Gaol wrote to the inspector of gaols:

> Granting or withdrawing such ration was of great service in maintaining discipline of the jails of this province and was conducive to better health (particularly for prisoners with long sentences) of the inmates of the jails.

The surgeon was responsible for ensuring that copies of the rules were posted in every prison and accessible to all concerned. He also submitted an annual report on the condition and management of gaols in the province. This included suggestions for improvements based on the surgeon's assessment and gaolers' reports.

Annual reports became a primary means of providing an account of gaols and lockups in the province. Gaolers/wardens were legally required to submit to the superintendent a monthly written statement of expenditures and report on the condition and management of their gaols. The annual report was to contain:

(a) A return of the names, ages, country, calling, and crimes of the prisoners received into each such gaol during the year, and the city, town or district from which each came;

(b) A return of the names, ages, callings, and crimes of the offenders who died in each such gaol during the year, and the city town or district from which each came;

(c) A similar return of the offenders liberated during the year by the expiration of the term for which they were sentenced;

(d) A similar return of the offenders pardoned during the year;

(e) A statement showing the average number of prisoners confined in the different gaols during the year, up to the date of the last annual return, the number discharged and the number then in confinement;

(f) A statement of the expenditure for the past year for the support and maintenance of each gaol, and the amount paid on all other accounts during the year; such statement shall also show, separately, the sums paid for

food, bedding, clothing, and hospital stores for the offenders; the salaries of the officers, fuel and light, for the erection of new buildings and repairs, and for all other items of expenditure; also the cash on hand, if any, at the close of the year;

(g) An inventory and valuation of all the property, estate, and effects of each gaol, distinguishing the estimated value of the several descriptions of property; a statement of the cost of each prisoner to the Province in the several gaols thereof; and an account of the tenders received for supplies.

First Prisons Report, 1879

The first annual *Prisons Report*, on the principal gaols in the province and some outlying lockups, was submitted by the inspector to the attorney general at the end of 1879. The report included rules and regulations applicable to the gaols at Victoria and New Westminster, which were drawn up by Superintendent of Police, C. Todd.

The rules focused on order, discipline, control and security within the gaols. Prisoners had to maintain strict silence in the cells. No shouting or loud talking was allowed in the gaol yard.

Security measures required prisoners to be searched upon admission to the gaol. They were searched every evening before being locked in their cells, which were also checked. Irons could be placed on prisoners to prevent escape or bring misbehaving prisoners under control.

An explicit accounting of behaviour was recorded in a book of conduct, which could remit a prisoner's sentence for good behaviour. This was done on the assumption that prisoners understood that their sentence was to encourage discipline and obedience.

The following punishments were made for disobeying prison rules:

1. Solitary confinement in a dark cell, with or without bedding, not to exceed six days for any offence, or three days at any one time.
2. Bread and water diet, full or half rations, possibly in combination with #1.
3. Cold-water punishment, with approval of the visiting physician.

The Prisons Report of 1879 also published the following notice:

Rules to be observed in the Victoria and New Westminster Gaols:

1. All prisoners upon being admitted to the Gaol must be thoroughly searched in the presence of a Constable and Officer of the Gaol.
2. Prisoners must be searched every evening before being locked up in their cells, and the cells and beds must also be searched.
3. The cells in use must be scrubbed and whitewashed every week, and the passages every day.
4. Prisoners shall have clean underclothing and a bath when required, not less than once a week. Hard labour prisoners shall have their hair cut to one inch in length.

5. Strict silence must be observed in the cells, and no shouting or loud talking shall be allowed in the Gaol yard.

6. No lights will be allowed in any of the cells. All lights and fires in the Debtors' room must be extinguished at 8 o'clock p.m.

7. No visitor shall be allowed in the Gaol, or to speak with prisoners, except by permission of the Officer in charge, and some Officer must be present at all interviews with prisoners unless otherwise ordered.

8. The prisoners shall rise at 6.30 o'clock a.m. from April 1st to September 30th, and at 7 o'clock a.m. from October 1st to March 31, and will be allowed half an hour to wash and dress themselves. A Guard must be on the balcony before the cells are opened.

9. The Gaoler may allow such prisoners as he thinks fit to be out in the Gaol yard an hour and a half in the morning and the same time in the afternoon. On Sundays and holidays all prisoners, except those in solitary confinement, are to be allowed this privilege.

10. The Chain-gang shall leave the prison for work at 7.30 o'clock in the summer time, returning at 5.30 o'clock p.m.; and in the winter time at 8 o'clock a.m., returning before dark. One hour shall be allowed at noon for dinner.

11. All prisoners must obey the orders of any of the prison officers. Those in the Chain-gang, while outside the gaol, must obey the orders of any of the guards.

12. The Gaoler may place such irons on any prisoner, other than a debtor, as he may deem necessary for the prevention of escape, subject to the approval of the Superintendent of Police. The Senior Convict Guard may refuse to allow prisoner to go out in the Chain-gang until he is ironed to his satisfaction, subject to approval as above.

13. Prisoners' irons must be examined daily, those of the Chain-gang, on leaving for work, by the Senior Convict Guard, and on return by the officer in charge of the Gaol at the time.

14. While the Chain-gang is outside the Gaol, the Senior Guard shall have charge of the guards and convicts.

15. The Assistant Gaolers and Guards, while inside the Gaol, shall be under the orders of the Gaoler or the officer in charge of the Gaol at the time.

16. The Gaoler will be held responsible for the good order, cleanliness, and neatness of the prison.

17. Any prisoner who shall be proved guilty of wilfully disobeying the orders of the officer in charge of the Gaol, or of fighting in the Gaol or Chain-gang, or of refusing to work, or of making an unnecessary noise in the prison, or of destroying clothing or other property of the prison, or of refusing to keep himself clean, or of refusing or neglecting to clean his cell when necessary or when ordered to do so, or of breaking any of the prison rules, may be punished by order of the Superintendent of Police, or in his absence, by order of any Police or Stipendiary Magistrate, or of any Justice of the Peace when there is no such Magistrate.

18. The punishment to be inflicted upon prisoners for any disobedience of the prison rules shall, not be other than the following:

(1) Solitary confinement in dark cell, with or without bedding, not to exceed six days for any one offence, nor three days at any one time.

(2) Bread and water diet, full or half rations, combined or not with No. 1.

(3) Cold-water punishment, with the approval of the visiting physician.

19. In the absence of the Superintendent of Police, the Gaoler or officer in charge of the Gaol, shall have authority summarily to confine any prisoners, for misconduct, in a solitary cell, or to place irons upon his hands and feet should he find it necessary; such restraint not to extend over a longer time than is necessary to bring the matter before the Superintendent of Police, or, in his absence, before a Police or Stipendiary Magistrate, or of any Justice of the Peace when there is no such Magistrate.

20. Any person who may be found interfering with the discipline of the prison shall be excluded from the prison as a visitor.

21. A book will be kept by the Gaoler, in which the conduct of prisoners shall be registered daily, with a view of obtaining a mitigation of punishment from the proper authorities in cases meriting reward.

By order C. Todd
Superintendent of Police

The *Prisons Report* included several suggestions to improve gaol operations:

- The cost of maintaining chain gangs was impractical. Work done by inmates was viewed as not worth the cost of guarding them and the cost of tools and materials used;
- Chain gangs were viewed as a deplorable sight in the city;
- The decayed state of the gaols at Victoria and New Westminster was noted;
- It was suggested that the government consider building a new gaol outside the city of Victoria; and
- Kamloops Gaol was viewed as inadequate for housing sentenced prisoners because the fence around the gaol was too low to allow open air exercise.

The importance of religious programs to prisoners was recognized by the inclusion of a chaplain's report in the first *Prisons Report*. This report also met the need for administrative accountability in monitoring staff and inmate behaviour.

Superintendent Todd included in this report an account of the gaols and lockups in the province. Lockups were operating in Esquimalt, Cowichan, Comox, Burrard Inlet, Mission, Lytton, Clinton, Kamloops, the Okanagan, Osoyoos, Quesnel, Stanley, Richfield and Cassiar District (one at Laketon and one at McDame's Creek). Gaols were located in Victoria, Nanaimo and New Westminster.

The hierarchy of authority and discipline associated with the British Columbia Police force extended to gaols and lockups. Staff hired for the gaols were often current or former police officers, which reflected the emphasis on discipline and control. The provincial police inspector, who was also an employee of the Provincial Gaol in Victoria, was responsible for administration of the gaol system.

Construction boom in prisons and lockups

To meet the growing needs of the province, 11 lockups were built within one decade:

- Departure Bay (1880);
- Granville (1883);
- Clinton (1885);
- Cowichan, Cassiar, Lillooet, Spallumcheen (1887);
- Moodyville, Alberni (1888);
- Alberni (1889); and
- Kelowna (1890).

The select committee appointed in 1885 discussed security and control within the gaols. Although general order and sanitary conditions were satisfactory, it noted that more stringent discipline was necessary to deal with the recidivist population. The construction of a new gaol at Victoria was recommended to replace the existing facility, which was in disrepair.

Security was receiving more attention in the construction of gaols. A new gaol built in New Westminster in 1885 reflected a change in architecture to a more secure structure of stone and brick. The building was a three-storey structure located outside the core of the city, with a capacity for 156 inmates (77 cells), including accommodation for 12 women.

New Westminster Gaol (1901) BC Archives (A-03353)

Hillside Gaol, Victoria: Warden R.F. John and staff (1892) BC Archives (D-01778)

The construction in 1886 of a gaol in Victoria, at Topaz and Hillside Street (a location outside the city), again signalled the shift in architecture. Replacing the decaying structure at Bastion Square, the new structure was similar in design to the gaol at New Westminster. Its capacity was slightly smaller: There were 66 men's cells with 118 beds, and nine women's cells, each with a bed. Three cells had administrative segregation.

At the end of this year, the superintendent of police and warden of gaols recommended that accommodation be increased to provide living space on the grounds for guards.[7] One reason for this recommendation was the facility's seclusion. It was also reasoned that guards might be necessary for safety and security in case of fire or escape. A Select Committee on the Victoria New Gaol supported the recommendation in 1887.

The gaol in the Interior of the province was no longer fit for its purpose. Expansion was necessary and in 1887, tenders were called for a new Kamloops Gaol. The gaol was built at a cost of $4,500, and opened in 1887 at the southwest corner of First and Victoria adjacent to the provincial courthouse. This facility served as a lockup and gaol for short-term prisoners in B.C.'s Interior. It was described as follows:

> Two storeys high with walls built of solid three-by-five inch scantling. There were eight cells and an office, sleeping quarters, dining room and kitchen for the jailor. At

7 Superintendent of Police, *Prisons Report 1886 (*Victoria, B.C., October 1887).

Kamloops Gaol (1890s) BC Archives (F-03634)

> the west end of the building, an exercise yard, 40 by 80 feet in extent, was enclosed with a fence 16 feet high.[8]

The first hanging occurred in Kamloops in November 1887. Albert Mallot was convicted of murder and hanged at the back of the old log house on Main Street.

The issue of segregation within the prison population—first raised by a select committee appointed in 1885—became a concern during this era of corrections history. Mixing different populations interfered with discipline and caused disorder. It was also viewed as contaminating youthful offenders.

Admission of remand prisoners to the Victoria Gaol was viewed as problematic, because this population was disruptive to the rest of the gaol. A separate facility was recommended for female offenders. Municipal prisoners, who were kept in the provincial gaols, committed fairly minor crimes such as non-payment of fines.[9]

The issue of segregation was again raised in 1888 regarding the handling of juvenile offenders in B.C. gaols. A select committee appointed to investigate the condition and operation of the Victoria Gaol recommended segregation of youthful prisoners from older prisoners.

8 Ken Favrholdt, "Stone Walls did not this Prison Make: Brief History of Kamloops Jail, 1887-1918," in *The Kamloops News*, Nov. 28, 1986.

9 These offenders were supposed to be confined separately within the gaol (under an agreement made between the municipality and provincial authorities). In practice, due to overcrowding, they were often mixed with provincial prisoners. For an example, refer to the *Victoria Municipality Act,* 1876, section 14.

In addition to segregation, the committee addressed other complaints:

Issue: Prisoners awaiting trial alleged that the food was insufficient and that time allowed for exercise was inadequate.

Response: The problem with food was not substantiated. It was recommended that hours of exercise be increased for prisoners awaiting trial.

Issue: A serious problem was noted in the lack of facilities for medical treatment.

Response: The committee recommended a hospital that would be attached to the institution.

In the following year, a select committee appointed to visit the provincial gaol at Victoria heard a recurring complaint:

Issue: Employing prisoners outside the gaol was viewed as problematic.

Response: The committee recommended employing prisoners on the gaol property rather than outside of it. This recommendation was not followed.

Prison discipline for staff

Despite attempts to implement a disciplined regime within the gaols, problems continued. This became evident with the appointment of several commissions of inquiry under the *Public Inquiries Act*. These inquiries investigated charges of inappropriate conduct affecting the operation of provincial gaols.

In 1889, a commission of inquiry was established to investigate charges concerning the operation of the Victoria city gaol (at Bastion Square). The charges against two employees involved drunkenness, improper discipline and food service. Gaol staff were not only expected to maintain social distance from inmates, but also to set exemplary behaviour. The charges show that such discipline was not always followed.

In the first matter, regarding drunkenness and improper conduct, the commissioner concluded:

> "The result of the whole of the evidence, in my opinion, is that Muldoon has been under the influence of liquor on more than one occasion, extending over a period of 12 months."

On a second charge brought against a second staff member, Justice Tyrwhitt Drake stated:

> "I am of the opinion that Ferrall did not keep proper discipline in the chain gang over which he was appointed; he used to work with the prisoners, instead of confining himself to his duty as guard, and discussed politics with them."

The food charge was unsubstantiated and dismissed as "frivolous."

Reformatory prisons and juvenile offenders

Until the 1850s, there was no legislative provision for the separate confinement of juvenile offenders in Canada. This changed in 1857 when *An Act for the Establishment of Prisons for Young Offenders* was passed. The act provided for the construction of reformatory prisons in Upper and Lower Canada.

The federal government followed this direction in the post-confederation period with the enactment in 1886 of an *Act Respecting Public and Reformatory*[10] *Prisons.* This act contained provisions for the operation of provincial correctional facilities, which included mandatory separation of youthful offenders from older offenders.

At the provincial level, British Columbia passed the *Reformatory Act* in 1890 to establish a juvenile reformatory for boys. Similar legislation was not passed for girls, who were not incarcerated at this time in B.C. In Ontario and Quebec, however, reformatories existed for girls.

The reformatory was a lawful place of confinement for boys 16 years and under, sentenced by the court for a term of two years but not exceeding five years. The *Reformatory Act* stated that the purpose of the reformatory was "...custody and detention, with a view to their education, industrial training, and moral reclamation." The British Columbia legislation, like the federal legislation, allowed for confinement of dependent and neglected juveniles within the reformatory.

Boys between 10 and 13 years of age could be confined to the reformatory for an undefined period of not less than two years. Such detention could result from the complaints of a parent or guardian, satisfied by a judge or magistrate, that their child could not be controlled due to incorrigible or vicious conduct. Juvenile offenders were confined to improve their behaviour and skills through training and education. The legislation also provided for probation, although it was not implemented in British Columbia until 1910. When put into effect, probation did not occur within the provincial system, but was initiated by municipal governments.

In practice, the separation of incarcerated juvenile offenders from adult offenders did not begin in British Columbia until 1891. This separation appears to have been administrative, because juveniles were confined separately within an institution used by adults, such as the Victoria Gaol. J. Finlayson was appointed superintendent and a separate report on the Juvenile Reformatory at Victoria was submitted for the year November 1, 1891 to October 31, 1892.

10 The word 'reformatory' was applied to institutions established to house juvenile offenders. The variety of terms (e.g. lockup, penitentiary, reformatory, prison, gaol) reflected the increasing complexity of custodial programs.

Standards of practice

In the adult system, respect for authority was important in maintaining discipline within prisons, according to the *Prisons Report* for the year 1892. The superintendent of police strongly recommended that an allowance for uniforms be given to officers of the gaol to promote obedience and respect. He stated:

> It is a well known fact that criminals of all classes have greater respect for a man and obey his commands more willingly when they know that he is an officer duly appointed to enforce the law and can distinguish the same by his dress.

By 1892, there had been considerable expansion in facilities for prisoners. Along with the principal gaols—Victoria, New Westminster, Nanaimo and Kamloops—there were 36 lockups. They included the two lockups built during the year at Ainsworth and Golden.

Standards for the operation of these gaols and lockups did not occur until this year.

Under the administration of Superintendent of Police, F.S. Hussey, the rules and regulations were extended to all provincial gaols and lockups, and printed in the *Sessional Papers* in 1893. The rules were virtually identical to Superintendent C. Todd's rules in 1879.[11]

The rules and regulations for provincial gaols and lockups were amended in 1893 to meet the requirements of gaol discipline. In the amended rules:

- Behaviour was more tightly controlled;
- The rule of strict silence in the cells was extended to all parts of the gaols; and
- Conversation between prisoners could only occur by special permission of the officer in charge of the prisoners.

More explicit rules governing the conduct of prisoners' behaviour were spelled out. A stricter approach to discipline and negative perception of prisoners was reflected in these rules. Twenty-three clauses described misdemeanours in the prison, with corresponding grades of punishment that were considered fair. Deprivations could be ordered for the following offences:

1. Disobedience of rules and regulations of the gaol.
2. Common assaults by one prisoner on another.
3. Using profane language.
4. Indecent behaviour or language towards another prisoner, an officer of the gaol, or a visitor.
5. Idleness or negligence at work by a prisoner, or an officer of the gaol.
6. Refusal or neglect to keep himself or his cell in order.
7. Wilfully destroying or defacing gaol property.
8. Insubordination of any sort.

11 One minor amendment was added to the rules and regulations. All prisoners—not just prisoners serving sentences of hard labour—were required to have their hair cut.

These rules imply that prisoners were viewed as insolent, idle, negligent and disrespectful. Punishment for infractions was similar to what was given under Superintendent Todd's administration.

As mentioned, there were disciplinary problems not only with convicts but also with gaol staff: "It would be in the interest of the prisoners and the officers if the gaol discipline was more strict than it is at present," the superintendent stated in the annual report containing the amended rules and regulations. Application of these rules to gaol staff was explained in the amended rules. For example, rules 2, 3 and 4 stated:

> The Warden shall conform to the Rules and Regulations himself, and shall see that they are strictly observed by the prisoners and by the officers employed in or about the Gaol.
>
> The Assistant Gaolers and Guards, while inside the Gaol, shall be under the orders of the Warden, or, in the event of his absence, of the officer in charge of the Gaol at the time. And when the chain gang is on the outside of the Gaol the Senior Guard shall have control of the Guards and prisoners.
>
> Where there is no Warden, these Rules and Regulations shall apply to the Officer in charge of the Gaol or Lockup, excepting as to punishments.

The annual report noted that the Nanaimo Gaol was unsuitable for present needs. Superintendent Hussey recommended the construction of a modern, larger, and more secure gaol away from the business area. A new gaol was built of brick and stone in 1894, replacing the old log and plank structure on the waterfront. This gaol had a capacity for 100 prisoners. A new lockup was also built at North Bend. This increased the number of lockups by this date to 45.

The *Provincial Police Act* was passed in 1895. This act divided the province into policing districts, each of which was manned by at least one constable. It also allowed for more continuity in the application of regulations, and in the administration of gaols and lockups. This change resulted in the construction of two more lockups, at Rossland and Union, increasing the tally for the province to 47.

The Kamloops Gaol was overcrowded, unsanitary and dilapidated. Prisoners were frequently moved from Kamloops Gaol to New Westminster Gaol to relieve chronic overcrowding. An 1894 report stated that 37 prisoners, including three women, were crowded into seven cells. Individuals judged insane occupied two other cells. Sanitary conditions were appalling. These factors and growing needs in the southern Interior prompted construction in 1896 of a new, more secure gaol for Kamloops.

The new gaol opened in 1897 with a capacity for 86 prisoners. John Richard Vicars was appointed warden. This facility eventually housed the Bill Miner and his accomplices:

> It was while Vicars was warden that the jail briefly housed Kamloops' most infamous prisoner—Bill Miner. Miner and his two accomplices were captured a few days after their ill-fated attempt to hold up the CPR

Nelson Gaol (1954) BC Archives (I-27275)

> transcontinental train near Monte Creek in May 1906. They were tried and convicted in Kamloops and spent a few weeks (t)here.[12]

Given the attention to security, it is revealing to examine offences committed during this period. In 1896, the Police and Prison Report showed the number of prisoners convicted for offences during the years 1891 to 1895 for the four provincial gaols (Victoria, New Westminster, Nanaimo and Kamloops). Excluded from this information are offenders sentenced to short incarcerations for drunkenness or non-payment of fines. Sentenced offenders served their time in lockups maintained by municipal government in Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster, Nanaimo and Kamloops.

The most common offences for all years, at every gaol, were:

- Drunk and disorderly conduct;
- Infraction of the *Indian Liquor Act;*
- Vagrancy; and
- Assaults.

Breaches of naval discipline were frequent in Victoria.

In 1896, the year the Kamloops Gaol was built, a gaol with the same layout was established in Nelson. The new Nelson Gaol allowed prisoners in the Kootenays to serve their sentences locally instead of being transported to Kamloops or New Westminster Gaol. Security problems may have played a part in building this gaol.

12 Favrholdt, K., *The Kamloops News,* 1986.

Administration of the gaol system was tightened in 1896 by the inclusion of a "Scale of Dietaries for Use in Provincial Gaols" in the *Prison Regulations Act*. This scale provided regulations governing prisoners' meals. It also formalized a practice that existed since colonial times.

Two scales were provided:

1. For prisoners awaiting trial, or under sentence with hard labour for a term of 30 days or less, and the labour done is ordinary gaol work;
2. For prisoners sentenced with hard labour for a term of more than 30 days, and the labour consists of cutting wood, breaking stones, or is extra-mural.

Discipline and punishment

Disciplinary problems continued to plague the gaol system. In 1898, two provincial gaols were investigated regarding discipline. A commission of inquiry at Kamloops Gaol looked into charges of neglect of duty made against a gaoler, who in return made charges of laxity against the warden. The charges against the gaoler were partially substantiated; charges against the warden were not.

A commission of inquiry was also established at New Westminster Gaol to:

> ...hold an enquiry for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of matters alleged in a letter from Mrs. Harry Thompson...regarding the conduct of Warden Armstrong or Guard Calbick of the Provincial Gaol at New Westminster.

Prisoners wrote the letter on which the charges were based. Certain charges against the guard regarding appropriation of prisoners' money were substantiated.

A special committee was appointed in 1898 to inspect the Provincial Gaol and Reformatory at Victoria. Discipline was not found to be a problem, although there was an issue of segregation regarding juvenile offenders. The committee recommended relocating the reformatory away from the gaol. It was argued that the negative association it created in the public's mind might prejudice the careers of the boys.

During the same year, changes were made in the adult system to improve discipline and control. Statements regarding visitors were added to the rules and regulations for provincial gaols. An attempt to restrict outside influence was made. The regulations stated that it was desirous that visits be as brief as possible.

Strict discipline was stressed in handling juvenile offenders. Juveniles housed in the reformatory were viewed as neglected by their parents. A committee appointed in 1899 stated:

> Neglect by the parents, either through poverty, intemperance, or illness, is a fruitful cause of these very young children going wrong.

Neglect, it was argued, resulted in a lack of discipline. For this reason, disciplinary measures were viewed as having a reforming effect on these boys. In the committee's words:

Many of the inmates are unable to read or write when they are brought in, but after a few months' detention they are able to do both. The copy books show steady progress.

In the reformatory, boys followed a schedule, responded to a bell, and spent most of their time on school work, religious instruction, and controlled outdoor exercise. In 1898, a timetable provided in the annual report shows how these offenders spent their time:

Time Table Shewing How Prisoners' Time Is Employed

7 A.M.
Breakfast at the table. As each boy finishes his breakfast, he proceeds upstairs to the lavatory and empties his cell pail and washes, stripped to the waist, each in turn; he shakes out his blankets and rolls them up.

Each boy has then allotted to him the task, spelling, which will keep him occupied in his cell whilst the Superintendent is absent at breakfast.

8 to 9:30 A.M.
Learning lessons in cells. The Warden of the Gaol is informed of the departure of the Superintendent by signal on electric bell.

10 to 10:30 A.M.
Repeating lessons learned in cells.

10:30 to 11:45 A.M.
Arithmetic class.

12 noon
Dinner.

Interval for exercise and recreation in the yard.

2 to 4 P.M.
Afternoon school, writing in copy-books, dictation.

4 to 4:45 P.M.
Interval.
Quiet amusement in school-room, sometimes a run in the yard.

5 P.M.
Supper.

5:30 P.M.
Boys go to cells with reading books. Superintendent leaves, returning in the evening.

Two prisoners are told off each day to do the necessary scrubbing, sweeping, etc., and to lay the table for meals, remove chairs from school to dining-room, remove ashes from stove, carry in coal from yard, and generally to do all necessary work.

Some of the rules and regulations that were set out for the gaols were adopted in the reformatory. For example, in 1898, the provincial gaol regulation of allowing five days remission of a sentence in each month for good conduct was used in the reformatory with "gratifying results."

Punishment of juveniles was similar to adults. For serious offences, boys were confined to their cells with bread and water for one or more meals, but not exceeding three days for any incident. Punishment also included being hit with a cane or whipped with a "cat" of six tails.

In spite of these measures, disciplinary problems persisted in the gaols. In 1901, a commission of inquiry was again held at New

Westminster Gaol "to enquire into the conduct of affairs." Charges of immorality, neglect of duty, violation of rules and regulations of the prison, and ill treatment of prisoners were made against the warden. A gaoler and three trustees were also charged with the above. The commission reported:

> The commissioner found that the Warden was lax in his duties, that he made no effort to remedy abuses, and that he disregarded the rules and regulations, but that the evidence did not show that the charge of immorality was sustained.

Increasing concern was expressed about isolating juvenile inmates from the contaminating influence of adult male inmates. In addition, the building in which the boys were housed was too small for current requirements.[13] Plans were made for a separate institution.

Prior to completion of the new reformatory, the superintendent of Provincial Police conducted an investigation at the Victoria Reformatory. This investigation was prompted by four boys who locked up the officer in charge and escaped.

Several recommendations were made to improve the administration of this institution. According to the report, dated November 18, 1902:

- Extra assistance was needed during the day when the boys were out of their cells. During the past five years, there were 30 escapes (and only one staff member was on duty);
- Boys should be clothed in regulation prison clothing to "...present a cleaner and smarter appearance";
- Rules and regulations should be passed for the reformatory to guide officers and prisoners, which should include a definition of all forms of punishment for breaches of discipline, and copies should be posted; and
- A separate "punishment book" should be kept with a record of the names of boys punished for infractions of prison discipline.

These changes were considered necessary due to growth of the province and an increase in juvenile offenders. Comments about the existing facility and its unsuitability were restrained, because the new reformatory was under construction.

Industrial schools

The Industrial School for Boys[14] (initially called a juvenile reformatory) opened at Jericho in Vancouver on February 1, 1905. The Victoria Juvenile Reformatory closed once its juvenile inmates were transferred to the new institution. Fourteen juveniles were received during the first fiscal year of operation, ending October 31, 1905.

Of this group, 10 were charged with theft, three with being incorrigible and one was transferred from the Vancouver City Gaol by special

13 D.W. Higgins, Chairman, *Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Visit the Victoria Gaol, the Reformatory, and the Refuge Home*. In Sessional Papers. Victoria, B.C., 1899.

14 Industrial schools were viewed as treatment focused and tended to be less severe than reformatories.

warrant. One of the 14 boys was sentenced to four years; five were sentenced to three years; another five received a sentence of two years; one was given a one-month sentence; and the sentences of the last two were not listed. The boys were 10 to 15 years old.

The official staff at this institution included Superintendent D. Donaldson, an instructor, A.W. Jones, a gardener, E.O. Arnold, and a cook, J. Inglis. This was in contrast to the two official staff at the Victoria Juvenile Reformatory—the superintendent and his assistant.

Because delinquency was viewed as caused by improper discipline and training of boys in their home, discipline was stressed in the new school. Attention was also given to providing a supportive home-like environment. As stated by the superintendent of the provincial industrial school:

> We aim to do for the boy what his former environment has failed to do, the cause of many of the boys' delinquencies being often a lack of home training. We make the institution a home and school, eliminating the prison idea as much as possible.

Despite the emphasis on providing a home-like environment for these offenders, a military tone pervaded the institution. In this respect, it was similar to other industrial schools for boys across Canada at this time.

In the latter part of 1905, the deputy attorney general received information on the rules governing industrial schools in Ontario from J.J. Kelso, Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children. In this information, a distinction was made between an industrial school and a reformatory. According to Kelso, the reformatory and industrial school were similar, although an industrial school had more "humane" rules:

> The chief reason why our Reformatory was closed was that it was out of date—high walls, iron bars and prison discipline, with a class of officials who were not fully in touch with a boy's life.

The Industrial School for Boys included:

- Boys 10-16 years who could not be managed or controlled in any other way;
- An indeterminate plan, meaning that boys were committed under guardianship of the institution and remained under supervision until the age of 21. (In Ontario, boys were usually released after six months. If they misbehaved, they could be brought…);
- A "good" couple in charge with "Christian character, practical common sense and love for children"; and
- Small cottages to house not more than 20 boys each.

The environment of the school was intended to imitate family life. In practice, it was another story. In British Columbia and other jurisdictions in Canada and the United States, inmates slept in one large dormitory on cots, not in smaller units supervised by surrogate parents. They responded to a bell and were trained by a drill instructor. They wore uniforms and followed a schedule.

The emphasis was on order, discipline and obedience. The structured environment included industrial work, school, physical exercise and military drill, recreation, and moral and religious training.

Industrial School for Boys, Vancouver (1920) BC Archives (G-03800)

In early 1906, the Industrial School introduced a mark system. Inmates were given marks each day for work, conduct, drills, school and devotion. The benefit of this system, from the administration's perspective, was giving the boys something they could strive to achieve. It also provided a guideline for the superintendent when making recommendations for earned remission of sentence or parole.

Juvenile offenders were also receiving attention through new legislation:

- 1908—The federal *Juvenile Delinquents Act,* which established juvenile courts, was passed. This act superceded *Criminal Code* provisions related to offences committed by children less than 16 years of age.
- 1908—The *Juvenile Courts Act* was passed.
- 1910—As a result of an error that failed to give Vancouver Juvenile Court jurisdiction for *Criminal Code* offences, the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* was proclaimed again for Vancouver.

The new laws resulted in the opening of juvenile courts and detention homes under municipal jurisdiction in Vancouver and Victoria.

Probation officers were appointed to service the juvenile courts. In the city of Vancouver, the first juvenile court was held by Judge A.E. Bull at the detention home located at the northeast comer of Pine Street and 10th

Avenue. H.W. Collier was appointed the first probation officer and superintendent, and Amelia Collier the matron. In other parts of the province, juveniles were still processed through adult courts.

These changes in the provincial corrections system allowed many boys to be placed on probation instead of being sent to the Industrial School. Consequently, the Industrial School began to deal mainly with more difficult juvenile cases.

Overcrowding and other prison troubles

After 32 years of operation, the Nanaimo Gaol closed in 1905. The remaining five short-term prisoners were transferred to Victoria Gaol. Closure of this institution was related to the small number of inmates at this facility. In the previous year, staff were cut for this reason.

In contrast, overcrowding on the mainland began to present difficulties. Twenty-two prisoners were transferred to Victoria Gaol from New Westminster Gaol in 1907, due to overcrowding.

Disciplinary matters were again raised with the appointment of a commission of inquiry in 1908. Its quest was "to ascertain the truth as to matters re: Gaoler W. J. Norfolk's suspension from the Provincial Gaol at Kamloops."

Attempts at reform that were made in the latter part of the 19th century were hampered by persistent problems. New Westminster Gaol was overcrowded and dilapidated. In May 1910, the grand jury's report on the condition of public buildings in the city of New Westminster suggested updating and enlarging the provincial gaol.

One of the major problems with this facility was the locking system. Cell doors locked separately and in the event of a fire, there would be difficulties in releasing inmates. The grand jury recommended installation of a system of unlocking the cell doors simultaneously.

In November of this year, another grand jury determined that accommodation at the New Westminster Gaol was inadequate for the size of the population. Ventilation of the building was also poor. Construction of a new gaol was recommended.

On November 29, overcrowding at this facility resulted in the transfer of 15 prisoners to the Victoria Gaol. Even with this transfer, inmates remained double-bunked at New Westminster. Accommodation was available at this time for 66 male prisoners. Following the transfer, 100 still remained.

At the end of January 1911, another 12 prisoners were transferred to Victoria Gaol from the gaol at New Westminster. When Nanaimo Gaol reopened, an additional 40 prisoners were transferred.

Overcrowding and poor conditions prompted the government to take more aggressive steps. In February, the attorney general stated that the provincial government planned to build a larger central prison farm to relieve congestion at the

New Westminster Gaol. Concern was also raised about the minimal amount of outdoor labour being done by the prisoners. Premier Richard McBride suggested that a new prison farm would take the place of smaller provincial gaols and provide increased opportunity for outdoor labour.

Burnaby was selected in 1911 for the establishment of a central prison farm. This institution was intended to house offenders with sentences from six months to two years less one day. Offenders sentenced to shorter terms would be confined in other provincial jails, which would be renovated.

Expansion and change: Oakalla and other initiatives

In 1911, the provincial government awarded a contract for construction of a central prison in Burnaby. The prison, which would become known as Oakalla Prison Farm, was to serve as a model prison for similar institutions in Western Canada. Attention was given to lighting, sanitary conditions and security.

An article in the *British Columbian* described its prime location, features and how it came to be called Oakalla:

> The new central prison is to be both structurally and in equipment thoroughly up-to-date, having been carefully planned with a view to obtaining perfect light, ventilation and sanitation, in conjunction with absolute security. The building ... has an excellent situation on the brow of a rather steep incline, the site commanding a fine view over Deer Lake and facing north by northeast, so that all cells will get the sunshine at some time of the day.
>
> Oakalla Prison Farm was originally just called Prison Farm. Since this facility was located on Royal Oak Avenue people wanted, for historical reasons, to name this facility using the words "Royal Oak" but could not do so because Royal Oak had already been registered.
>
> In a letter to Major J.S. Matthews, City Archivist (dated October 8, 1957) William Wright, Esq., Secretary-Treasurer, South Burnaby Board of Trade stated: "I believe the name is derived from the name 'Royal Oak' being juggled around so as not to lose the identity and have a name of one word only, hence 'Oakalla', the 'alla' being the last two letters of Royal, and then being reversed."

The government's decision to replace its old gaols with modern prison farms represented a change in direction. Oakalla—the first bold step in this direction—was designed and organized to employ inmates within the gaol property. This eventually led to the obsolescence of the chain gang. The popular view was to reform prisoners through farm work and teaching them trades. This approach represented a more sophisticated attempt to teach industry to offenders.

However, the system still emphasized punishment, security and discipline. The amended rules and regulations for 1912 contained similar provisions regarding the behaviour of inmates—provisions that had been around since 1890. The rule of strict silence was still in effect and remained as part

of the gaol rules and regulations throughout this era.[15] Some changes occurred, although more detailed accounting of behaviour was required.

For example, prisoners were not to be restrained in shackles or leg irons while confined or working in chain gangs outside of gaols, except upon the order of the warden. If the warden ordered a prisoner shackled or ironed, he had to report it to the inspector of gaols and give justification. Under the chain gang system, prisoners had to be shackled to the satisfaction of the senior guard. Explicit provisions were included regarding the responsibility of the gaol matron with female prisoners. Cold water punishment was also removed from the amended rules.

Residents of Burnaby protested the decision to build Oakalla Prison Farm. The Burnaby Board of Trade supported the position taken by the residents and at a meeting in July 1911, the Board of Trade proposed the following resolution:

> That this board forward a respectful protest to the provincial government against the establishment of a prison farm on D.L. 84, in the midst of the best residential locality in Burnaby, upon the grounds (1) of its being detrimental to the district; and (2) the occupation of a site worth in the market over $300,000, while the government possesses other lands, 160 acres in extent, in Burnaby, worth only $95,000.
>
> In the event, however, of the government having proceeded so far towards the establishment of the farm upon D.L. 84 as to place it beyond recall, this board would respectfully ask that twenty-five acres in the southeast comer of D.L. 84, with lake frontage, be granted to the park commissioners of Burnaby for park purposes, as well as a strip 200 feet wide extending along the shore of the lake from the western limits of the proposed park to the south boundary of D.L. 83.

The government considered the latter suggestion in the building of this facility.

In the meantime, a wooden building was constructed in 1912 as temporary accommodation for 100 short-term male offenders. When the gaols at New Westminster and Kamloops became overcrowded, male prisoners were transferred to this facility in Burnaby. With the aid of inmate labour, the construction of a permanent structure (the red brick building) began. The permanent structure was completed in 1914.

The first warden at Oakalla

Warden W.G. McMynn was the first warden of Oakalla. Records indicate that he served during the years of the First World War, and his philosophical basis for recruitment of staff was on their record of service for King and Country. Ex armed forces personnel and policemen were the preference. When selecting some of his best staff to assist the police with

15 It was not until 1961 that the rule of strict silence was removed from the *British Columbia Gaol Rules and Regulations*.

Oakalla Prison Farm (1987 by A.E. Riou) Corrections Branch Archives

outside civil disturbances in 1913, he described his selection as: "Well disciplined officers; good horsemen and riders."

Female offenders and staff at New Westminster also experienced difficulties due to overcrowding. Prior to opening Oakalla, space was available at all gaols of the province (Victoria, Nanaimo, New Westminster, Kamloops, Nelson and Vernon) for housing female prisoners, but there were only a small number of cells.

Although all prisoners were housed in the same facility, women were separated from male prisoners. The matron, under the direction of the warden, was responsible for the care and supervision of the female prisoners. Women prisoners at New Westminster were transferred to the south wing at Oakalla to alleviate overcrowded conditions.

The prison farm concept was again utilized during construction of a facility on Vancouver Island in 1912. Saanich Prison Farm (later known as Wilkinson Road Gaol) opened in 1913 and replaced the outdated Victoria Gaol. It operated on a similar basis to Oakalla Prison Farm, but on a smaller scale.

Concurrent with the new direction taken by the government was the building of an Industrial School for Girls. As early as 1910, pressure was put on the provincial government to establish such an institution. In 1911, officers of the Council of Women argued in favour of it. The attorney general decided on the location and a contract was secured for its construction in the fall of 1912.

The Gallows at Saanich

Between 1871 and the abolition of the death penalty in 1976, 139 British Columbians were sent to the gallows. Staff conducting historical research at Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre (VIRCC) discovered that one of these hangings took place on their prison grounds.

The condemned man was a 46-year-old Scotsman named Robert Suttie, a miner who was employed on a road gang near Oyster River. He was an intemperate sort who was described by his peers as "a friendly fellow unless he had been on the drink." On the morning of May 14, 1915, Suttie got into a heated argument with his foreman. Later, while still under the influence of alcohol, he shot his supervisor dead.

Suttie was arrested and remanded in custody at the Old Victoria Gaol at Hillside until the newly built Saanich Prison Farm (now VIRCC) opened that September. A jury at the Nanaimo Supreme Court Assizes swiftly convicted Suttie of first-degree murder and on November 17, Justice H.H. Murphy served him with the ultimate penalty.

A scaffold for the gallows was erected in the Saanich Prison yard behind the east wing of the main building. Suttie took solace in the Bible and asserted to the last that the shooting was an accident. However, the courts were undeterred. On January 5, 1916, hangman Arthur Ellis finally sprang the trap and Robert Suttie fell to his demise in front of a small gathering of judicial representatives and members of the press.

Twelve minutes later, Old Doc Helmcken pronounced him dead. His body was then released to the Reverend Inkster for internment in a pauper's grave at Ross Bay Cemetery. The burial took place the following day.[16]

The provincial legislation to establish this institution was the *Industrial Home for Girls Act,* passed in 1911. The facility opened in the spring of 1914 on a seven-acre site at 800 Cassiar Street in Vancouver. Space was provided for gardening and outdoor exercise in a home-like atmosphere.

Girls were committed to the school mostly for being runaways and incorrigible (according to section 6 of the act). A small percentage was committed for stealing. These girls were seen as unmanageable, restless, and needing a regime of discipline and punishment, which included training, education and moral reclamation. As with other facilities constructed at this time, punishment was the guiding philosophy.

16 Philip Williams, "The Gallows at Saanich," *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Fall 2000, p. 12.

Industrial School for Girls, Vancouver (date: unknown) BC Archives (F-05931)

Colquitz Mental Hospital, Wilkinson Road, Victoria (January 29, 1965)
BC Archives (G-00128)

With the building of these facilities, there was momentum to close outdated provincial gaols. In 1913, female inmates were transferred from the Victoria Gaol to the New Westminster Gaol. Victoria Gaol then closed in early 1914. In 1916, female inmates were transferred to the women's section at Oakalla Prison Farm from New Westminster Gaol, which closed in early 1918.

An exception to the general rule was the closing in March 1919 of Saanich Prison Farm. Open for only six years, it was still regarded as a modern facility. Mental Health Services assumed jurisdiction of the prison farm, which became Colquitz Mental Hospital.

Unfortunately, Oakalla did not reduce the problem of overcrowding. As early as 1923, the need for additional accommodation was pressing and a gaol was built in the central part of the province. Prince George Gaol was established in the basement of the government building that contained a cell block with accommodation for 20 prisoners. This gaol served as a lockup and gaol for short-term prisoners.

Suggestions were made to house women inmates at Oakalla in a separate facility. Warden McMynn made a recommendation to move on these suggestions.[17] Instead of using $60,000 allocated in the legislature for the construction of a new building for laundry facilities at Oakalla, he argued that it could be spent more efficiently by renovating the south wing for this purpose. This area could be used to segregate young men and individuals awaiting trial.

As part of the plan, women who were currently in the south wing could be transferred to the empty provincial gaol building at Vernon. The average number of female prisoners at Oakalla was 14, yet the entire south wing was utilized to house them.

Attorney General A.M. Manson, K.C., went to Oakalla with a supervising architect in November. They investigated the construction of a laundry facility and a separate facility for women. The attorney general concurred with the warden and noted that the separate confinement of women would satisfy some women's organizations.

In June 1924, the Provincial New Era League wrote to the attorney general urging that a separate cottage be built to house women. However, a facility for women separate from the main building at Oakalla, was not built at this time.

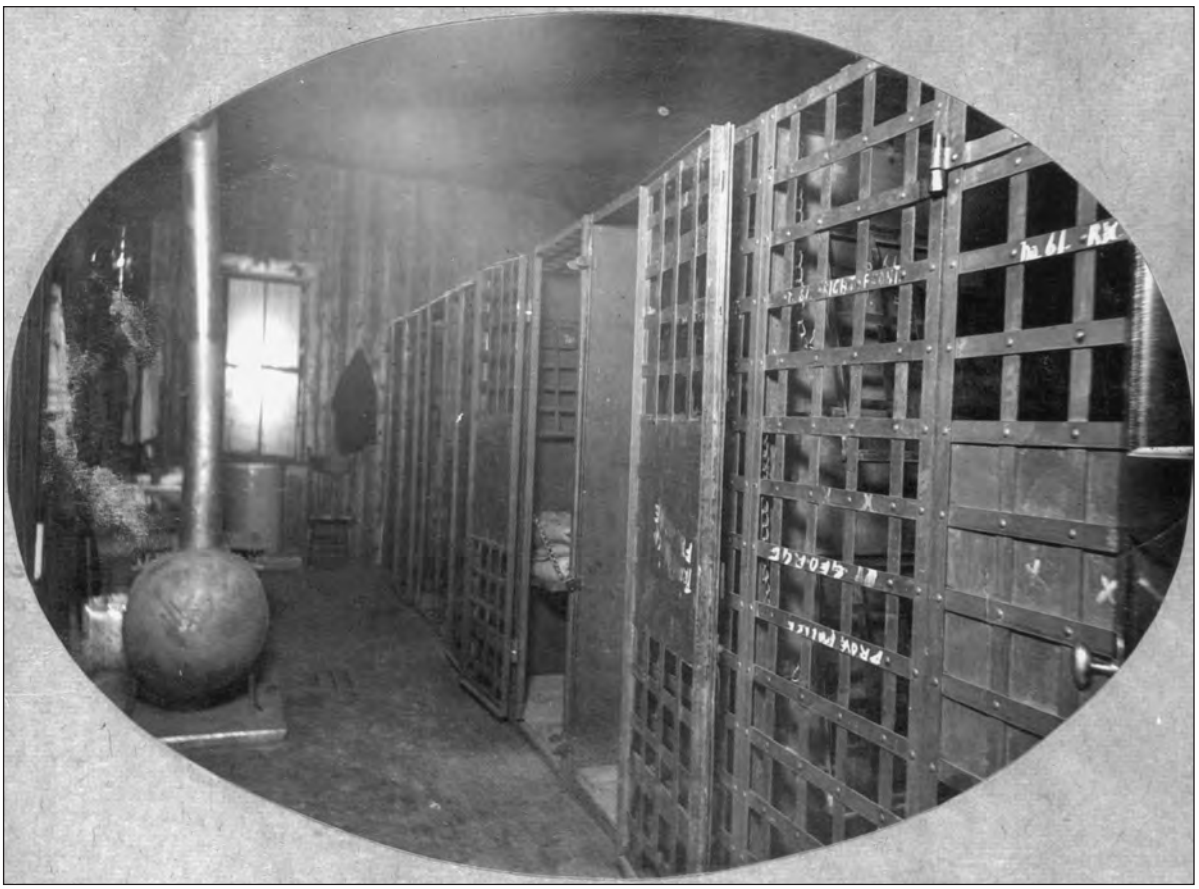
From the turn-of-the-century to approximately the end of the first quarter, Oakalla's program included:

- The silent system enforced fully after 9:00 p.m.
- The restricted diet:[18]
  - "Mush"—cooked cereal for breakfast;
  - "Stew"—boiled vegetables and meat at noon;
  - "Mush"- and bread at night.
  - Wednesday and Sunday saw "plate dinners."[19]

17 Year-end report for Oakalla Prison Farm, October 22, 1923.

18 This type of diet and the silent system faded out in the 1930s.

19 Ministry of Attorney General document, no date.



Cell room of South Fort George Jail (1921) BC Archives (D-06587)

Private agencies and experimental programs

In the latter part of this era, community groups formed to assist offenders by developing programs within the institutional setting and following release. Many programs started by these groups later became part of the provincial correctional system. For example, in 1931, the John Howard Society of B.C. was established as an after care and rehabilitation service for inmates under the Executive Secretary, the Rev. J.D. Hobden. The John Howard Society became deeply involved in reforming efforts for federal and provincial inmates in British Columbia.

While such community groups were dedicated to reforms, the military style continued to show that gaols were oriented to punishment:

> In the early thirties, staff members stood guard still on the low land of Oakalla complex with long rifles and tunics tightly buttoned up at the neck in the style of World War I. Many prisoners stayed in cells or landings all day. The more

fortunate (or unfortunate, depending on what the prisoner's preference was, working or doing it easy in the drums) were allowed work at housekeeping, maintenance, farm and gardening. Corporal and capital punishment remained.[20]

The policy of segregating offenders in adult institutions was adopted on an experimental basis in 1934. Impetus for this direction came from J.D. Hobden and the John Howard Society. An experiment was initiated at Oakalla with a group of first offenders (called the Gazoonie Gang[21]), utilizing an honour system. Later in 1934, the success of the Gazoonie experiment was brought to the attention of Attorney General Gordon Wismer. Eventually, this led to the establishment of a training school for young adult offenders.

Archie McLean: Youngest person (15) to be executed in B.C. (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

In the summer of 1936, Attorney General Gordon Sloan and Provincial Secretary George Weir appointed an Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. The committee recommended a Borstal-type institution for boys and young men aged 16-23 years. The basis of the Borstal system, which was patterned after English Borstal institutions, was re-education of offenders.

This institution would house older and more difficult youths who were sent to the Industrial School, and young male first offenders sent to Oakalla or the Dominion Penitentiary. It was felt that these offenders would benefit from the rigorous training of a Borstal-type institution. J.D. Hobden, who was on the committee, inspected the Borstal system in England and put pressure on the attorney general to establish such an institution in B.C.

A Borstal system was initiated in England out of concern for the harsh treatment of youthful prisoners. A Departmental Committee on Prisons was appointed and recommended that an experimental program be adopted to segregate offenders aged 16-21.

20 Source unknown.

21 The term Gazoonie Gang was coined by first offenders at Oakalla to identify themselves. These offenders were kept separate from repeat offenders.

New Haven Borstal administration building (1950s) Corrections Branch Archives

> In 1902, "an intensive program of instruction and segregation was initiated in one wing of an old prison at the village of Borstal near Rochester, Kent." Gradually, the program developed into a training system for young adult offenders and an Act was passed in 1908.[22]

There was much discussion and support for a Borstal-type institution, particularly from community groups such as the John Howard Society, Vancouver Rotary Club, Oxford Group and Vancouver Centre Liberal Association. The B.C. Training School was established on the southeast side of Marine Drive in Burnaby at the end of 1937. By 1939, it was known as New Haven,[23] and housed 19 inmates with two staff. Superintendent A. McLead and Office and Educational Secretary E.G.B. (Ernie) Stevens were appointed to manage the facility.

The institution was classified as a provincial gaol and subject to the rules governing such institutions. Its official policy, therefore, was custody. The facility was also one of the first

22 Wilton, Jean B., *May I Talk to John Howard? The Story of J.D. Hobden—A Friend to Prisoners* (J.B. Wilton: Vancouver, B.C., 1973).

23 The name "New Haven" was chosen through a contest sponsored by CKNW radio.

initiatives in Canada to segregate young adult inmates in a separate institution. This experiment was viewed as trend-setting for the rest of the country.

An admissions committee was set up. Youths were selected on the basis of social histories prepared by the women's worker from the John Howard Society, and an examination at the Government Psychiatric Clinic. Twenty boys were chosen from the Gazoonie Gang. Initially, inmates worked on renovating the facility.

New Haven dormitory and staff person, Ron Kennet (1950s) Corrections Branch Archives

New Haven staff person in hobby shop (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

A training program, based on the "honour system,"[24] was implemented. It was designed to help offenders become useful citizens, who could adapt to the community with the aid of supervision when discharged. Besides farm work, there were courses in placer mining, woodworking, first aid, English and elementary school (grades one to seven). Vocational subjects could be taken through correspondence courses.

Because this was a new venture in British Columbia, as well as for Canada, an advisory board was appointed. Its members were: Mrs. Paul Smith, Dr. George Davidson of the Vancouver Welfare Federation, a doctor, a

24 The honour system meant that inmates were trusted not to leave the property. In contrast to other gaols in the province, security was relaxed; there were no bars, cells or guards to prevent escape.

lawyer, a social worker, and J.D. Hobden. The attorney general made these appointments to develop policy and interpret the new experiment to the public.

In contrast to this development, the rules and regulations for the gaols were amended in 1936, which expanded the range of punishments. The following punishments were added:

> (c) shackled to cell-gate during working-hours: (d) flogging with the leather paddle or strap upon receipt of a certificate from the Prison Surgeon that the prisoner is physically fit to undergo corporal punishment: (f) confinement in cell without bed or lights.

It became increasingly evident that the system for dealing with offenders, which had evolved since Confederation, was not reforming them. Meanwhile, new knowledge about the treatment of inmates was becoming popular in some jurisdictions. In 1936, a Royal Commission on the Penal System of Canada was appointed and chaired by Justice J.R. Omer Archambault.

Published in 1938, the report of the Archambault Commission had a major impact on the direction of federal and provincial corrections in Canada. Many of its recommendations, however, were not implemented for more than a decade. This was partially due to the intervention of the Second World War.

The commission believed that discipline had to be sternly enforced and authority respected to properly manage gaols. Discipline was defined as "a system of training, with the object of inculcating obedience to rules and respect for authority, and its intended effect is orderly conduct."

It was important to distinguish discipline from punishment: "Punishment ... is the treatment given to those who infringe the rules." The commissioners believed that too many rules and regulations caused demoralization and concealment, because it was impossible for offenders to avoid some breach of the rules.

Treatment of female offenders within the B.C. correctional system received more recognition with the creation of the Elizabeth Fry Society of British Columbia in 1939. At an annual meeting in New Westminster of the Provincial Council of Women, a Women's Auxiliary was formed to work with the John Howard Society in connection with the women's section of Oakalla Prison. One year later, this group became the first Elizabeth Fry Society in Canada.

The purpose of this society was to:

(a) Reclaim as many as possible of the girls and women who are committed to prison;

(b) Be of as much assistance as possible to the matrons and staff of the Women's Division of Oakalla Gaol.

The society also developed vocational and other programs for women.

Programs were developed that reflected a loosening of control and gave inmates more responsibility.[25] This was evident through the appointment in October 1939 of the first follow-up officer, A.W. Cowley. Working independently of the institution, with the assistance of the Vancouver Rotary Club,

25 The loosening of control over inmate conduct was not reflected in the gaol rules and regulations.

Women's section at Oakalla (1935) Corrections Branch Archives

Cowley's job was to assist "trainees" released into the community from the B.C. Training School.

This was British Columbia's first attempt at paroling adult offenders. The appointment ended in 1941 when Cowley resigned to take a job with the wartime Prices and Trade Board. He was not replaced.

Officially, New Haven closed due to the outbreak of war in 1939 and a lack of suitable offenders. As a result of the involvement of young Canadian men in the war, offenders who came before the courts were deemed poor security risks and not suitable for an open setting institution. New Haven was highly politicized during the election campaign in October 1941, which may have played a role in its closure. The election resulted in a change in attorney general, from Liberal to Conservative: Gordon Wismer was defeated and R.L. Maitland was appointed in the new Liberal-Conservative coalition government.

New Haven closed in March 1942, after four years of operation. During those years, the average number of trainees was 28. By March 1942, the population of the training school had dropped to 11. Remaining trainees were transferred to the original wooden gaol at Oakalla where segregation continued.

The New Haven experiment was viewed as successful, according to a report by George Grant at the 1941 Magistrates' Convention. E.G.B. (Ernie) Stevens agreed that the experiment in segregation was generally successful, but cited three main problems with its operation:

1. Inadequate staff for an open institution;
2. Dependence on volunteers for many programs; and
3. Confusion regarding administrative responsibility. (Officially, Oakalla was the parent institution.)

Probation

In spite of the war, reform efforts continued. In 1942, the attorney general announced to the press that a provincial probation system for adult courts would be established. After this announcement, Ernie Stevens was appointed follow-up officer for young adult offenders and began establishing a provincial adult probation service.

Vancouver's Senior Police Magistrate, Herbert S. Wood, and J.D. Hobden were influential in this development. A voluntary probation service was initiated by the John Howard Society under the direction of J.D. Hobden in the Vancouver court of Magistrate Wood in October 1941. Thirty-five men and women were referred to volunteer probation officers before the provincial government assumed responsibility.

After the appointment of Ernie Stevens, an informal advisory group was formed. It submitted a brief to the attorney general recommending an adult probation service for the province.[26] At a meeting held in May 1942, it was decided that Stevens would supervise adult male offenders, and Mary Nicholson of the John Howard Society and Major Frances Wagner of the Salvation Army would continue to supervise females remanded for sentencing.

Until the province passed a probation act, deferred sentences would be used for individuals on probation rather than suspended sentences. A deferred sentence required an offender to sign a card outlining the terms of the sentence.

Judges in the Vancouver area were advised about the availability of supervision for individuals on deferred or suspended sentences. This information was presented at a meeting of the advisory group in June 1942. Magistrate Wood also submitted a draft probation act.

The advisory group decided to pressure the attorney general to present the bill to the legislature at the next session. It also pressed him to write to each magistrate and judge explaining the use of probation to treat young offenders—now a policy of his department. The attorney general did not act on either suggestion, but the service continued.

26 Ernie Stevens' brother (Gordon) was a probation officer with the Vancouver Juvenile Court. Magistrate Wood was also judge of this court. Gordon Stevens arranged for his brother to meet Magistrate Wood regarding the initiation of the provincial probation system.

Ernie Stevens remembers how it all started when he was appointed follow-up officer:

> I was handed the keys by security staff for two offices in the motor license building on West Georgia in Vancouver. In these offices, I found an old desk, a chair and a telephone. I then contacted the Government Agent at the Vancouver Court house to obtain some more furniture. I was told that there was some discarded furniture in the basement of the courthouse, which I could have.
>
> I found a filing cabinet, another desk, a chair and a typewriter. For transport of this furniture, I contacted the Warden at Oakalla and the Oakalla truck was used for this purpose. I again phoned the Warden at Oakalla when realizing that I also was in need of stationery. The Warden agreed to loan me some Oakalla stationery.[27]

The principle of segregation evolved with the opening in 1942 of a separate facility for female inmates. Separate quarters for women had been controversial for many years. The institution was built on property adjacent to the Oakalla Prison Farm and administered by the warden of Oakalla. A matron was appointed to manage day-to-day operations of the gaol, which had capacity for about 40 inmates.

Inmates remaining in the original wooden gaol at Oakalla were transferred to two tiers of the west wing of the main building in April 1943. This unit was named Star Class. The policy for this unit was to select first offenders 16-24 years old. The standard was lowered because increasing numbers of first offenders were placed on probation and offenders sentenced to gaol required greater security. These offenders were given educational courses under the supervision of Tom Camm.

The services that Stevens provided to adult probation were officially recognized. On April 1, 1943, the title of follow-up officer changed to provincial social service officer. The duties of the provincial social service officer included:

- Supervision after discharge;
- Assistance with employment of members of Star Class inmates;
- Adult probation work; and
- Preparation of pre-sentence reports requested by magistrates and judges.

Many inmates released from the Star Class program found employment with the armed forces. It is not known how many volunteered for overseas service instead of being conscripted for home defence duties.

Reviving the Borstal program

Toward the end of the war, there was strong support from the community and members of the public service to re-establish a Borstal-type institution. A group of inmates in Oakalla was considered suitable to benefit from such a program.

Procedures for dealing with juvenile and youthful offenders were reviewed by a

27 From interview with Ernie Stevens, 1987.

committee established in August 1944. It had two main recommendations:

1. Establish a separate institution for young offenders; and
2. Amend federal legislation to enable use of indeterminate sentencing at this institution.

Support for this concept came from community groups. For example, a public meeting suggested the restoration of a Borstal program in British Columbia. This meeting, held under the auspices of the Welfare Council of Greater Vancouver, took place in October 1945. A year later, an interdepartmental committee was formed to advise the attorney general about implementing this suggestion.

The committee included:

J.P. Hogg, Chairman;

Legislative counsel representing the attorney general;

John A. Shirras, Deputy Commissioner, B.C. Provincial Police;

Eric Pepler, Deputy Attorney General;

E.G.B. Stevens, Provincial Social Service Officer;

R.M. Burns, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance;

H.L. Campbell, Assistant Superintendent and Chief Inspector of Schools;

E.W. Griffiths, Deputy Minister of Welfare; and

H.S. Wood, Senior Magistrate, Vancouver.

Several recommendations were made:

1. Direct committal of the offender to New Haven, with provision for transfer if the referral turned out to be inappropriate. Direct sentencing to New Haven was strongly favoured to prevent contact with more experienced inmates at Oakalla.
2. Provision for indeterminate sentences applicable to British Columbia under the *Prisons and Reformatories Act*. To reform the offender, a lengthier and indeterminate period was viewed as necessary. In making this recommendation, the committee was influenced by indeterminate and Borstal sentences in England.
3. Expansion of probation to cover the entire province. Probation officers were needed to:
   - Prepare case histories to assist judges and magistrates in deciding on the offender's suitability for New Haven;
   - Supervise young adult offenders released by magistrates on probation; and
   - Prepare case histories and provide supervision in juvenile courts where probation officers were not yet employed.
4. Employment of guards as well as instructors for the new institution.

During 1947, Attorney General R.L. Maitland passed away and a by-election was held. Gordon Wismer, who was elected in the 1945 general election, was appointed the new attorney general in the coalition government. He immediately set machinery in motion to reopen New Haven. A public meeting was held to outline the reopening and rally public support.

New Haven reopened in November 1947 as a training centre for young adult offenders. J.D. Hobden and the John Howard Society were again influential in this regard. Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith was appointed director

New Haven bakeshop with instructor, Bill Stead (1950s) Corrections Branch Archives

and a program was introduced that closely followed the Borstal system. This corrections institution was unique in British Columbia, because there were no warning bells, whistles or guards.

At the time of reopening, New Haven was administered through Oakalla to expedite transfers. Inmates between 16 and 21 years were selected on the basis of case histories and psychiatric clinical assessment, and transferred from Oakalla. Shortly thereafter, in 1948, New Haven gained independence from Oakalla.[28]

Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith was hired to head the B.C. Borstal Association due to his practical experience working in Borstal units. He was educated in Toronto at Trinity College, where he specialized in social services and did two years of post-graduate work. Prior to joining

28 This occurred through an amendment to the *Prisons and Reformatories Act,* section 147.

Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

the army, he spent three years working in Borstal units in England. After the war, before coming to British Columbia, he had organizational and administrative experience in these units.

Following the amendment to the *Prisons and Reformatories Act,* corresponding provincial legislation was passed in the *New Haven Act* of 1949. The B.C. Parole Board was also established, with authority to approve release of New Haven inmates who were serving indeterminate sentences.

Welding shop at New Haven (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

Culmination of an era

The *Probation Act* of British Columbia was finally passed in April 1946. The John Howard Society assisted in drafting the act, which was based on similar legislation in Ontario. Under this act, the role of a probation officer included investigation and reporting information on the offender required by the court (e.g. family history, convictions, employment) and supervision of persons placed on probation.

The position held by Ernie Stevens officially changed to provincial probation officer at a time when increasing numbers of offenders were considered for probation. Barney McCabe was appointed assistant provincial probation officer.

In the following year, two additional provincial probation officers were appointed. A branch office opened in Abbotsford, resulting in probation services to the courts in the Fraser Valley.

Learning the machinist's trade, New Haven metal shop (1950s) Corrections Branch Archives

A.J. Kitchen joined the Probation Service in 1947 and was the first probation officer to serve outside the Greater Vancouver area. He worked in the Fraser Valley jurisdiction, which included Cloverdale, Langley Prairie, Abbotsford, Chilliwack, Mission, Haney and Coquitlam. There was some initial resistance and skepticism since probation was new. In October of 1949, Mr. Kitchen resigned to accept the position of Chief Probation Officer of the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court. By this date, probation was accepted as a useful service.[29]

In support of the new institution, the B.C. Borstal Association[30] was incorporated under the *Societies Act* in November 1948.

This association was created to:

- Closely monitor the progress of New Haven trainees;
- Assist with their employment in the community; and

29 From excerpts of a letter by A.J. Kitchen, 1980.

30 This association is still active today.

- Assist with life skills and job search courses.

Supervision and after-care of released individuals were responsibilities of the B.C. Borstal Association.

By 1950, with the opening of the fifth probation office, the service had clearly established a base in British Columbia. There were eight probation officers and five offices: Vancouver, Abbotsford, Victoria, Nanaimo and Vernon. The use of probation was becoming an acceptable disposition in the courts of British Columbia.

Miss B. Maybee, Prince George Women's Gaol (1949)
Corrections Branch Archives

In the summer of 1948, Ed McGougan became the fifth probation officer to join the Corrections Branch. Prior to his work in corrections, he worked at the Children's Aid Society. In September, he set up the first probation office in the Interior at Vernon. His jurisdiction included Kamloops, Salmon Arm, Osoyoos and Princeton.

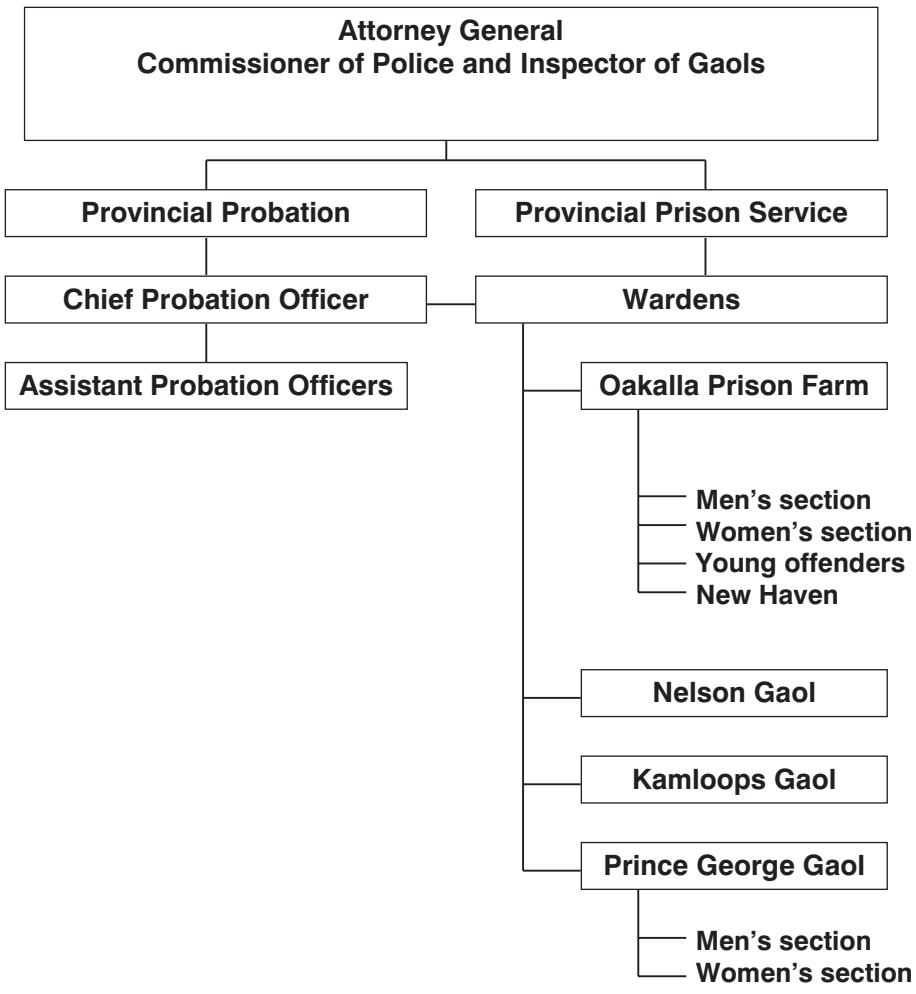
For the first six months, McGougan recalled feeling like a "missionary" selling probation. Social workers welcomed probation, and he reported that the police were particularly co-operative.[31]

The Prince George Women's Gaol was established in the former army detention barracks in August 1947 to alleviate the pressures of overcrowding at Oakalla Women's Gaol. Initially, 26 female prisoners were transferred to this gaol from Oakalla and additional inmates were moved when capacity was exceeded at Oakalla. Miss B. Maybee, formerly a matron at Oakalla, was responsible for this group.

Meanwhile, rules and regulations evolved within the institutions. Employees of the gaols and prisoners housed within them clearly had a more structured and predictable environment. At the same time, institutional rules and regulations continued to reflect the philosophy of punishment. It was the dominant characteristic of corrections history during the 80-year period leading up to the mid-point of the 20th century.

31 From interview with Ed McGougan, 1988.

B.C. Correctional System (1949)



Chapter 3

Era of Rehabilitation (1950-1969)

During the first half of the 20th century, there was a dramatic shift in thinking that affected corrections policies of North America. Punishment and incarceration were no longer favoured. Faith was now placed in informed, professional and expert intervention.[1]

Optimists within corrections believed that offenders—especially younger offenders—could be rehabilitated through individual treatment. This approach included training, counselling and education, primarily within the institutional environment. Once discharged and rehabilitated, it was assumed that offenders could be reintegrated back into the community with supervision. This optimism produced a number of alternatives in corrections, focusing on training and education. Probation also grew significantly during this period.

In Canada, the shift from a punitive to a treatment approach in corrections was initiated by the Royal Commission on the Penal System of Canada. The Archambault Report, issued in 1938, was named after its chairman, Mr. Justice J.R. Omer Archambault. The commission espoused principles of treatment and rehabilitation. However, few program initiatives were made within federal corrections in immediate response to this report.

The Second World War diverted public interest away from prison reform. This, in turn, delayed implementation of the Archambault recommendations. Formally, a policy shift to a treatment approach was not evident until the 1949 annual report of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries.

This shift was strengthened in the report of a commission of inquiry in 1956 chaired by Mr. Justice Fauteaux. In this report, the commissioners defined the goal of the system as "correction." This meant the "total process by which society attempts to correct the anti-social attitudes or behaviour of the individual by means of the punishment, treatment, reformation and rehabilitation of the offender."

The Fauteaux Commission was appointed to investigate the principles and procedures of the Remission Service, Department of Justice. It agreed with the basic ideas of the Archambault Report and stated that progress was made in implementing its recommendations.

1 Stanley Cohen, *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985).

These federal initiatives contributed to the context of changes that occurred in British Columbia corrections. Meanwhile, there was momentum for a new direction at the provincial level.

The movement toward a treatment approach in British Columbia was evident in the Report of the B.C. Gaol Commission (1950). The commission was appointed by the attorney general to inquire into the state and management of the gaols of British Columbia. It produced recommendations based on a treatment philosophy, and laid the foundation for changes in the provincial correctional system.

The British Columbia Gaol Commission

The B.C. Gaol Commission, chaired by Eric Pepler, was a landmark in the history of British Columbia corrections. Like Saskatchewan's 1946 Penal Commission, it was the first major investigation into the administration and operation of gaols in the province. The commission provided a plan for the development of corrections in B.C. The process of implementing its recommendations spanned almost two decades.

Oakalla security: Watch tower (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

Concern about overcrowded conditions and the deteriorating state of gaols in the province prompted the appointment of the B.C. Gaol Commission. In particular, something needed to be done about overcrowding at Oakalla Prison Farm. The population at Oakalla on March 31, 1950, was more than 350 prisoners.

The commission's investigation looked into all provincial gaols as well as probation and parole services. According to its findings, no major improvements had occurred in the gaol system for 38 years. It noted one exception—the establishment of New Haven as a Borstal-type institution.

The commission's recommendations were superfluous, based on observation and assessment of how the treatment philosophy fared in other jurisdictions: England, Ontario, Saskatchewan, California and other states in the United States. Its recommendations were directed at alleviating overcrowding at Oakalla. Its proposals for change emphasized a rehabilitation model, focusing on the training and re-education of offenders.

Commissioners were particularly impressed with the programs and administration of the California State Department of Corrections. Many changes in the gaol system of British Columbia were based on information obtained from this jurisdiction.

The main components of the California system were:

- Centralized administrative control;
- Classification system;
- Specialized institutions and services;
- Educational and vocational trades training;
- Use of parole and indeterminate sentencing; and
- Staff selection and training.

One of the main recommendations of the B.C. Gaol Commission was a separate correctional institution with a constructive program for the more reformable offender, designed and built on the philosophy of rehabilitation. This institution—which eventually became Haney Correctional Institution—provided a complete training program consisting of physical, vocational and academic components.

Other recommendations included:

- Expansion of probation and parole;
- Appointment of a director of corrections, responsible for administration of all correctional institutions including juvenile facilities, probation service, parole service and correctional programs;
- Appointment of prominent citizens to an advisory committee reporting to the director of corrections;
- In-service staff training system;
- Appointment of a deputy warden of training at Oakalla Prison Farm;
- Appointment of personnel for academic and vocational instruction;
- Classification system;
- Training program for all inmates;
- Appointment of Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains, for religious services and counselling;
- Forestry camp program for selected inmates;
- Separate institutional program for treatment of chronic alcoholics;
- Employment of a full-time physician;
- Completion of a job analysis of personnel at Oakalla Prison Farm and a salary scale for each category of employment;
- Preparation of estimates for the cost of sending offenders to their residence or place of employment upon release;
- Enactment of legislative amendments to directly transfer prisoners from one institution to another and for the courts to directly sentence an offender to a new institution;
- Proposal that offenders should not be committed to the Nelson, Kamloops or Prince George gaols for more than three months and that no prisoners under 21 be sentenced to these facilities;
- Employment of a psychiatrist; and
- Relocation, enlargement and renovation of facilities.

Most of these recommendations were implemented.

Commissioners were highly influential in implementing the recommendations of their report. Two commissioners held senior administrative positions in the British Columbia Attorney General's department at the time of

the Commission's report. E.G.B. Stevens was the Provincial Probation Officer for British Columbia, Eric Pepler was the Deputy Attorney General and C.W. Topping was a Professor of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. These individuals continued their work on correctional policy, as an advisory group, after the report was published.

Changes in organizational structure

Changes began to emerge in the year following the B.C. Gaol Commission's report. A major change in the administrative structure of the gaol system occurred in March 1951 when the RCMP took over policing under contract with the province of B.C. Because the RCMP did not want administrative responsibility for gaols, a separate administrative structure for the gaol system was created. This change was consistent with the B.C. Gaol Commission's recommendation.

Provincial Probation Officer Ernie Stevens was appointed administrative head of correctional institutions (inspector of gaols) for the province of British Columbia. By placing Stevens in a dual role, gaol and probation services were effectively united.

Changes also took place in the B.C. Probation Service. Probation services were extended to the courts of appeal, justices of the peace, and juvenile courts after an amendment was made to the 1946 *Probation Act*. Probation also expanded with the appointment of additional personnel and offices. Three assistant probation officers were appointed and two offices opened in Penticton and Nelson.

C.D. (Doug) Davidson, formerly an assistant probation officer in the Victoria office, was appointed chief assistant provincial probation officer. This created a new administrative position in the Probation Branch, because the provincial probation officer had the added responsibility of inspector of gaols. Following his appointment, Davidson moved to Vancouver to assist in the administration and operation of the B.C. Probation Service. By this time, the total probation staff was two administrators and eight field officers.

Another significant development in the administration of the gaol service happened in November 1951. An agreement was made between the provincial Probation Branch and Municipality of Burnaby to supply services to the Burnaby Juvenile Court for a fixed monthly charge. This agreement set a trend that resulted in the provincial Probation Branch assuming responsibility for services to all courts in the province.

In the Burnaby Court, the agreement to supply services continued until implementation of the *Family and Children's Courts Act* (1963). This act gave the provincial government jurisdiction for providing probation services. The provincial Probation Branch assumed responsibility for all courts in the province in 1974.

Yale Street Juvenile Detention Centre (1960s) Corrections Branch Archives

Specialized programs

Organizational restructuring resulted in changes at the program level. Specialized units were established during the 1950s and 1960s to meet the special needs of offenders and allow for more individualized treatment. The Young Offenders Unit (YOU), which was brought about by pressures of overcrowding at Oakalla, opened on the grounds of Oakalla on February 26, 1951. Fifty young adult offenders, between 16 and 23 years old, were accommodated.[2]

This unit, which was administered elsewhere, functioned along the lines of a closed Borstal institution. Similar to New Haven, it was used primarily for inmates serving definite or indeterminate sentences who would be released under the provincial parole system. The Star Class group was transferred to this unit upon its establishment. T.A. Camm, formerly in charge of Star Class, was the first director of this program.

2 The building that housed this group of offenders was originally designed as a hospital. Construction began in 1949. The attorney general was influenced by J.D. Hobden of the John Howard Society to use this facility as a segregated unit for young offenders.

Probation officer meets with offender (1970s) Corrections Branch Archives

First woman at Young Offenders Unit (YOU)

An effort was underway to hire female employees in the Young Offenders Unit (YOU). Rita (Ma) Perkins was the first woman to obtain such work. When hired by Warden Christie in 1958, she was told that she was the first woman in Canada to work with young male offenders. She was required to do everything that men did with the exception of carrying a sidearm.

Working with a group of 12-15 trainees between the ages of 15 and 23, she acquired the nickname Ma Perkins. Boys could talk to her in private at one end of the unit. One Indian boy kept asking to talk to Ma, then said it wasn't important. Finally, he told her that his mother "listened to Ma Perkins on the radio talk show every day." Ma was in her forties and accepted as a mother figure by the trainees.[3]

First forestry camps

Forestry camps emerged as an alternative means of providing segregation, individualized treatment, and a constructive training program.

They were a less costly form of treatment program and alleviated congestion in the gaols.

3 Interview with Rita (Ma) Perkins, 1989.

Two types of forestry camp programs evolved in the B.C. Gaol Service:

- Pre-release camps, where men spent the final two or three months of their sentence; and
- Camps where men were sent for their entire sentence.

The first forestry camp program emerged from the YOU. In the summer of 1951, 11 YOU inmates were released under the *Ticket of Leave Act* and taken to a forestry camp on the Kettle River in Monashee Pass, 55 miles east of Vernon.

Rehabilitation Camp No. 1 was administered in co-operation with the British Columbia Forest Service of the Department of Lands and Forests to provide inmates with constructive employment for the latter part of their sentence. The program was three and one-half months long. At the end of that time, inmates were released on parole supervised by the B.C. Probation Service. R.M. Deildal, an assistant probation officer, was in charge of this program.

Because there was no precedent for administering such a program, rules and regulations were drawn up as the camp program evolved. When the lack of clarity created initial difficulties, it was recommended that policy be developed before opening the camp in the following year. There were only two escapes, so this experimental program was considered successful.

Another pre-release camp, Rehabilitation Camp No. 2, was set up the following year. Like the first camp, it was located in the Nelson Forest District. In the second camp, inmates were selected from Oakalla as well as the YOU. The operation of both camps was viewed favourably, which set a trend for the future of forestry camp development.

Correctional forestry program (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archive

Staff training

Organizational restructuring of the gaol system created a demand for professional and trained personnel to apply the new treatment technology. This led to the development of a staff training program in the British Columbia Gaol Service. Hugh G. Christie, an Assistant Professor in Criminology at the University of British Columbia, was appointed the first staff training officer in 1951. By the fall of the same year, staff at Oakalla were given instruction in the custody and training of prisoners.

More administrative changes occurred at the institutional level in the following year. In early 1952, Christie was appointed warden of Oakalla Prison Farm. This appointment included an agreement to introduce a treatment approach at Oakalla that would resolve certain problems in the gaol system.

Other professional staff were hired at Oakalla to plan and implement vocational, educational and counselling programs. As stated by the deputy attorney general, these appointments would facilitate training and rehabilitation in the gaol.

They included a full-time:

- Medical officer/psychiatrist;
- Psychologist;
- Social worker; and
- Two chaplains—one Protestant and one Catholic.

Major changes occurred during restructuring of the gaol system, and program alternatives expanded in keeping with the rehabilitation philosophy. These changes did not happen fast enough, however, to address existing conditions. Overcrowding and lack of programming continued to be major problems, leading to an inevitable breaking point.

Hugh G. Christie, Warden of Oakalla Prison Farm (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Oakalla Prison Farm: Warden's Court (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Riot at Oakalla and restructuring

In October 1952, a riot was instigated at Oakalla by inmates in the south wing who were awaiting trial, appeal or transfer. At the time, there were more than 900 inmates—almost double normal capacity—in the institution. There was no indoor activity or outdoor program in the remand units. Tension was also high after the new warden tried to reduce drug traffic within the institution. By moving all convicted addicts to one wing, their sphere of influence shrank and they lost status.

Dr. Guy Richmond, the gaol's physician, described the disturbance:

> It was not long before there was a riot... I had just finished a sick parade in an adjacent room when all hell broke loose. The entire wing had been taken over by the inmates. Having seized the staff they barricaded the entrance gates... The banging, shouting and screaming could be heard over a wide area and residents of nearby homes were gathering anxiously...

Cell at Oakalla (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

Observation cell, Oakalla (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

> Urgent phone calls to the (federal) Penitentiary brought one of their staff with tear gas equipment. With the aid of this and a large number of staff the barricades were forced and entry gained...
>
> Order was restored and it was decided that those who had been seen to take part should be punished forthwith. Justice was meted out with the paddle. All afternoon I stood by the flogging table... I was required to examine each victim before he was flogged and watch over forty being paddled... I know that both Mr. Stevens, the Director of Correction, and Hugh Christie did not approve of corporal punishment... But it appeared to them at the time to be an expedient and necessary measure to cut short more prolonged unrest and suffering.

The riot fuelled the incentive to overhaul British Columbia's penal system. The urgency of hiring more staff and adding facilities was stressed in Hugh Christie's report to the inspector of gaols explaining the riot. Shortly thereafter, 50 new staff were recruited and construction of a temporary facility began to house 400 inmates.

This facility, which became known as Westgate, opened at Oakalla in early 1953 to house the overflow. It was also designed to become industrial shops and warehouses. This plan would take effect when the proposed new facility for reformable offenders—Haney Correctional Institution—was completed.

Probation was again expanded in 1953 through an amendment to the *Prison and Reformatories Act*. This act provided for indeterminate sentencing with the option to parole inmates sentenced to the Young Offenders Unit and

New Haven.[4] The amendment increased caseloads for probation officers. This was because all inmates released from the YOU, at the discretion of the B.C. Parole Board, were supervised by the Probation Branch.

Restructuring also resulted in program alternatives and expansion of facilities for female offenders:

- 1952—an occupational therapy program[5] was implemented; and
- 1953—a vocational room and two cottage-style buildings, each accommodating 12 female inmates, was added to the Oakalla Women's Gaol.

These improvements segregated younger female inmates from the older, more experienced population.

A significant policy change also occurred in 1953 in the administration of the forestry camp program. The forestry camp now referred to as Kettle River Rehabilitation Camp, operating in the Nelson Forest District, was given the status of a provincial gaol. This development allowed inmates to be transferred directly from Oakalla and the YOU, rather than released under the *Ticket of Leave Act*. This successful project led to forestry camps being established year-round in the B.C. Corrections Service.

Therapy and treatment

The new administrative structure encouraged different therapeutic techniques to effect behavioural change. A number of studies and experimental programs were initiated with selected groups of offenders. During 1953, funds were also made available by the federal and provincial governments to study drug addiction before deciding how to treat and rehabilitate addicts.

The project began at Oakalla through the UBC Research Committee, under the directorship of Dr. George Stevenson. The research started in March 1954 and was officially completed in June 1956.

Following this research, two treatment and rehabilitation centres were established:

- The Narcotic Addiction Foundation of British Columbia; and
- A treatment centre at Oakalla Prison Farm.

An experimental project utilizing plastic surgery on inmates was started by Dr. E. Lewison during 1953-54. Electric shock therapy[6] was commenced by Dr. Ernest Campbell, the consulting psychiatrist for the gaol. Electroencephalogram studies[7] were initiated at Oakalla.

4 Up to this date, definite and indeterminate sentencing was only available for inmates at New Haven Borstal Institution, a facility re-established in 1947 for young adult offenders.

5 The Elizabeth Fry Society assisted in the operation of this program.

6 Inmates were recommended by Dr. Richmond to undertake this therapy. In most cases, "consent" to administer shock therapy was obtained from the inmates. Its use was recommended for "agitated" and "depressed" inmates and positive results occurred. Many recipients of the therapy were not committed to the Provincial Mental Hospital and returned to the main gaol in an improved mental state.

7 This instrument was studied as a potential diagnostic aid in assessment. It was thought that it could assist the courts in a general assessment of the personality of the accused.

Dr. Lewison volunteered his services for a decade, during which time he did reconstructive facial surgery on 450 inmates. He wanted to test the hypothesis that "physical defects can be dominant causes of crime, and that the correction of facial defects in inmates of a penal institution can effect a striking improvement in their conduct during imprisonment, and make them more confident on re-entry into society." His results showed a "marked decrease in the rate of criminal recidivism."

In September 1954, another pre-release camp (Haney Camp Project) was established on the western edge of the property purchased by the government for the new Haney Correctional Institution. Prior to opening the camp, the sawmill was dismantled and other buildings were renovated for camp occupancy.

This camp, which was administered directly through Oakalla, was the first to operate year-round. Selected inmates were transferred to this program from Oakalla for the last four to eight weeks of their sentence. Oakalla's policies, rules, and regulations were applied and adapted to meet the operational needs of the camp.

Inmates at this camp assisted in clearing the site for the new institution. They also started a project in Garibaldi Park involving widening of a road to Alouette Lake. Initial difficulties were encountered with this program because staff were inexperienced in camp administration. While similar programs evolved, they learned valuable lessons.

At this time, there were 11 probation offices, 15 assistant probation officers, one chief assistant and one provincial probation officer. With the opening of two new field offices in New Westminster and Prince Rupert, probation services expanded. An increase in probation cases was also noted, following the appointment of the first female probation officer to the B.C. Probation Service.

Mildred Wright assumed responsibility for probation services for women in the Vancouver courts from the John Howard Society. Her appointment established two important precedents. It:

- Marked the beginning of equivalent probation services for women; and
- Resulted in "sharing equal duties and responsibilities with men on the same job with equal pay."[8]

Program alternatives made placement and selection of offenders more crucial. A classification system was developed. The B.C. Gaol Commission stressed the importance of developing a classification system similar to what was used in California.

A classification committee was formed at Oakalla in 1954. Classification initially involved psychological tests, social histories and interviews by a psychologist. By the late 1950s, an array of tests was administered.

The physical structure of gaols gradually changed to accommodate the new philosophy of rehabilitation. Gaols were transformed through renovation, and, in some cases, existing facilities were replaced. The gaol had to provide sufficient space for training purposes.

For example, in 1955, a new gaol for men at Prince George was completed. It accommodated 100 inmates and provided space for a progressive training and work program.

8 *Corrections Newsletter*, 1975.

To a large degree, however, the operation and conditions of gaol and militaristic style were contrary to the new philosophy.

Malcolm Matheson remembers gaol conditions during this time:

> Matheson's third assignment when he started at Oakalla Prison Farm was the "hole"—a place where prisoners were placed for purposes of administrative discipline or solitary confinement. The hole was, in fact, a black hole as there was no light. It was just a pit with a ladder that went down into it.
>
> Prisoners were placed in it for a maximum of 10 days and received bread and water while there. The "hole" that closed in January 1988 was located under the cow barn and was a sanitary facility in comparison to what existed when Matheson first worked at Oakalla.[9]

Crowded conditions at the local lockup in Prince George: Inmates sleeping on floors and tables (February 3, 1953) Corrections Branch Archives

Prince George Gaol Warden William F. Trant, and staff members A. Miller (l), N. Cheer (r) (1950s) Corrections Branch Archives

9 Interview with Malcolm Matheson, 1988.

Psychological Tests Administered in the 1950s

(From psychologist's report for the fiscal year April 1, 1957 to March 31, 1958)

I. Administered In Oakalla Prison Farm To Male Inmates

Main Gaol and Westgate Units

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale 1
Wechsler-Bellevue intelligence Scale 11 15
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form A (Elementary) 24
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form B (Elementary) 28
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form A (High School) 26
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form B (High School) 17
Otis Employment Test, Form IA 404
Otis Employment Test, Form A (French) 1
Shipley-Hartford Retreat Scale 3
Non-language Multi-mental Test 16
Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test 369
Revised Minnesota Paper Form Board Test I
Lee-Thorpe Interest Inventory (Intermediate) 335
Kuder Preference Record (Vocational CH) 3
Johnson Temperament Analysis 5

Young Offenders' Unit

Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale If 2
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form A (Elementary) 9
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form B (Elementary) 13
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form A (High School) 7
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form B (High School) 10
S-H Vocabulary Scale 3
Kuder Preference Record (Vocational C) 1
Mental Health Analysis (Intermediate) 1

IL. Administered In Oakalla Prison Farm To Female Inmates

Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale II 4
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form A (Elementary) 6
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form B (Elementary) 8
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form A (High School) 3
Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form B (High School) 2
S-H Retreat Scale 4
S-H Vocabulary Scale 13
Revised Minnesota Paper Form Board 1
Lee-Thorpe Interest Inventory (Intermediate) 1
Kuder Preference Record (Vocational CH) 1
Johnson Temperament Analysis 1

III. Administered In Oakalla Prison Farm To Staff Or Applicants For Staff Jobs

Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Form A (High School) 125
Otis Employment Test, Form 1A 15
Otis Employment Test, Form 1B 6
Shipley-Hartford Retreat Scale 16
Shipley-Hartford Vocabulary Scale 7
Kuder Preference Record (Vocational CH) 125

IV. Administered In New Haven To Inmates

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale 10
Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale I 7
Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale II 26
Lee-Thorpe Interest Inventory (Intermediate) 15
Mental Health Analysis (Adult) 47

Prince George Gaol: Library (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

Prince George Gaol: Tailor shop (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

Staff of Prince George Provincial Men's Goal (1955) Corrections Branch Archives

Tragedy strikes warden at Prince George Gaol

"In 1950, William F. Trant came to Prince George to supervise the men's gaol at the rear of the Provincial Government Building and the women's gaol situated on Burden Street. Warden Trant's reports of jail overcrowding were instrumental in the provincial government's decision to build the Prince George Gaol, which opened in August 1955. He served as the warden of the new centre until his untimely death on May 1, 1956, at age 45.

Warden Killed By 'Riot' Gun Blast

Mystery still surrounds the shotgun death about noon on Tuesday of 45-year-old William Trant, warden of the 100-inmate provincial jail here.

An inquest into Warden Trant's death opened yesterday with a view of the body and has been adjourned to Tuesday.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police are still investigating the circumstances of the warden's shocking death.

A senior police officer connected with the case said today he could not advance any theory on how the shooting took place.

Trant, who came here in 1950 as B.C. Jail Warden of both men's and women's institutions located in Prince George, was last seen alive by members of the provincial jail staff between 11 a.m. and 11:30 a.m. on Tuesday.

Shortly before 12 p.m. his crumpled body was discovered by a jail guard on a makeshift rifle and pistol range situated about 300 feet from the jail buildings but screened from a direct view

Headline from newspaper archive

Canadian Peace Officers' Memorial Association

Association Canadienne Commémorative des Agents de la Paix

AUG 17 2001

Mr. Robert Riches
District Director
Prince George Regional Correctional Centre
P.O. Box 4300
Prince George, B.C.

...at the application for induction, submitted on behalf of ... that Officer's name added to the National Peace Officers' ... in Ottawa, has been approved.

...added to the Honour Roll and will be read publicly at the Parliament Hill, on Sunday, September 30th.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen Tilley
Chair, CPOMA Awards Committee

Letter from the Canadian Peace Officers' Memorial Association

Warden Trant
Photo: Courtesy of Effie Trant

"In 1956, the gaol received two Browning automatic shotguns of 1904 vintage to its armoury. The barrels were sawed off to 19 inches for use in quelling disturbances. Warden Trant was concerned about the safety of staff when introducing this unfamiliar weapon, which he considered dangerous. Warden Trant would not allow staff to use the weapons until he had tested them himself. On that fateful first day in May, "a calm day" as one witness recalled, Trant went to the rifle range to test the riot gun. Only two shots were fired from the weapon. The first was heard to come "loud"; the second, which came about thirty seconds later, was muffled.

> "Warden Trant was found by a correctional officer one hour later lying at the firing line of the rifle range. An RCMP investigation and coroner's inquest were completed. All evidence confirmed that he was in the proper performance of his duties at the time of his accidental death."

-Excerpt taken from the application to the Canadian Peace Officers' Memorial Association regarding William Trant's induction into the Roll of Honour for Fallen Peace Officers (Ottawa). The application was submitted by Bob Riches, District Director, Prince George Regional Correctional Centre. In August 2001, Trant's name was accepted for induction.

Staff development

To carry out effective treatment and training for inmates, improvements were necessary. With the expansion of programs and facilities, it became apparent to administrators of the gaol service that more centralized and co-ordinated training was needed. Steps were taken in 1955 to establish a staff training school directly under supervision of the inspector of gaols. Information was utilized from programs that were similar in Canada and the United States.

The first steps in this process were two appointments:

- E.K. (Kim) Nelson, Assistant Professor of Criminology at the University of British Columbia, as director of the school. Nelson was responsible for the direction and planning of the training program;
- Malcolm Matheson as staff training officer to assist in this endeavour. He was given responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the program.

After extensive planning, the first basic training course was offered to all custodial officers. Officers participated in this week-long program from Oakalla Prison Farm, New Haven, forestry camps, Oakalla Women's Gaol, Kamloops Gaol, Nelson Gaol and Prince George Gaol. An advanced training course was given to senior administrative staff.

Changes to the staff training program were made the following year. Nelson left to assist the inspector of gaols with the planning of Haney Correctional Institution. Matheson was given the job of expanding training. Due to the high turnover of new recruits, staff training only commenced after working experience in the gaol system was obtained. This policy did not change until 1960.

Forestry camps expand

Development and expansion occurred in the forestry camp program at the beginning of 1957. Even with the scheduled opening of Haney Correctional Institution, which accommodated 400 inmates, plans were implemented to relieve persistent overcrowding at Oakalla and gaols in the Interior. The warden at Oakalla also helped to establish a camp in the Chilliwack River valley.

Two camps were actually built—Tamihi Creek and Mount Thurston. This project was carried out in co-operation with personnel of the B.C. Forest Service. Offenders who were more mature and required less security were selected for probation. More difficult offenders were classified into forestry camps.

The concept of a secure camp[10] fostered the evolution of forestry camps. One of these

10 This type of camp provided a more secure setting at night for inmates. Residents were separated in individual rooms at night and higher risk inmates could be separated during the day to work in a compound under supervision.

Mount Thurston – above: shop (1950s) Right above: Mount Thurston Forestry Camp administration building (date: unknown) Right below: Living unit at Mount Thurston Forestry Camp (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

secure camps—Mt. Thurston Forestry Camp in the Chilliwack valley—was designed to get higher risk inmates out of Oakalla's Westgate. Removing inmates from Westgate and Oakalla was a priority. Westgate, which was never intended as a permanent facility, violated building code standards and needed to be closed.

A third camp, known as Centre Creek Camp, was built in 1959 to assist with road construction and the planting of seedlings for the B.C. Forest Service. Gold Creek Camp, located in Garibaldi Park, also began operation at the beginning of the year. It was the first camp to operate other than as a pre-release camp. Offenders served a major portion of their sentence—in some cases, their entire sentence—at this camp once the classification process was completed.

Centre Creek Forestry Camp (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Gold Creek Camp reception (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

Forestry activities at Gold Creek Camp (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

— B.C. —

There is a chillness in this land,
that can grip you like a hand
and freeze the very blood
that's in your veins.
And if you've never yet been wet,
what a shock you're going to get,
if you are near here
when the blue sky rains.

It's the land where tall trees grow,
where mighty wind can blow
and the winters can be cruel
and deathly cold.
Where the mountains tower high,
sole invaders of the sky,
leering down upon us here,
trying to be bold.

With the winter coming on,
all intelligent beings are gone,
all, except the mosquitoes
have gone away.
But we face the winters best,
and if we should survive its test,
until the coming of the spring
it's here we'll stay.

Written by trainee G. R., Chilliwack Forest Camp[11]

Clearwater silviculture/harvesting in the snow (1950s) Corrections Branch Archives

11 *The Slesse News*, Sept. 1965, in *B.C. Corrections Association Journal, The Courier*, October 1965. Reprinted with acknowledgment to the officer-in-charge, Chilliwack Forest Camps.

Gold Creek Camp (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

Dining hall at Clearwater Forest Camp (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

Clearwater sawmill (1950s) Corrections Branch Archives

Clearwater overview shot (1973) Inset: Clearwater cookhouse at sawmill site (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

When Rocky (Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith) was still director of New Haven, he was asked to develop Gold Creek Camp. It was the first camp that was initiated with a budget. Most of the camps (such as the Chilliwack camps) were built without a budget. Pre-fabricated buildings were used for Gold Creek Camp, and New Haven trainees helped to construct and set up this camp.

According to Rocksborough-Smith, Gold Creek was built for the Star Class, as it was called in Britain. These offenders were committed to a first sentence of imprisonment. The open-type camp program in B.C. was not initiated because funds were lacking to construct more secure facilities. The reason they were started was due to the "possibilities of the open-type camp." These inmates did not require secure custody and the camp enabled them to develop certain skills.[12]

The inadequacy of facilities in the Interior resulted in the opening of Clearwater Forestry Camp in 1957. Inmates served their entire sentence at this camp, which was a satellite to the Kamloops Gaol. The opening of Clearwater Camp[13] eased population pressures at Oakalla Prison Farm, Prince George Gaol and Kamloops Gaol.

12 Interview with Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith, November 27, 1987.

13 In 1979, this camp was rebuilt and relocated seven miles up the Wells Gray Road as Bear Creek.

Following an announcement to the local press about the selection of a site in the Wells Gray Park area for Clearwater Camp, local community residents organized an unexpected protest against the project. Ernie Stevens accompanied Warden Teal of the Kamloops Gaol to interview residents and clear up misunderstandings.

The woman who led the opposition was interviewed last. After being introduced to Warden Teal, she asked him about an inmate in the Kamloops Gaol. She learned that this inmate and others like him were selected for the camp, which changed her stance from opposition to acceptance.[14] When the provincial government announced plans to phase out this program in 1975, local residents held public meetings to resist its closure. The press headlined these events as the Save Our Prison campaign.

Haney Correctional Institution

Haney Correctional Institution (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Haney Correctional Institution officially opened in the fall of 1957. Earlier in the year, the first Warden, Kim Nelson, and senior staff, were given temporary office space at 636 Burrard Street in Vancouver to develop program concepts and hire additional staff.

Nelson was joined at this location by:

- Malcolm Matheson, Deputy Warden of Security;
- John Braithwaite, Deputy Warden of Programs;
- Warren Lane, Business Manager; and
- Reg Cook, Personnel Officer.

The "mission statement" of Haney Correctional Institution was as follows:

14 Interview with Ernie Stevens, 1987.

The aim of this Institution is to decrease the possibility of the trainee again becoming involved in crime. We seek to achieve this goal by providing an environment and set of experiences which will facilitate the learning of socially acceptable values and new social and vocational orientations which, in turn, will serve to inhibit anti-social behaviour in the future.

The specific methods employed to achieve this goal are as follows:

(1) The approximation within the Institution of an environment as much like the normal community as possible. This is done by fostering a sense of community identity both on the part of staff and trainees in settings of relatively small living units. In this environment the trainee is encouraged to become directly involved in his own rehabilitation as well as that of his fellow inmates. The administration is structured to support this process of both mutual and self-help.

(2) The provision of opportunities for the trainee to improve his manual and intellectual skills so that he can become a productive member of the wider community on discharge.

(3) The provision of leisure time experiences, which will foster the learning of new leisure time pursuits for utilization in the free community.

(4) The provision of individual and group counselling services which will assist the trainee to explore his personal shortcomings and motivate him towards a personally satisfying and socially useful life.[15]

Left: Drafting room at Haney Correctional Institution (date: unknown)
Above: Haney Correctional Institution carpentry shop (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

15 *Counsellors' Manual*, Haney Correctional Institution, 1965.

Following the opening of Haney Correctional Institution, several administrative changes occurred. Administration of the Haney Camp Work Project was transferred to Warden Nelson at Haney Correctional Institution in September. It continued as a pre-release camp until November. Deteriorated buildings of the camp were then vacated and the men were transferred to a unit in the institution.

This unit became the pre-release unit. It represented a divergence from other pre-release units in British Columbia due to its placement within the institution. The advantage was that all resources of the institution were available to the unit. In September 1957, administrative responsibility of Gold Creek Camp was also transferred to Haney Correctional Institution.

With Haney Correctional Institution in place, there was an attempt by the government of British Columbia to relocate trainees of New Haven Borstal Institution to the Haney area. They could then benefit from the facilities at Haney Correctional Institution, and fulfil a recommendation made by the B.C. Gaol Commission. Unexpectedly, a protest was launched against this move with support from CKNW radio station.

The following letter from the president of the radio station, Frank A. Griffiths, was addressed to the attorney general:

> In recent days, we at Radio Station CKNW, have become aware of an increasing feeling by the people of the Lower Mainland that the removal of the New Haven Borstal Institute to the vicinity of the Haney Correctional Institute is not in the best interests of the trainees of New Haven. To confirm this, we enquired as to the opinions of our listeners on the subject, and this we did on our "Fiesta" programme, which runs for four hours daily, through the morning and afternoon. During the time the programme was on the air, and for hours afterwards, our telephone lines were plugged with calls from citizens expressing dismay at the Government's decision to close down New Haven and remove the trainees to the vicinity of the Haney Correctional Institute.
>
> We, in British Columbia, are justly proud of the outstanding success which has been achieved at New Haven in the past ten years. Over 500 youthful offenders have received Borstal training, and New Haven has attained a rehabilitation record of 80%. Other penal systems, including the most advanced in the United States, are happy to rehabilitate from 30% to 50%.
>
> Supported by the opinions of experts in the field and the feelings of the citizens of this area, we, at Radio Station CKNW, must conclude that it is for the future good of this Province to retain, for now, the New Haven Borstal Institute in its present form.[16]

16 Letter published in the *British Columbian* newspaper, February 10, 1958.

Parole Board hearing (l to r): F.C. Boyes, Oscar L Erickson, J.D. Rickaby, V.H. Goad, H.C. Grant (1950s)
Corrections Branch Archives

Refining probation and parole

Facilities for the Probation Branch were expanded in 1957 with a move to offices in the B.C. Estates Building on Melville Street in Vancouver. However, additional strain was created when more inmates were sentenced to Haney Correctional Institution for a definite and indeterminate period. There was also an increase in inmates on conditional release from the Young Offenders Unit under supervision of the Probation Branch.

The tremendous expansion of probation services required a more co-ordinated system to standardize operations. The first Probation Supervisor, Dick Clark, was appointed in 1957 to co-ordinate and increase contact between branch offices.

An increase in young adult offenders placed on parole required greater uniformity of Parole Board activities and operation of the parole supervision system.

As a result:

- Maitland Stade transferred from New Haven and was given the permanent position of secretary of the Provincial Parole Board at Corrections Branch headquarters.
- A policy manual was developed for the board. It improved procedures and served as an official framework for the board, institutional staff, and probation officers supervising parolees.

In 1958, Kim Nelson left the Corrections service and returned to the University of Southern California. John W. Braithwaite, at the age of 28, became warden at Haney Correctional Institution. He was noted in the press as the youngest warden in Canada and probably the youngest warden in North America. He started work in corrections at Oakalla Prison Farm:

I found myself at the Young Offenders Unit as a result of a somewhat circuitous quest for employment in Corrections. It commenced with an interview with Gordon Stevens at the Vancouver Family Court and Detention Centre where I was offered the position of Relief Supervisor in the detention home. It carried a princely salary of $200 a month and one of the people you relieved was the janitor.

I made the long trek to Oakalla Prison Farm and was interviewed by then Warden Hugh Christie who was known to me, and indeed everyone in the Lower Mainland, as the dynamic social worker who had busted staff cliques and the inmate trustee system at Oakalla. His actions had incurred a riot, which he had successfully quelled and he was now embarked on bringing a "treatment" regime into what was then Canada's largest conglomerate prison.

In his considered opinion I was worthy of a chance as a temporary guard, probably in the Westgate Unit for young adult offenders. Somehow, I was subsequently contacted by B.J. (Barney) McCabe and asked to report for an interview for possible employment as a temporary supervisor at the Young Offenders Unit.

I appeared before a panel chaired by Barney McCabe and assisted by Warren Lane and Merv Davis responsible for security and casework respectively. I believe Al (Monty) Montpelier was also present as head of the socialization or group work program. I felt during the interview that I was not doing all that well and my fears were confirmed when Barney McCabe indicated that there were no vacancies at the present time but should a vacancy arise, they might be in touch with me.

At this juncture Warren Lane intervened and asked if I would be good enough to wait outside. What subsequently transpired I never did discover but on re-entry I was informed that I could commence employment as a temporary relief supervisor at $250 a month, in May of 1953. I could only assume that Warren Lane's intervention was successful—at least for me![17]

Growth and diversification

By the late 1950s, the growth and diversification of the corrections system was evident through the opening of Haney Correctional Institution, expansion of the Probation Branch and development of a significant work camp program. These developments led to a change in Gordon Stevens's title of inspector of gaols to director of correction (1957). It symbolized that the focus was not just on custody but also included treatment. Administrative pressures resulted in the appointment of Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith as deputy director of correction.[18]

17 Interview with John Braithwaite, October, 1989.

18 Rocksborough-Smith assumed this position in 1958 on a part-time basis until a replacement could be found for him at New Haven. His duties as deputy director included the development of forestry camps and staff training.

Gaols that could not be renovated to accommodate the treatment approach were closed in 1959. Both the Nelson Gaol and Prince George Women's Gaol were below capacity prior to their closure. This was because of the policy to transfer long-term inmates to Oakalla where there were facilities for a constructive program. Closing these facilities displaced personnel who started corrections work in the previous era.

New developments happened at the institutional level in 1959:

- A form of conditional release was implemented at New Haven. A select group of trainees were released into the community to work during the day.
- A specialized unit known as Twin Maples Correctional Facility for Women was established for adult female offenders and opened as an alcohol treatment centre.
- The institution was the first minimum-security facility for adult female offenders. It provided treatment tailored to inmates from the women's section at Oakalla who were considered good security risks.

Lynda Williams Community Correctional Centre (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Many of these women were first or less experienced offenders.

- Two forestry camps—Centre Creek Camp and Pine Ridge Camp—began operation. Both camps were administered through Oakalla.

The last hanging occurred at Oakalla Prison farm when Leo Mantha, aged 33, was hanged on April 28, 1959. A former correctional officer who started working at Oakalla in 1953 was present when hangings were still taking place. Senior staff were asked to participate, but generally tried to avoid it.

At first, the correctional officer was nonchalant. It was "an experience that I didn't think would bother me at Oakalla," he said. Experience taught him differently, however. "I would have tried to find a hole to climb into" to avoid being involved, he later commented. He thought about the hangings for days, weeks, and even months after they happened.[19]

Probation was expanded in 1959 with the opening of four new offices: Chilliwack, Port Albemi, Williams Lake and Trail. A probation supervisor was appointed for the Okanagan and Kootenay Region.

Peter Bone was the first probation officer assigned to the Cariboo, where an office was located at Williams Lake. He served five courts, covering an area of 12,000 square miles.

> "I had been a probation officer in Bristol, England, for five years prior to emigrating to Canada six weeks before my first posting here," he recalls. "Talk about culture shock! I'd be out on the Chilcotin in my Ford Meteor waving a blue piece of paper out the window at some fast-disappearing

19 Interview with Gordon Chapple, 1988.

native Indians as they headed for the haying meadows. They didn't really know what it was all about. Or... did they?

"There was the time I did a 600-mile round trip to Bella Coola. A youth had been placed on probation for some trouble he'd got into at the Williams Lake Stampede and, naturally, I had to do a "home visit," dirt road or no. Doug Davidson wasn't at all pleased to receive my gas and motel expenses, however, and there were no more trips to Bella Coola. Too bad because the fishing was great."[20]

Bone was dismayed to find that, for every hour of work for which he had been trained, he was driving about three hours. After 15 months, he accepted a transfer to Richmond.

In the mid or latter part of the rehabilitation era, restructuring made it necessary to refine and expand institutional alternatives. For example, administration of the Chilliwack Forestry camp program was more formally organized between the Corrections Branch and the Forest Service with the creation of the interdepartmental co-ordinating committee in January 1960. The committee was composed of senior members of each branch (i.e. the director of correction and the assistant chief forester in charge of the Planning Branch of the B.C. Forest Service). It provided a format for policy co-ordination and planning for the Chilliwack forestry camps.

In 1960, staff training policy was changed to permit training immediately upon recruitment.

Chilliwack Forestry Camps administration building at Mount Thurston
Corrections Branch Archives

Within the guidelines of this policy change, the institutional training program expanded. Basic training was increased to 160 hours and, to ensure a standardized training program, course content was developed at headquarters. Malcolm Matheson, following educational leave from corrections to obtain his doctorate, was appointed personnel and staff training officer for the Corrections Branch.

Once again, the program was centred at Oakalla. The following year, an advanced training course was developed for the gaol service and conducted at Haney Correctional Institution.

With Haney in full operation, the Young Offenders Unit closed down in 1960. To deal with increasing numbers of physically and mentally ill offenders, the unit was converted to a hospital.

20 Interview with Peter Bone, 1989.

Staff training class of 1960, with Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith, Director of Correction Corrections Branch Archives

Classification system

The new organizational structure required a more centralized system of classification. This would allow two things to unfold: First, a broader perspective on all programs, and second, more suitable criteria for the placement of inmates. Classification was centralized with two appointments to headquarters staff in 1962: W. Lemmon[21] as classification supervisor and T. Jacobson as his assistant.

The classification supervisor and his assistant worked with the classification committee at Oakalla. A system of reclassification was also established to re-evaluate inmates who were not correctly classified. Shortly after centralization occurred, in an effort to streamline the classification process, inmates sentenced for a definite/indeterminate period in Oakalla were transferred to Haney Correctional Institution.

A centralized system of classification did not evolve for female inmates, however, because there were fewer facilities and smaller numbers. Classification of female inmates only involved assignments within the institution. The process was described as follows:

21 Lemmon was Supervisor of Counselling at Haney Correctional Institution.

> All new inmates, on admission, were placed in the orientation area until their health was satisfactory and it was felt by the medical and classification staff that they were ready for a living unit and placement in one of the vocational or work teams. Every effort was made to segregate new offenders from old, and drug addicts from non-users.[22]

This intention was not fully carried out, due to a lack of available space.

In January 1962, Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith became the new director of correction, and Ernie Stevens retired:

> On his retirement from public service at the end of January, Mr. E.G.B. Stevens brought to a conclusion his long and distinguished career in the Corrections Branch, in which he served both as Director of Correction and Provincial Probation Officer. Joining the Attorney-General's Department in 1938, Mr. Stevens served on the staff of the first New Haven. Following its closure in 1941 and the passing of the *Provincial Probation Act,* he was appointed Provincial Probation Officer, a position he held up to the time of his retirement in 1962. In 1951, he was named Inspector of Gaols, a position that was later changed to Director of Correction. For the last 10 years of his service, he served both as Director of Correction and Provincial Probation Officer. Mr. Stevens' influence in shaping corrections was largely responsible for the growth and development of the Provincial service of the past 25 years.[23]

Additional administrative changes were made in the 1962-63 fiscal year:

- Gold Creek Camp was transformed into a pre-release camp for Haney Correctional Institution;
- Pine Ridge Camp was converted from a pre-release camp to an honour unit where inmates served their entire sentence;[24]
- Chilliwack Forestry Camps became administratively independent of Oakalla in 1963.

Each camp operated as a separate unit. Each had its own staff, defined work areas, and was co-ordinated by an officer-in-charge. Admissions were received from central classification rather than directly from Oakalla.

Oakalla was reorganized on a decentralized basis. Its facilities were divided into three separately administered units:

- Westgate;
- Oakalla Women's Gaol; and
- Main Gaol.

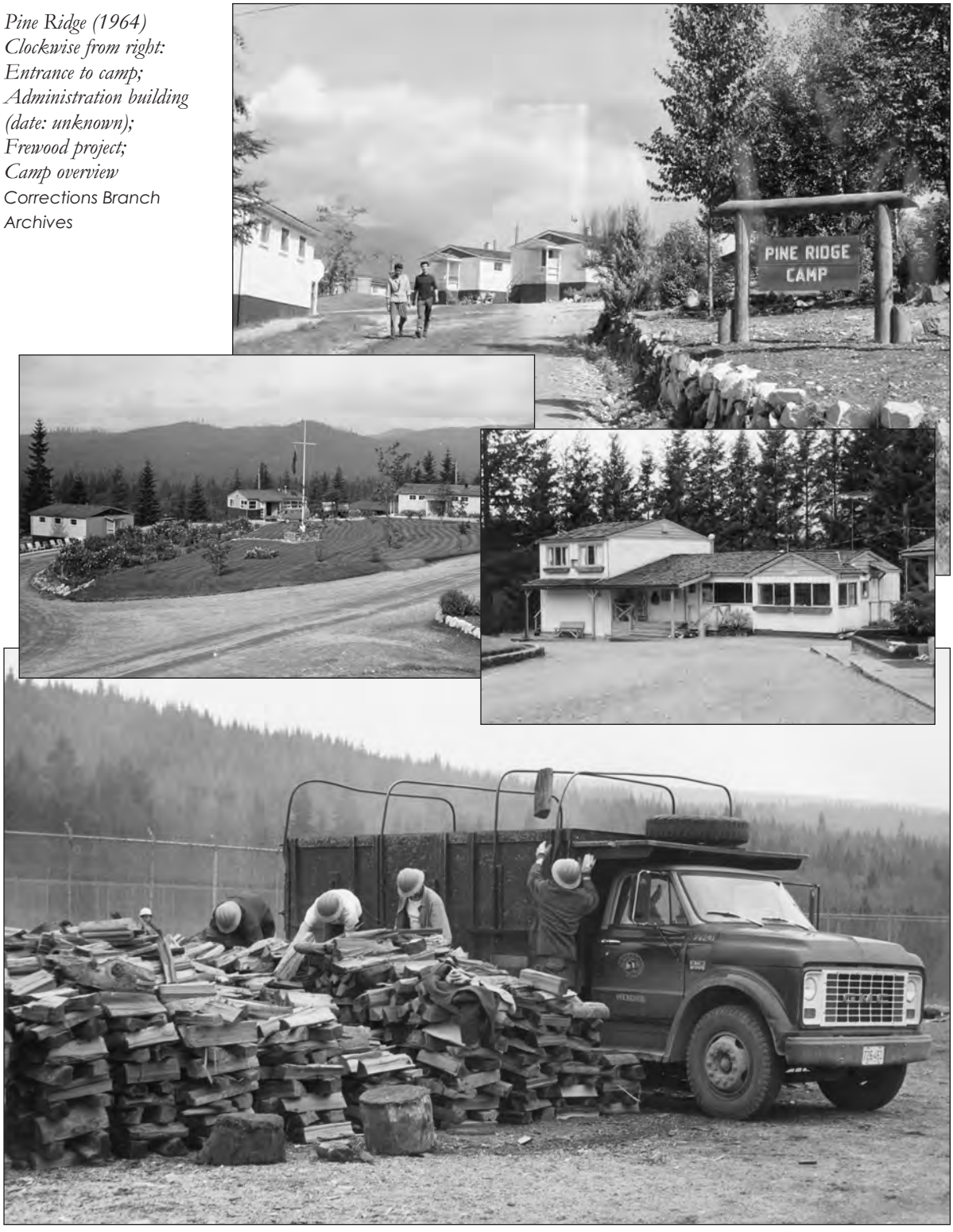
Treatment and custodial staff were combined under a single administration to better co-ordinate their respective activities.

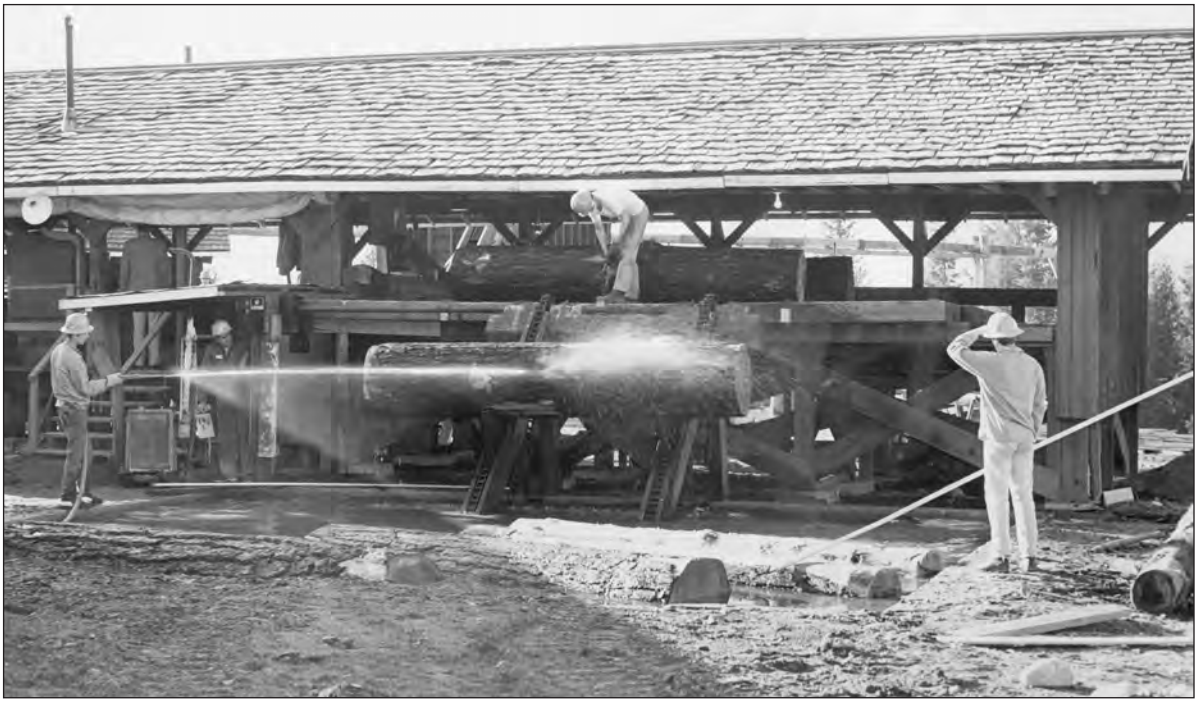
22 Annual Report of the Director of Correction, 1962-63 fiscal year.

23 Annual Report of the Director of Correction, 1961-62 fiscal year.

24 The function of these camp programs reverted to their former use in 1967. The pre-release program of Gold Creek Camp was transferred to Pine Ridge Camp and vice versa. Pine Ridge Camp's proximity to Haney meant it was more efficient in terms of training time, and access to community and institutional resources for pre-release trainees. Rapid turnover of the pre-release population also hampered the operation.

Pine Ridge (1964)
Clockwise from right: Entrance to camp; Administration building (date: unknown); Frewood project; Camp overview
Corrections Branch Archives





Sawmill at Pine Ridge (1964) Corrections Branch Archives

Oakalla print shop (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Reality therapy and program evaluation

Reality therapy made its debut in 1962. William Glasser, M.D., consulting psychiatrist at the Ventura School for Girls in California, presented an address to the Fall Institute of the B.C. Corrections Association. The presentation, entitled Reality Therapy: A Realistic Approach to the Young Offender, was well received. For approximately the next decade, reality therapy developed as a centerpiece of therapeutic intervention within the corrections service—especially as practised at Haney Correctional Institution.

In 1965, Dr. Glasser published a book entitled *Reality Therapy*. It explained the approach as a form of behaviour modification. By concentrating on simple steps, people could be assisted to function responsibly in their present reality. This approach appeared ideal for the treatment of youth in custodial settings. In some locations of B.C., the practice of reality therapy was extended to include counselling with probationers.

With the diversification of correctional programs, it was necessary to evaluate whether they were succeeding as rehabilitation. Several studies were carried out in 1962-63 to assess the value of these programs. To determine the effectiveness of correctional programs for young offenders, follow-up studies were conducted at New Haven, Haney Correctional Institution and Gold Creek Forestry Camp.

The follow-up period was at least one year. Success depended on non-reappearance in a federal or provincial correctional institution in British Columbia. The results showed the following success rates:

- New Haven—62%;
- Haney Correctional Institution—64%; and
- Gold Creek Forestry Camp—70%.[25]

The need for accommodation was still acute. Overcrowding remained a chronic problem at Oakalla. Inmates were continually transferred from the Prince George and Kamloops gaols. In 1962-63, in response to this need, five additional forestry camp programs opened:

- Rayleigh Camp;
- Hutda Lake Camp;[26]
- Lakeview Forestry Camp;
- Pierce Creek Camp;[27] and
- Snowdon Forestry Camp.

These camps were organized as satellites of the regional gaols. In addition, Snowdon Forestry Camp (located in the Sayward Forest, north of Campbell River) was Vancouver Island's first minimum security camp. It was set up as a reception, remand and classification unit.

The additional accommodation had little effect on prisoners in the west wing at Oakalla who were awaiting trial, appeal or transfer to the penitentiary. In September 1962, another

25 Although these studies show a high success rate, the usefulness of these findings is limited. A selected population was utilized, no control group was employed for comparison, and the type of inmates varied greatly.

26 Construction of this camp for the north began in the 1966/67 fiscal year. A crew of 12 inmates plus supervising officers started work on the campsite during the winter to prepare for construction in the spring.

27 This camp opened in February 1963. In 1970, this facility became the Staff Training Academy.

Pierce Creek Training Centre (1960s) Corrections Branch Archives

Probation officer submitting pre-sentence report to a magistrate (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Oakalla west wing unit (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

disturbance occurred when 200 prisoners refused to return to their cells. They were protesting a number of conditions—overcrowding, poor quality food, inadequate laundry and shower facilities.

Prompt action on the part of staff avoided a major riot. The inmates were returned to their cells one small group at a time. Little could be done to satisfy their complaints because the facility was not designed to provide services for a population that at times reached 1,200. Some remand prisoners were held in the Vancouver City Police lockup.

The *Family and Children's Court Act* (which repealed the *Juvenile Courts Act*) was implemented in 1962, establishing the Family and Children's Court of British Columbia. With the act's emphasis on crime prevention, probation officers sought to solve family problems without judicial interference.

To better co-ordinate and assess the needs of the community, Family and Children's Court committees were established in 1963. Probation officers assisted in providing these committees with an overview of the social problems in their area.

Municipal governments entered negotiations with the province to establish courts in their area on a cost-shared basis. Probation officers providing services to the Victoria Family and Children's Court came under the jurisdiction of the *Probation Act* in September of 1962.

Jurisdictional expansion of provincial probation continued until 1974 when the province took over responsibility for juvenile probation services to the City of Vancouver. This was the last court to have probation services provided by municipal authority.

The beginning of regionalization

A basic staff training program was initiated for probation officers in 1962. The orientation course was three and one-half months long. The following year, it was decided that new probation officers would first be assigned to a field office prior to classroom instruction. The intention was to give more meaning to theoretical perspectives.

Under the new organizational structure, it became evident that a centralized system of services was no longer workable. Services needed to be distributed and co-ordinated throughout the province. Changes were made to regionalize gaol and probation services. A policy of regionalization was proposed in 1963 for the probation service to improve contact between probation field offices.

Fraser Valley was the first probation region established, followed by Greater Vancouver, the Interior, and Vancouver Island. A probation supervisor was appointed to manage each area. F. St. John Madeley was appointed supervisor for the Fraser Valley Region; Al Byman for Vancouver; Al E. Jones for Vancouver Island; and John Wiebe for the Okanagan and Kootenay.

The policy of regionalization was not fully implemented until May 1, 1966 when R.G. (Bob) McKellar was appointed regional

supervisor for the north at Prince George headquarters. With this appointment, the fifth probation region became fully operational. This policy was also implemented for the gaol service, although it was kept separate from probation. Despite regionalization of service delivery, decision making was still concentrated in the director's office.[28]

The policy of regionalization for probation and institutions (including forestry camps) was not co-ordinated. In the institutional environment, Oakalla operated as the main centre for the province and all institutionally sentenced inmates were first received at Oakalla for classification.

The new policy thrust was to decentralize and regionalize which would eliminate sentenced offenders necessarily going to Oakalla. This led to the development of Vancouver Island Unit (V.I.U.) in 1965. Sentenced offenders were then remanded to V.I.U. and classified within the region to one of the forestry camps (e.g. Snowdon and Lakeview).

Kamloops was upgraded for the Interior and Rayleigh Camp was added for sentencing administration in this region. Prince George became a regional institution. The effect of this policy was essentially a reduction in the population at Oakalla, which allowed the Y.O.U. to be closed, and converted to a hospital. Regionalization for probation resulted in the appointment of regional supervisors and administrative support for probation was then provided within the regions.[29]

Warden's car parked at Prince George Regional Gaol (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Growing to meet challenges

Increasing concern was expressed about the number of inmates sentenced for public drunkenness. In response to this concern, a program was developed to provide "a more humane and informal" alternative to Oakalla. It would also intervene in the revolving door pattern for individuals sentenced for public drunkenness. This alternative was a specialized unit known as Alouette River. It was developed in 1964 in a building erected on the Allco Infirmary site at Haney.

Inmates were selected for this unit through Oakalla Prison Farm. Classification and

28 Brian Wharf, "From Initiation to Implementation: The Role of Line Staff in the Policy Making Process," 1984.
29 Interview with Malcolm Matheson, 1988.

Living units at Alouette River (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Inside an Alouette River living unit (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

selection were limited to men serving a minimum 30-day sentence who required only minimal security. Meanwhile, overcrowding continued to present difficulties and another disturbance shook the remand population at Oakalla. The opening of the new facility assisted in reducing Oakalla's population.

Vancouver Island, where no secure facility existed, also needed accommodation. This demand resulted in the re-establishment of Wilkinson Road Gaol (known as Vancouver Island Unit) in 1964. This unit was converted from a mental institution into a temporary gaol with accommodation for 220 inmates. The opening of the Vancouver Island Unit brought administrative changes. One change was the transfer of management responsibility for Sayward Forestry Camp and Lakeview Camp to this unit in 1965.

The Alouette River Unit was expanded in the second fiscal year of its operation. With the construction of two new dormitories, it tripled in size and had capacity for 153 inmates. An extension was also made to the Westgate Unit to accommodate 60 additional inmates and relieve overcrowding.

SALT training: Rock climbers (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

SALT training: Obstacle course (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

SALT training: Obstacle course (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

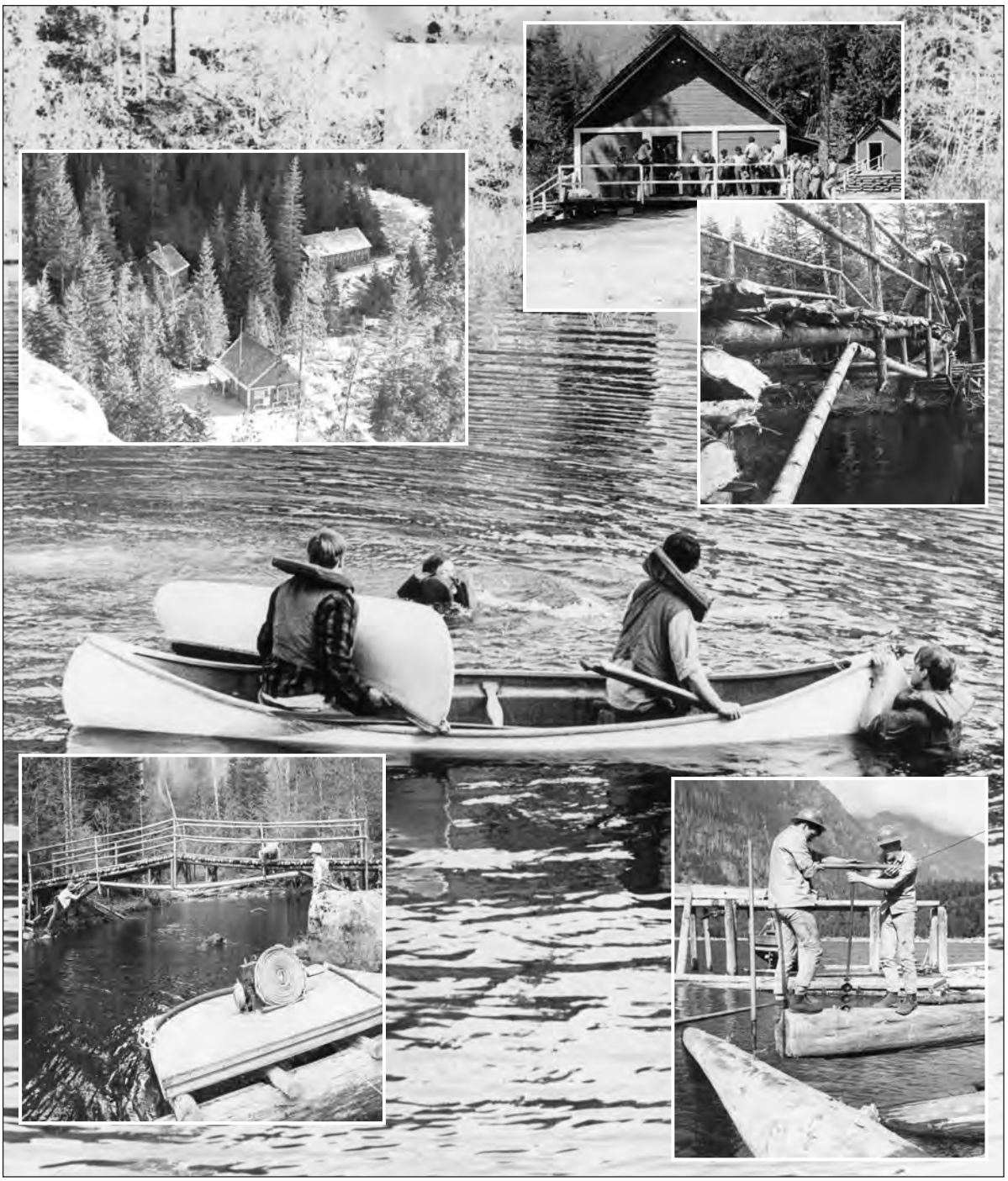
There was always a lack of satisfactory alternatives for juvenile offenders. An increasing number were transferred to adult court due to the lack of facilities. These transfers meant that they would receive better training in one of the young adult offender facilities. However, it was risky to mix juvenile offenders with more sophisticated offenders.

One program alternative that evolved, for a group of youths who were not responding to probation, was the Search and Leadership Training Course (SALT). This program was based on the Outward Bound philosophy and experience with adult offenders at Lakeview Camp on Vancouver Island. The first course was conducted as a satellite of Lakeview Camp during six weeks in the summer of 1964.

The main criteria for selection to this program were:

1. Age ranging from 15½ to 18 years.
2. Minimum height and weight approximately 5´¼´´ and 120 pounds.
3. Boy should be judged delinquent of indictable offences and awaiting disposition of the court.
4. Probation officer should be reasonably sure that the boy would be transferred to adult court or committed to Brannan Lake School if unable to participate in the SALT course.[30]
5. Potential I.Q. in the average or better range and ability to communicate verbally.
6. Physically fit to participate in the course.
7. Swimming ability desirable.

30 As a result of these criteria, the number referred to the program was reduced. The main difficulty was holding these boys in the community. Their offences warranted institutionalization, sometimes for several weeks after a court appearance and prior to commencing the SALT project.



Boulder Bay Forestry Camp: Centre: Survival training canoe rescue (1974);
Clockwise from top left: Overview of Boulder Bay Forestry Camp (date: unknown); Young offenders (date: unknown); Young offenders at work (1968); Working the timber sticks (1968); Bridge building (1968) Corrections Branch Archives

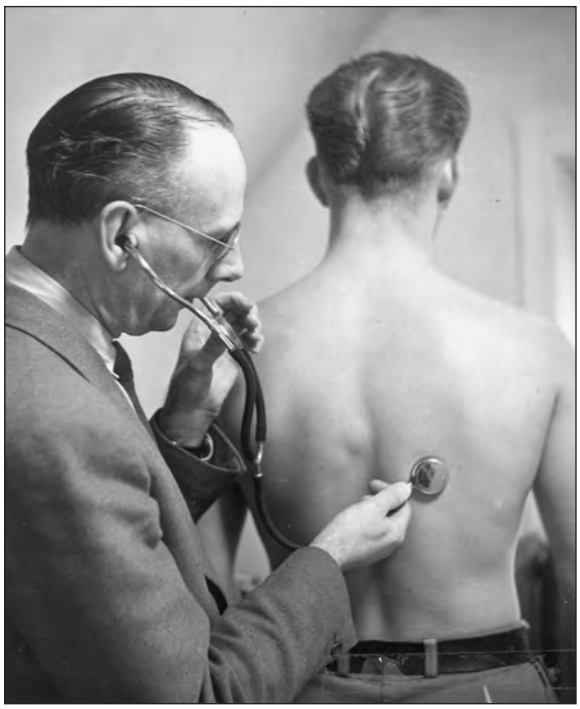
Correctional Officer, Mel Linn, with young offender on Alouette Lake (1968) Corrections Branch Archives

The difficult nature of this offender group is noted in the following evaluation of the first group of 14 youths who were selected to this program:

> It was hardly surprising to learn that prior to the course, three youths had already been sent to a boys' training school while one had undergone psychiatric treatment in a mental hospital and another required the care of a strict boarding school. The average number of offences, separate or together including breaches of probation, was three per person. The number of offences ranged from one—the problem being unmanageability—to seven.
>
> In nine instances, the first apprehension leading to a court appearance happened the previous year. The longest criminal career started five years earlier by one of the older youths. As usual, most offences were against property. Violation of liquor laws was mentioned in six cases, while three involved complaints of unmanageability.

This experimental (SALT) program was seen as successful and expanded in the late 1960s. For example, in 1967, a permanent base for SALT was established at Porteau Cove, near Britannia Beach in Howe Sound. In 1969, Boulder Bay[31] and Centre Creek camps began experimental programs utilizing the Outward Bound principles and philosophy.

These programs were suitable for young adult offenders serving definite-indeterminate sentences who did not need lengthy retraining. The Boulder Bay program was four months long, while the Centre Creek program took six months to complete. After successful completion of the program, recommendation was made to the B.C. Parole Board for release into the community.



Dr. Guy Richmond at New Haven (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

The first SALT program for juveniles and forerunner of the Porteau Cove program was run one summer by Jim Sabourin, a former social worker turned probation officer. The summer that this program was initiated was very wet and as a result the kids involved in the program were miserable. Consequently, the camp was moved to the Alouette River Unit Infirmary, which at that time was a satellite

31 In 1968, Boulder Bay Forestry Camp on Alouette Lake began operation as a provisional camp. It replaced Gold Creek Camp, until a permanent camp was built on Pine Lake.

> of Marpole Infirmary. The alcohol treatment centre had not yet been established at this unit, but a small group of alcoholics had been moved to one of the buildings on the property. Dormitory accommodation was provided for the group of juveniles at this unit and Porteau developed out of this.[32]

The view was that the Outward Bound based program would affect the character of the boys. Dr. Richmond commented on the inspirational nature of the Outward Bound program:

> I look upon the dynamics of the Outward Bound approach to character training as an assault on the ego—a dissolution and re-formation, a deconditioning followed by reconditioning; the shuffle of a pack of cards followed by a new deal. This is achieved in Outward Bound training by "shock" treatment of danger, exhaustion, privation, hunger, loneliness and struggle for survival—not all at once, of course, but exposure to them at carefully spaced intervals throughout the period of training which embraces mountaineering, glacier traversing, small boat handling, navigation, seamanship and solo survival exercises.[33]

For more difficult to handle juveniles, there was an alternative resource—a pilot project known as Marpole Probation Hostel. It opened in Vancouver in November 1965 for individuals requiring a condition of residence as part of their probation order. The first wardens were Bob Fairbridge and his mother, a retired corrections matron.

Psychodrama at Haney Correctional Institution

One of the most innovative programs at Haney Correctional Institution (HCI) was the brain-child of Anthony Holland, who came to Canada from a teaching position at the Bristol Old Vic Theatre School, England. John Allen, a former HCI housemaster, recalls:

> Holland followed Alan Woodland as librarian at H.C.I. in the early 60s. As part of his duties, he conducted group sessions in sensory awareness and gestalt therapy techniques. These sessions were conducted away from the living units, behind closed doors, and without custodial supervision.

Holland left the corrections scene to take a position with Vancouver City College (VCC) as theatre and drama instructor. In the late 1960s, he was persuaded to return to HCI on a part-time basis to start a psychodrama group. He was assisted by a staff sponsor, a role filled by Bob Fairbridge, George Middlehurst and John Allen. Productions included *Mr. Roberts, Lady Audley's Secret, Stalag 17, Naked Island* and *Oh, What a Lovely War*.

During a scene in *Stalag 17*, machine-gun fire was simulated by covering pre-drilled holes with masking tape. The tape was then ripped off to the accompaniment of recorded machine gunfire, while a searchlight played through the

32 Interview with Malcolm Matheson, 1988.

33 Richmond, p. 159.

holes. "The effect was so realistic the audience ducked," recalls former HCI Senior Programs Officer, P. J. (Tim) Thimsen.

Many productions were a collaborative effort in which trainees were joined by local community groups such as the Maple Ridge Merrymakers and students from Holland's theatre group at VCC. Women from the community acted alongside trainees in the plays, which was viewed as part of the rehabilitative effect of this program. Not only did they benefit from the therapy of acting out their roles, they also learned stage management techniques.

Some productions were staged in Vancouver, and were an excellent public relations vehicle for Corrections. Admission was by donation, which made the group—sponsored by the trainees' welfare fund—self-supporting.

John Allen also recollects that "Tony at that time drove to and from HCI in a Rolls Royce Silver Shadow which was his pride and joy." This colourful episode in Corrections history came to an end in the early 1970s. Because of changes in the justice system, difficult offenders were classified to HCI and more emphasis was placed on community-based alternatives.

A unique experiment of the rehabilitation era ended. Many trainees and staff who passed through the B.C. Corrections system during those years affectionately remember Anthony Holland. He received the B.C. Theatre Guild's Lifetime Achievement Award in 1989.[34]

Pre-job training and Training Academy

During the 1960s, it became increasingly evident that a permanent training academy for gaol staff was necessary to efficiently train new recruits. Staff turnover increased dramatically and it was difficult to keep up with training. Pre-job training was one way of keeping staff in the gaol service. An increase in facilities also contributed to the need for more training.

A training program that would "meet the needs of the day" was designed at the beginning of 1965. Its architects were the assistant director of correction, the staff training officer from headquarters, eight deputy wardens and 13 senior correctional officers.

The gaol service training academy developed from their meeting at the University of British Columbia. It included training of recruits during three-month periods—on the job, in the classroom, in the gymnasium and on the parade field. It also combined orientation, field, basic and advanced training that was previously conducted during the first two years of service. Initially, the academy was located at Oakalla.

The warden of Oakalla spoke of the organization of the training academy to one of the graduating classes:

> The establishment of the training academy in 1965 was brought about by the recognized need for well-trained staff.
>
> We arrived at the method, means and curriculum for this training program by calling together our senior staff and then, under the direction of headquarters officers, these senior gaol service officers

34 Submitted by Peter Bone, B.C. Corrections Branch History Committee, 1990.

were asked what was required in the training of new personnel to help develop a well-rounded officer. These senior staff, who together had approximately 150 years experience in correctional work, set certain objectives and needs. In other words, they told us what was required.

So we covered everything from training in legal responsibilities, leadership and counselling, to studies in human behaviour. One of the important features of the course, I believe, is the correlation of course training with on the job practical observation. In looking back over the last year and a half and now looking at our present graduating class, I feel we have more than succeeded in reaching our objectives.[35]

A staff training academy was established in 1967 for the entire gaol service at the Vancouver Island Unit.[36] Senior Correctional Officer Don Chamberlain was appointed the officer in charge of the academy. In practice, due to the high staff turnover (more than 25% in the 1967-1968 fiscal year), many inexperienced and untrained staff were working in the gaol service. The training academy simply could not meet the demands of staff turnover.

The *Summary Convictions Amendment Act* took effect on March 1, 1967. This act permitted courts to sentence chronic alcoholics to an indeterminate period of up to 12 months. This increased the number of offenders sentenced to the specialized Alouette River Unit. However, by January 1968, laying charges of public drunkenness ceased following a change in policy. In turn, this decreased the population of the unit.

The *Summary Convictions Amendment Act* added responsibility to the probation officer's role. A chronic alcoholic could be sentenced to an indeterminate period of up to 12 months. This individual could also be released on a suspended sentence on the condition that he attend a clinic for treatment of alcoholism. The chief probation officer, once satisfied that treatment was completed, could then release the person.

The "new" inmate—changing criminality in the 1960s

The decline of the rehabilitation era began in the mid-1960s, when there was a demonstrable change in the type of inmate being received in correctional institutions. These offenders were younger, less criminally sophisticated, more politically astute, more articulate and less willing to accept the criminal identity imposed on them by a court sentence.

An increasing number of young men left the United States for Canada to oppose the Vietnam War and escape the military draft. Illicit use of drugs, particularly psychedelics, was increasing. Drug use was directly associated with identifiable groups living in geographically defined urban and rural communities.

35 Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, no date.

36 Advanced training continued to be offered at Haney to deal with the backlog of staff who had yet to complete it. Field training also continued at each institution.

These conditions resulted in increased attention by law enforcement agencies on these communities and more court appearances by individuals charged with drug offences. The courts experienced difficulties disposing of such cases. Several factors may have contributed to these challenges: political and social confusion, unclear legislation pertaining to illicit use of drugs, and lack of experience in treating drug abuse.[37]

The new inmates did not identify themselves with the criminal subculture. Nor did they easily fit into the expected roles and relationships with staff. Due to these circumstances, considerable disruption occurred in the provincial prison community from the mid-1960s to early 1970s. Clarification of the situation occurred in 1972 with the passing of the federal *Narcotic Control Act*.

Until that time, and beyond it, the shift in inmate population was troubling. One effect was to increase the momentum for alternative dispositions, which were considered community-based. Meanwhile, it was thought that institutional programs should be specialized. In 1974, the Alouette River Unit was reorganized to provide programs focused on drug as well as alcohol offenders.

The social revolution of the 1960s, with the resultant change in inmates, was a catalyst for change. It was an important factor in the movement from the rehabilitation philosophy or medical model in British Columbia to the reintegration approach that became popular in the early 1970s.

As the era came to a close, three major disturbances occurred at Oakalla involving inmates awaiting trial, appeal or transfer to the penitentiary. Concern was still being expressed about overcrowding.

Expansion and specialization

Institutional alternative resources expanded and specialized new programs continued to emerge in the late 1960s:

- Ruskin Camp, the first camp program for adult female offenders, was established in 1966.
- Ford Mountain Camp was established in 1966.[38]
- Boulder Bay Camp, a permanent SALT program for juveniles, received its first residents in July 1968.[39]
- Hutda Lake Camp opened the following year to provide accommodation for the northern part of the province.

Ruskin Camp was described as a happy place with a family feeling:

37 Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs (LeDain), Information Canada, Ottawa, 1972.

38 This camp replaced Tamihi Creek Camp. Inmates moved to the new location in June 1966.

39 On a practical level, this camp was designed to assist with the increasing numbers of young male first offenders received in the corrections system. In the early 1970s, a study was done to test the effectiveness of this type of program compared with the program at Haney Correctional Institution. The results suggested that the Boulder Bay Camp program was more successful. Recidivism rates were lower for this group than for individuals who were selected for the Haney Correctional Institution program.

Old Kamloops Gaol (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

> Some of the inmates from the Women's Building at Oakalla started a camp of their own which resulted in one of the happiest groups of prisoners I have known. Kim Nelson and his family had lived in an old farmhouse on government property when he was Warden at Haney. When he left to become director of the Youth Authority in California the farm was taken over by women inmates from Oakalla.
>
> They included alcoholics and long-established narcotic drug addicts. Many of the women were Indian. At the camp there were cows, horses and chickens and the usual dogs and cats. Because the group was small and cohesive enough to be a family in the warmth of a home, both staff and residents enjoyed their stay in the camp.[40]

During this time, secure institutions continued to grow. For example, Kamloops Gaol moved to a new site in 1967 and the institution's capacity doubled.[41]

Probation services also kept expanding. Five new offices opened between 1965 and 1969: Revelstoke, Lillooet, Smithers, Fort St. John and Terrace. Meanwhile, family matters (such as custody, access and child support) received increasing attention. In 1965, two probation officers were placed in new Family and Children's Courts—one in the New Westminster Family and Children's Court, and one in the Surrey Family and Children's Court in Cloverdale.

40 Richmond, 1975.

41 The site of the former Royal Canadian Navy ammunition depot was used for the new Kamloops Gaol. Although the wooden structure was intended as a temporary measure until a new prison could be constructed, several additions were made. Treasury Board did not approve plans to replace it until 1986.

It became apparent that the Family and Children's Court desperately needed extra resources in a more open setting for juveniles. Although a number of facilities were available to adult offenders, there were few alternatives for juveniles, which made up most of a probation officer's caseload. Many juveniles were placed in local lockups, sent to Riverview, incarcerated at severely overcrowded Brannan Lake, or transferred to adult court and placed in one of the young adult offender facilities. This was partly due to inadequate backup resources available to probation officers.

Kamloops toy repair shop (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

Family and children's court committees—along with other community groups and the Social Services ministry—emphasized developing a greater variety of placement resources for juveniles. Group homes, attendance centres and open remand homes were established to address this situation.

For example, in November 1969, an attendance centre was established in Victoria to assist the judge and probation staff with juveniles not responding to probation. This treatment resource mobilized community resources to provide a rehabilitative and preventive program for juveniles on probation who were living in their homes.

Metchosin Ranch program, situated outside of Victoria, was initiated in November 1969 as a weekend and summer residential training program.

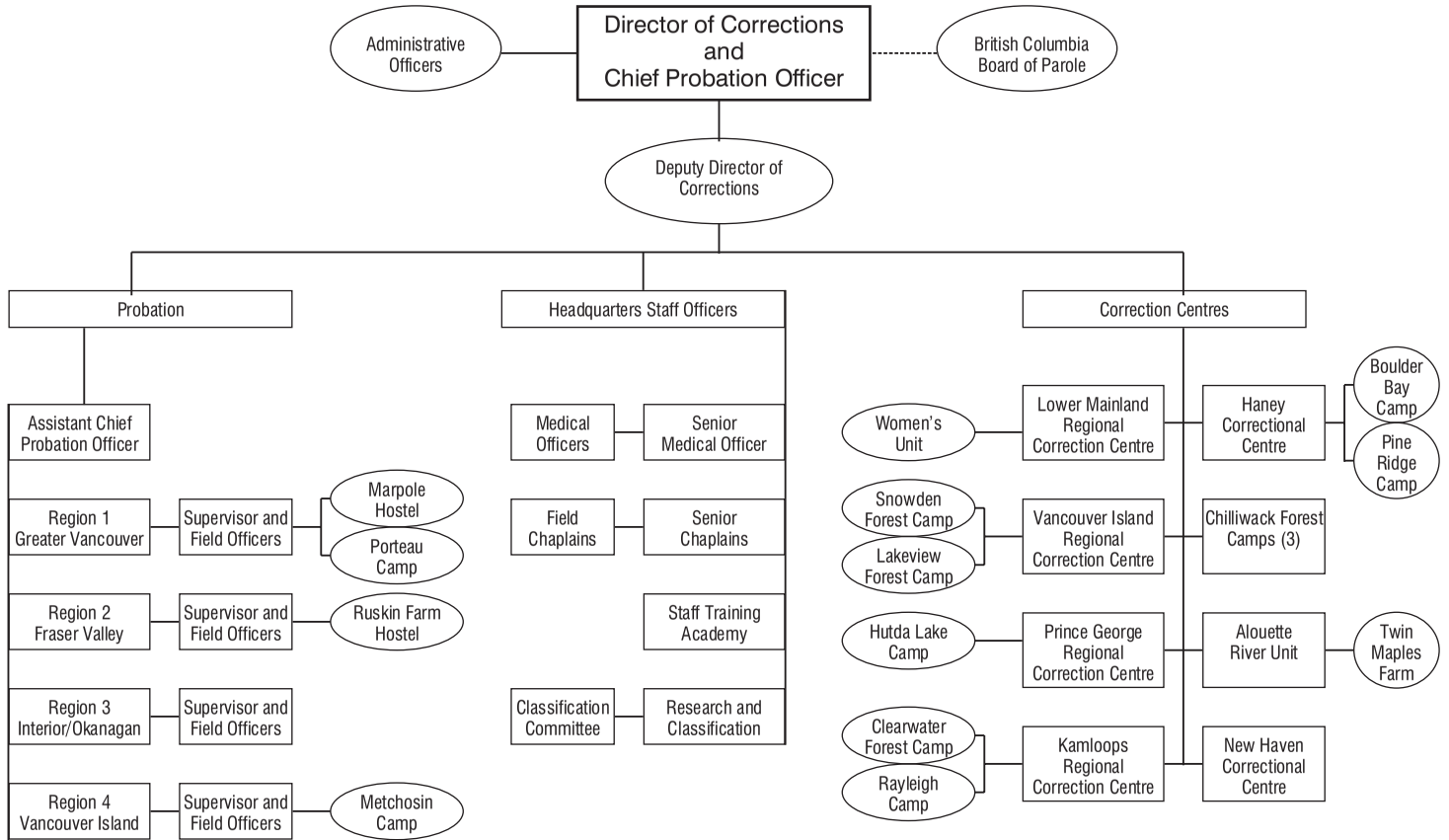
Inmate work program in Kamloops area (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

Probation Statistics

Comparative case statistics for the years 1968/69, 1969/70, 1970/71 and 1971/72

New probation cases				
Males:	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72
Under 18 years	2,131	2,168	2,234	2,541
18 to 24 years, inclusive	873	1,133	1,615	1,762
25 to 39 years, inclusive	359	402	637	729
40 to 64 years, inclusive	167	170	250	284
65 years and over	6	4	11	18
	3,536	3,877	4,747	5,334
Females:				
Under 18 years	220	209	315	391
18 to 24 years, inclusive	94	149	234	277
25 to 39 years, inclusive	58	65	117	140
40 to 64 years, inclusive	11	48	54	74
65 years and over	2	—	3	2
	385	471	723	884
Total	**3,921**	**4,348**	**5,470**	**6,218**
New parole cases				
National parole	122	132	142	182
Provincial parole	520	725	699	691
	642	**857**	**841**	**873**
Miscellaneous and voluntary cases	2,976	3,827	4,197	4,837
Grand total	**7,542**	**9,032**	**10,504**	**11,928**

Organizational Chart – Rehabilitation Era



Summing up the accomplishments

Restructuring that occurred to accommodate the treatment model in British Columbia corrections brought tremendous expansion and diversification. Probation grew significantly. A notable increase in the number of new cases placed on probation occurred each year. The exceptions were the 1957-58 and 1962-63 fiscal years, when there were slight decreases.

A similar pattern was found in the preparation of pre-sentence reports when a disposition other than probation was given.[42] The number of pre-sentence reports prepared on offenders, when a disposition other than probation was made, surpassed new probation cases per year during this period. An increase in cases coincided with the opening of new provincial probation offices.

Probation officers increasingly supervised individuals discharged from corrections institutions. The forestry camp program matured to the extent that some camps were independently administered and operated. Probation and gaol services were united under one structure. Steps were taken to separately regionalize the gaol and probation services.

A majority of facilities provided opportunities for inmates to receive counselling, education and training. A significant staff training and inmate classification system evolved. Non-institutional program alternatives were also beginning to develop.

Most of the recommendations proposed by the B.C. Gaol Commission in 1950 were implemented by the end of this era. The next period of correctional history in British Columbia resulted in implementation of one more recommendation. The provincial Corrections Branch would become the jurisdiction for juvenile facilities.

42 The courts increasingly depended on probation officers to provide advice about available correctional dispositions, including secure custody.

Chapter 4

Era of Reintegration (1970-1979)

Emerging corrections philosophy becomes established whenever new programs—or alternatives—take root and achieve primary status. So it was with the perceived excesses and focus on institutionalized treatment within the rehabilitation era. The foundation was laid for a reaction of opposing viewpoints.

The response to the problems of rehabilitation in an institutional setting was to develop an emphasis on reintegration in a community setting. Reintegration programs started during the rehabilitation era, just as rehabilitation programs had been introduced during the punishment era. It was not until the early 1970s, however, that the philosophy of reintegration dominated correctional work.

Ouimet Report

In the late 1960s, several initiatives contributed to changes in correctional practice. One of the most influential was the Ouimet Report, named for its chairman, Mr. Justice Roger Ouimet. The report, entitled *Toward Unity: Criminal Justice and Corrections*, was published in 1969 by the Canadian Committee on Corrections.

The Ouimet Committee was established four years prior to its report. Its mandate was to undertake a broad review of the corrections field including each stage from the initial investigation of an offence through imprisonment to parole.

Years of work, public hearings and professional briefings were involved in its development. There is no doubt that the report itself, and the work that went into it, contributed significantly to reintegration philosophy and practice.

Coinciding with the publication of this report, and as a result of all the preparatory work, changes began to take place. Probation became a more desirable sentencing option available to the court following amendments passed to the *Criminal Code of Canada* in 1969. This option was accomplished in two ways:

1. Making failure to comply with a probation order an offence, known as breach of probation; and
2. Providing that a probation order could follow a sentence of incarceration.

The same year, the *Provincial Court Act* was passed that expanded on the powers and duties of a probation officer. In relation to family concerns, probation officers prepared a pre-court inquiry[1] in all matters involving a child, within the meaning of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* (Canada).

By the time the Ouimet Report was published, attempts to expand community-based sentences were already underway. Such sentences were founded on principles outlined by the Ouimet Committee.

Building on this trend, other changes to legislation and practice began to occur in British Columbia. The *Corrections Act* was passed in April 1970. This act emphasized involvement in community corrections and accented prevention. The act also officially united the Gaol Service and Probation Branch into an entity called the British Columbia Corrections Branch.

Probation officer interviews client (1970s)
Corrections Branch Archives

Ideals of reintegration

Other administrative changes during the next three to five years advanced the ideals of reintegration. The basic assumptions of reintegration were:

1) Programs with direct rehabilitation potential, such as work, education, and counselling programs, are best provided outside of the environment of secure custody by agencies specializing in those services.
2) The offender's return to the community from a secure setting should be gradual with de-escalation in levels of control and supervision.
3) The offender should have the opportunity to develop the social and technical skills required to maintain a satisfying lifestyle in the community, free from a return to criminal behaviour.
4) Wherever possible, the offender should contribute to the social costs resulting from the offence and subsequent incarceration by participation in constructive work activity.[2]

1 The pre-court inquiry is a review of an alleged offender's social history and community circumstances made prior to the Crown counsel's decision about whether to proceed to court. Most young people in conflict with the law, referred to a probation officer for investigation, do not proceed to court.

2 John W. Ekstedt and Curt T. Griffiths, *Corrections in Canada: Policy and Practice* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1988).

Dave Barrett elected

In 1972, the New Democratic Party formed the government in British Columbia. This event had an unusually direct influence on correctional issues for two main reasons:

1. Dave Barrett, the new Premier, was a former employee of the Correctional Service in B.C. As a social worker, Barrett developed a strong position related to correctional reform.
2. The change in government reflected the first significant change in the politics of B.C. in approximately 22 years. This fact alone would have prompted bureaucratic shifts and program changes, regardless of new directions taken by the leader of the party in power.

David Barrett made several public speeches in quest of the CCF nomination in Dewdney before becoming premier of British Columbia in 1972. He was known within the B.C. Corrections community and among B.C. government employees after being dismissed as a personnel officer at Haney Correctional Institution in July 1959.

His dismissal resulted in a review by the Employees' Association concerning the relationship between civil servants and politics.[3] In addition, both the *Vancouver Sun* and *Vancouver Province* newspapers editorialized on behalf of "precise rules and definitions in these matters."

NDP government reforms corrections

The new government was interested in the reform of the whole administration of justice as well as corrections. This immediately strengthened the ability of corrections to compete for public resources. One example was a change in the status of the head of corrections to deputy minister in 1973. The office of the head of corrections moved from Vancouver to Victoria.

As a deputy minister, the head of corrections had more direct access to the minister, and was better positioned to place policy issues of correctional reform before the attorney general and cabinet committees. No previous directors of corrections had such influence.

Other initiatives achieved significance. In 1972, a Task Force on Correctional Services and Facilities was established by the attorney general, through joint ministerial agreement. Its purpose was to inquire into correctional administration and practice in British Columbia. The report of this committee, submitted in 1973, became a resource document for changes in program planning. Malcolm Matheson, Deputy Director of Correction, was one of its principal authors.

3 Refer to reports in *The Provincial,* a publication of the B.C. Government Employees' Association, September, 1959.

British Columbia Task Force on Corrections—1972

Before the year was out, another task force was created—the British Columbia Task Force on Corrections. It was established on December 18, 1972 by Alexander Macdonald, Q.C., Attorney General of British Columbia, in consultation with the Honourable Norman Levi, Minister of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement, and the Honourable Dennis Cocke, Minister of Health Services and Hospital Insurance.

Its terms of reference were to:

1. Examine services provided to persons in conflict with the law and make recommendations to establish other facilities.
2. Examine detention, remand and correctional facilities available for juvenile and adult offenders, male and female.
3. Arrange with the Consultation Centre of the Department of the Solicitor General for consultative services in specialized areas.
4. Examine facilities available for children under 17 years of age who were transferred to adult court and serving sentences.
5. Make recommendations for development of correctional services for adults and juveniles in British Columbia, bearing in mind the needs of the community and individuals in conflict with the law.
6. Provide a blueprint for such development with attention to drug dependency, alcoholism, sex offenders and other individuals needing drug and forensic clinic services.
7. Consider which department of government should operate the correctional system.

Members of the task force were:

Chairman: Malcolm Matheson
Deputy Director of Correction
B.C. Corrections Branch,
Department of the Attorney General

John A. MacDonald
Graduate Lawyer and Associate Professor
School of Social Work
University of British Columbia

David J. Schultz
Deputy Warden 1
Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre
B.C. Corrections Branch,
Department of Attorney General

The task force completed its report on February 28, 1973. The report included numerous recommendations for the reorganization of justice services, including corrections. A follow-up paper was prepared by the Corrections Branch, detailing a plan in response to the recommendations. This paper was introduced in early 1974 as follows:

> The Corrections Branch, Department of the Attorney General, Province of British Columbia is committed to the implementation of alternatives to the present practice of incarceration in large institutions. The 'Statement on Corrections in British Columbia,' recently

developed by the Senior Administrative Staff of the Corrections Branch, outlines the general parameters of philosophy, purpose and method for developing and implementing these alternatives. The Government of British Columbia is also committed to the dissolution of large regional correctional centres, particularly those centres whose structures are antiquated and counterproductive to the legitimate objectives of correctional programming.

The Government of British Columbia through the Premier and the Attorney General has issued a mandate to the Corrections Branch to proceed immediately with the implementation of effective alternatives to incarceration in large institutions for the purpose of phasing out those institutions at the earliest possible time.

Concurrently, the Department of Attorney General was drafting new legislation to assist the attorney general in reforming the administration of justice. The new legislation (*Administration of Justice Act*) was not proclaimed until 1974. However, the years of its development (1972-1974) brought the divisions of the administration of justice (police, prosecutors, court administrators, corrections officials) together in a new way. This was a ground-breaking exercise to build relationships among justice administrators in Victoria as well as other regions of the province.

New leaders within the bureaucracy

Within the bureaucracy, old and new faces appeared on the scene to provide leadership and influence policy and programs:

- Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith, a significant personality throughout modern corrections history in B.C., moved from Director of Correction to become Chairman of the B.C. Parole Board in 1973.
- Edgar Epp became the first Deputy Minister of Corrections in the new structure of administration within the Ministry of Attorney General, also in 1973.
- Malcolm Matheson, Deputy Director of Correction, made a major contribution to this era of correctional life through many proposals and submissions to the provincial government. His chairmanship of the Task Force on Correctional Services and Facilities was particularly important.
- David Vickers, the new Deputy Attorney General, showed strong commitment to integrating correctional planning within the policy and program development of the Ministry of Attorney General. This support at the broader ministerial level improved the Branch's ability to acquire resources for many new initiatives.

Reorganization of the Corrections Branch within the Ministry of the Attorney General resulted in new positions of responsibility for program supervision and program planning. The following appointments were made:

- Bernard Robinson as Executive Director, Institutional Programs;

- A.K.B. (Tony) Sheridan as Executive Director, Community Services; and
- John Ekstedt as Director of Planning and Development.

While the structure of B.C. Corrections changed, resulting in new programs, correctional personnel had to adjust and consider reassignment. The Branch was not simply adding but eliminating, replacing and sometimes relocating programs. This created an atmosphere of uncertainty, which was often difficult for staff and offenders.

Community-based corrections

During this era, there was a tendency to limit programs that were institutionally based and develop and expand programs that were community based. This involved significant adjustment in the planning efforts of individuals who were responsible for program development and leadership in the Corrections Branch.

Even more important was the encouragement to implement innovative community programs. The Joss Mountain wilderness program was an example:

> Joss Mountain Wilderness Project is an excellent example of innovation, community organization and the involvement of volunteers. The 1973/74 Annual Report for the Corrections Branch reported that this program is aimed at developing a sense of "self-sufficiency" in youth through exposure to an alternative environment for a short, intensive period (10 days). Youth "learn basic survival techniques such as backpacking, camping, bivouacking, safety on traverse, compass map orientation, and general outdoor living."
>
> Ian Young (a probation officer) initiated this program and the first participants were boys from Choin Ranch (a group home/probation resource that was developed as an alternative to sending juveniles to Brannan Lake Industrial School). To establish this program, Ian discussed with members of the community in Vernon the idea of combining forestry work with an Outward Bound program in a program for juveniles, and then at a probation meeting discussed the idea with Mr. Rocksborough-Smith (then the Director of Correction).
>
> It was agreed that Ian could have the salary of one officer and a truck to get started. He obtained all the tents and packs needed from the Forestry Service. Other supplies were contributed by the community including a discount on food. Community members participated in the operation of the program. Only a couple of the staff were paid.[4]

Adjustments in institutional programs resulted in more minimum security options to support work release and temporary release in the community.

Stave Lake Camp for young adult offenders was another type of program developed at this time.

4 Interview with Ian Young, 1989.

Branding activities at Choin Ranch (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

This camp was created in association with other ministries of the provincial government to convert the lake into a recreational facility. During the next few years, similar programs emerged involving co-operation with public and private sector agencies. The following is a summary of the camp programs:

> There are seven forest camps and one farm camp run by the Branch. The settings for each of these facilities allow for a work program that includes bushwork, specific work programs carried out in conjunction with the B.C. Ministry of Forests, and forest management and maintenance. Four camps have a small sawmill operation that provides work experience while meeting some production demands. Farm work includes the raising of crops and animal husbandry.
>
> Evening programs generally include hobby work and recreational activities. There is also time for the pursuit of individual interests such as correspondence courses, and contact with community groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous, the John Howard and Elizabeth Fry Societies, and self-help organizations.
>
> The four camps in the Lower Mainland provide a range of placement alternatives. Stave Lake Camp receives people who are serving their first jail sentences. Pine Ridge Camp accommodates people in community, educational, and vocational, training programs. Older offenders, who have served previous jail sentences, are placed in the Chilliwack Forest Camps.[5]

Redonda Bay is a unique, isolated camp program owned and operated by the Ministry

5 *Provincial Adult Correctional Facilities* (Victoria, B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General, 1979).

of Forests, providing a rigorous work program for inmates on temporary absence. Inmates engage in a forestry training program while at the camp, and are paid minimum wage. Redonda Bay is located on West Redonda Island, near Campbell River.

With the expansion of the temporary release program, the work of institutional correctional officers and community-based probation officers began to merge. In 1971, a Work Release Unit[6] (under the direction of Stan Mounsey and P.J. "Tim" Thimsen) was established at the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre (previously known as Oakalla). This brought probation officers into the institution to help the unit assess individuals for temporary release.

Main entrance of Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Another innovative program that began in the early 1970s was sponsorship of a pilot project in volunteer probation. This project reflected the focus on community-based corrections and direct involvement of private citizens. The program was jointly sponsored by the junior League of Vancouver and B.C. Corrections Branch.

The volunteer sponsors program in North Vancouver was a practical example of citizen participation.[7] In 1971, it was reported that 74

South wing unit of Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

6 Westage 'A' was used for this purpose, which allowed for accommodation of up to 50 offenders.

7 *Corrections Branch Annual Report 1970-71* (Ministry of Attorney General, 1972).

sponsors were enrolled and matched with one adult and 68 juvenile probationers.

The emphasis on commitment to volunteer service was not only directed to offenders, but by them. The following report describes the volunteer experience of a trainee named Ken:

> As part of the correctional process, a 20-year-old trainee was granted temporary community re-entry from Haney Correctional Centre to undertake voluntary service for the Harold E. Johnson Centre, a community sponsored sheltered workshop for mentally retarded adults. The unescorted trainee travelled between the two centres by bicycle on a daily basis from August to December 1970.
>
> Mr. W.J. Podgson, the trainee's lay counsellor, initiated the programme and maintained contact with the workshop.
>
> Mr. J.L. Allen, the trainee's Housemaster, further reports:
>
> Initially Ken's job was to have been limited to the construction of several workbenches in the newly completed woodwork shop but since he has been working there he has developed many skills, which have benefited both the centre and himself.
>
> This lad not only completed the construction of the workbenches but in doing so taught several of the trainees at the centre basic woodworking skills which they would have been unable to learn had he not been there. Secondly, but equally important, Ken discovered qualities that he was unaware he had. He took on a position of leadership and with great patience succeeded in teaching several of the trainees the skills required to make limited woodworking projects.
>
> In doing this, Ken learned that he had skills and talents of his own that were needed by other people and he learned that by helping others he also benefited himself.
>
> Mr. Allen Kelly, the Director of the Centre, has contacted us on various occasions to express his pleasure with this young man's work and has requested that this program continue with another trainee after Ken is released.[8]

Acceptance of reintegration philosophy

By 1974, the list of new programs confirmed the transition to the reintegration and community-based philosophy of corrections. Even newly established institutional programs reflected this change in orientation. For instance:

- Canada's first co-educational correctional facility was established at the Prince George Regional Correctional Centre;[9]
- Jordan River minimum security forestry camp opened on Vancouver Island;
- First bail supervision project was developed in Vancouver under the leadership of Henry (Hank) Mathias;

8 *British Columbia Corrections Service Bulletin*, December 1970.

Marpole Community Correctional Centre (1976) Corrections Branch Archives

- First three community correctional centres in the province opened in Vancouver, Chilliwack and Victoria;
- First formal community service order program was initiated in nine centres of the province as a pilot project of the Justice Development Commission;[10] and
- A contract was established with the British Columbia Institute of Technology to provide staff development support for corrections personnel in educational counselling.

In 1975, several programs were developed that reinforced the movement away from institutional placement toward community-based options:

- Two forestry camps opened as minimum security institutional placements—Metchosin for youths and Snowdon for adults.

9 In 1973, a corrections task force pointed out the serious overcrowding and staff problems at the Women's Unit of the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre. To examine correctional facilities for women and the female inmate population, the Corrections Branch established two study groups. These studies led to the opening of the Women's Unit at Prince George Regional Correctional Centre in 1974. Refer to *Incarcerated Women in British Columbia Provincial Institutions* (Victoria, B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General, 1978).

10 Pilot areas included: Courtenay/Campbell River, New Westminster/Port Coquitlam, Nanaimo, Victoria, Vancouver, Abbotsford, Vernon, Prince George and Prince Rupert. Prior to the official beginning of the community service order program, community service was used for young offenders, either with a probation order, or as part of a voluntary diversion program. Stan Hyatt was the first Community Work Service Supervisor. Refer to *The Community Service Order Program: The British Columbia Experience. Volume I— Background and Description of Initial Cases* (Victoria, B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General, 1977).

- A security unit was established within a forestry camp program at Chilliwack.
- Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre was designated a remand and classification unit with the intention of placing sentenced persons in other facilities.
- Haney Correctional Institution was closed.
- The senior chaplain became director of religious programs, which removed the chaplain from purely institutional commitments.
- The Corrections Branch formally adopted case management principles of operation. These principles focused programs of the Branch on the organization of community resources to assist offenders.

Entrance to Marpole Community Correctional Centre (1970s) Corrections Branch Archives

Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre (2000) Photo: Courtesy of Colin McMechan

Case management principles

The introduction of case management principles became the subject of considerable comment within institutional and community corrections. In the view of Wilf Charest, Temporary Absence Officer at Chilliwack Forestry Camps:

> The Corrections Branch has had stated policy on the implementation of the principles of case management for the last several years. This has developed out of necessity to identify, together with inmates, their personal needs and to be aware of resources and programs, both inside of and external to the Corrections Branch, which would assist in meeting those needs...
>
> From the minute an inmate comes into our jurisdiction, case management is the vehicle for planning his or her successful community re-entry. This is accomplished by working with inmates to identify needs and resources, and by specifying a series of activities and available resources with which the inmate should engage for the duration of his or her sentence. This view of case management, as the means of implementing the major correctional intention of re-entry at the end of sentence, is consistent with our knowledge about the inmates coming into our jurisdiction. Their average stay is less than one month, and 80% of admissions are for six months or less.
>
> It is through using case management principles, and commitment programming, that community re-entry can be a longer term planned and supported event, rather than just a process towards the end of sentence.[11]

The most controversial aspect of the Branch's case management policy was its application in probation work. Tim Stiles, then Director of Nanaimo Probation and Family Court Services, presented the concerns:

> From the early 1940s when B.C.'s first probation officer was appointed, probation officers had an exciting and challenging job in the forefront of human services within the criminal justice system. In the early 1970s, both the view and role were challenged. A role previously considered to have great depth was suddenly seen as narrow. The challenge of alternatives to incarceration was answered by a range of innovative and progressive programs brought forward by institutional services; institutional services moved into the community, and community services moved into institutional planning.
>
> Emerging out of these institutional imperatives to plan with and for inmates in a time of increasing institutional and community options, the concepts of case management were applied to the role and practice of probation. Probation officers could become more brokers of services, than actual providers of them. In the urban centres, this approach to caseload, because of the availability of a variety of resources and services, has come firmly into place. It

11 *Corrections Newsletter*, November 1978.

> is important not to generalize on this because there are valid differences in practice between the urban and rural setting.
>
> Corrections Branch now has several years' experience with the implementation of a case management approach to probation services. A number of observations are worth making: Clients have become fragmented, characterized as a series of problems, which can be separated for the purposes of referral. Our connection with clients seems to have become focused only on those with whom we must take legal action... The dilemma of casework versus case management must be more acute for family court counsellors. Case management does include casework, but I think we have experienced functional drift due to work pressures, and simple reductionism (from the complex to the simple).[12]

Integration of community and institutional interests and the introduction of a case management policy were viewed as either liberating or restricting. It all depended on the type of work being performed and traditions associated with it.

Two other important developments occurred at this time—one at the provincial level and one at the federal level. At the provincial level, Tim Stiles was permanently appointed Director of Information Services in the Corrections Branch. The director's job was to co-ordinate information and communication on policy and program decisions. The result was a more professional approach to information-sharing concerning developments at the provincial and national levels.

At the federal level, the Law Reform Commission of Canada produced its second working paper. This paper, *Imprisonment and Release*, contained a strong recommendation for the development of alternatives to incarceration. It set in motion initiatives across Canada to develop pilot projects and experiments in alternative programs, such as fine options, community work service and diversion. B.C. became involved in several federal-provincial cost-shared correctional programs, some of which continued into the 1980s.

Definite/indeterminate sentence declared inoperative

Legal challenges and legislative reform brought unusual impetus to program change within the Corrections Branch. One of the most important was the 1973 decision of the B.C. Court of Appeal, which declared the definite/indeterminate sentence to be inoperative. Amendments to the *Criminal Code of Canada* (federal *Criminal Law Amendment Act,* 1977) eventually removed the definite/indeterminate sentence provisions from the *Criminal Code*.

Corrections in British Columbia had committed a significant portion of its funding and resources to use of the definite/indeterminate sentence. This sentence was in effect in only three provinces of Canada. Two of those provinces had established parole boards or

12 Interview with Tim Stiles, 1989.

conditional releasing authorities specifically to release individuals who were serving time on the definite/indeterminate sentence.

The B.C. Parole Board was organized around the administration of this sentence. Haney Correctional Institution—a large facility with 450 beds—was entirely devoted to maintaining people on this sentence. Work camps and other programs were also organized in keeping with conditions of this type of sentence.[13]

When the definite/indeterminate sentence was declared inoperative, there were immediate requirements for program change within the Corrections Branch. One consequence was the closure of Haney Correctional Institution in 1975. In turn, this resulted in offenders being released or entering other programs.

Inmate learns new carpentry skills at Prince George Regional Correctional Centre (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

13 The definite/indeterminate sentence provided a portion of the sentence to be served as definite time, subject to release only by the National Parole Board. A portion of the sentence was to be served indeterminately, with the decision to release made by a local releasing authority. In B.C., this decision was made by the B.C. Parole Board on submission of an application from the inmate (in Haney, called the "trainee.")

The definite/indeterminate sentence was focused on the idea that rehabilitation within an institutional setting was a primary objective in correctional work. This type of sentence allowed programs to develop that could assess an offender based on behavioural changes or other criteria devised within the institutional setting. Recommendations would be made to the releasing authority (B.C. Parole Board) for consideration within the indeterminate portion of the sentence.

Without this type of sentence, other means were needed to address the rehabilitation ideal. One obvious way to do this was to remove rehabilitation from the institutional realm, and develop strategies to relocate it within the community. Much of the new programming resulted from attempts to smooth the transition from rehabilitative programming in institutions to the community.

Although the general philosophy of rehabilitation did not change, there were arguments about the best setting. Some changes developed independently of the Court of Appeal's decision to declare the definite/indeterminate sentence inoperative. Without a doubt, the decision escalated the requirement to rethink correctional philosophy.

Federal-Provincial Ministerial Conference—1973

Correctional practice in British Columbia was affected by external influences such as the December 1973 Federal-Provincial Ministerial Conference on Corrections in Ottawa. It was the first conference of ministers responsible for corrections in more than 15 years. This conference was called for several reasons:

1. Ouimet Report recommended reforms to correctional law and jurisdiction in Canada.
2. Newly formed Law Reform Commission of Canada was producing working papers on sentences and dispositions.
3. Federal Solicitor General's ministry was considering criminal law amendments providing for alternative dispositions.
4. Provinces were expressing concerns about programs, especially in juvenile corrections and bail reform.

This conference made it clear that British Columbia was not the only jurisdiction in Canada experiencing change in correctional administration. Several agreements were reached promoting inter-provincial co-operation in developing new programs and reviewing existing legislation. At issue was whether amendments were necessary to support new initiatives (such as the amendment to the *Criminal Code* repealing the definite/indeterminate sentence).

The conference began a series of federal-provincial meetings on justice and corrections that continues to the present day.[14]

14 This was the era of "co-operative federalism," nurtured and managed by the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Co-ordination at the national level in all areas of government service was accomplished through the Federal-Provincial Conference. During this era, the Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat was established in Ottawa to manage this process.

Much of what has transpired in British Columbia since 1973 is understood by considering larger national initiatives taken through these conferences.

The Federal-Provincial Exchange of Offenders Agreement was established, which allowed federal prisoners to be held in provincial institutions. This affected the treatment of female offenders in Canada, and specifically in British Columbia. It was now possible for federal female offenders to serve their sentences closer to home, rather than in Kingston, Ontario.

Many new programs were established during this period. Programs such as temporary absence or community service could warrant their own chapter.

Temporary absence program

The temporary absence program was one of the most interesting developments within the Corrections Branch. To change the program philosophy from institution-based rehabilitation to community-based reintegration, a method was needed to transfer offenders from institutions to non-institutional settings. Temporary absence became the vehicle.

The federal *Prisons and Reformatories Act* (1950) authorized temporary absence programs within the provinces. The intention was to provide for the short-term release of prisoners for medical, humanitarian, rehabilitative or administrative reasons. However, in British Columbia, temporary absence did not become a program in its own right until 1975. Co-ordinators were appointed, and structures and procedures developed for the short-term release of inmates.

In support of temporary absence, community correctional centres and community-based residential centres began to emerge. In the beginning, the difference between them was that community correctional centres (CCCs) were operated by government through the B.C. Corrections Branch; community-based residential centres (CBRCs) were operated by private agencies under contract with the B.C. Corrections Branch. These centres became the location of transfer from institutions for inmates attending education or work release programs.

Community correctional centres

The community correctional centre (CCC) program provided some of the best innovations of this era. Community correctional centres gave staff with more traditional backgrounds an opportunity to develop innovative programs that integrated facilities with existing community services. Meanwhile, individuals serving sentences in a community correctional centre engaged in entrepreneurial activities that provided goods and services to local residents.

The Terrace CCC program represents the diversity of such a program. The Blue Gables

Motel was purchased in 1974 for use as a probation office. In the late 1970s, it was converted into Terrace CCC. Until the early1980s, its accomplishments included:

- Contract work for residents, including creation of a society to manage contracts;
- Volunteer community projects; and
- Enrolment of residents in programs offered by the College of New Caledonia.

The Terrace CCC was a good example of such a program. It succeeded in part because its activities—cutting firewood, building outdoor furniture, assisting with forestry and parks programs—made sense in an area like Terrace. It also helped that Arno Brenner, the first director of the Terrace CCC, established an excellent working relationship with the local community.

Kamloops CCC had a similar program, described as follows:

> In February 1975, a new concept in housing inmates was launched in the Interior region with the opening of Kamloops Community Correctional Centre (CCC). The most obvious new feature of the CCC was that it was a converted motel (formerly The Rancher), rather than a newly constructed traditional prison facility. This design met

Inmate farm work in Kamloops area (April 1970) Corrections Branch Archives

the needs for what management at KRCC had in mind—a facility to house approximately 20 inmates in minimum security, with a kitchen, dining area and an administration area.

Public acceptance has been excellent. In 1975, Brian Green and his staff of seven correctional officers and one principal officer, visited local industries and stores explaining that the program placed emphasis on residents either maintaining or seeking employment. Some of the industries visited later became employers of the CCC residents. They have remained supportive throughout the program.[15]

Community service work

Other programs were developed that supported the same philosophy. For example, the community service order program (now known as community work service) provided for structured and supervised work placements in the community. Prior to 1974, community service was used by some courts and probation officers to add productive work and reparation to an existing probation order. Community service could also be part of a voluntary diversion program, particularly for young offenders.

Use of this program was limited. This was due to the lack of organization required to find suitable community service work and provide supervision. In a few locations, probation officers began to develop community service work as part of their general duties. This led them in a new direction, co-ordinating programs with municipalities, senior citizens groups, and others.

The idea of employing a separate person to supervise organized community service work was first proposed by probation officers in Nanaimo. The first community service supervisor, Stan Hyatt, was acquired under arrangement with the local human resources office. He supervised community service work for juveniles in co-operation with the Nanaimo probation office. The program was launched in September 1974 and became an integral part of the court and probation systems throughout British Columbia.[16]

The budget of the Corrections Branch was changed to accommodate these programs. Discretionary funding was available for contract services with private agencies. New support structures were developed within the Branch to administer these funds and determine which programs might be offered by the private sector.

The task of organizing private agency involvement to provide programs for persons serving a sentence of the court required new structures for administration and co-ordination both within the Branch and by private agencies. An example was the creation of a Provincial CRC (Community Residential Centre) Association in 1975.

15 "Kamloops Community Correctional Centre," *Corrections Newsletter*, September 1980, p. 3.

16 *The Community Service Order Program: The British Columbia Experience* (Victoria, B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General, July 1977).

This association published a newsletter giving information about private agency residential programs, guidelines for program development, and requirements of government departments. Each issue presented program descriptions, reflecting the enthusiasm of the private agencies that were attempting to co-ordinate and improve their services.

Shirley Estergaard of the St. Leonard's Society described the program of the Kiwanis House in Kamloops:

> Kiwanis House, 101 Columbia Street, Kamloops: Director, Gerry MacMillan. In April…I visited for some time at Kiwanis House. Their purpose is to help the male alcoholic. They also have a new home with 12 people. Average stay is six weeks—two weeks introductory, then into intensive counselling, using the 12-step AA program.
>
> The staff consists of two administrators, one counsellor, one cook, one handyman, and two night men. They have intake from the correctional system as well as outpatients or men from other agencies. The new home being built is a real improvement. I hope the next time I'm up that way we will visit the new accommodation. Thank you 'Dr' for a lovely visit.[17]

—— Summary of Contracts with Private Agencies, 1981-82 ——

(figures are in dollars)

CONTRACTS	Island	Vancouver	S. Fraser	N. Fraser	Interior	Northern	TOTAL
Impaired Drivers Courses (Adult)	450	9,336	17,420	4,100	6,275	12,619	50,210
Community Service Orders (Adult/Juv.)	19,569	80,688	–	5,940	70,540	261,000	437,737
Adult Residential Bed Space	32,139	254,388	168,110	106,657	173,295	117,210	851,799
Juvenile Residential Bed Space	204,005	–	1,360,021	59,563	18,534	96,026	1,738,149
Attendance - Adult & Juvenile)	111,730	84,607	37,185	393,200	516,908	65,197	1,208,827
Program Support Services (Adult/ Juv.)	–	155,845	14,850	170,914	–	–	341,609
Workshops/ Consultants	900	10,345	–	–	–		11,245
Other. Correctional Programs	197,749	226,512	1,840	–	23,316	43,695	493,112
TOTAL	**566,542**	**821,721**	**1,599,426**	**740,374**	**808,868**	**595,757**	**5,132,688**

17 Community Residential Centre Association newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 4, September 1975.

Youth and corrections

Youth detention programs managed by the municipalities became the responsibility of the province through the Corrections Branch. This led to the need for an expanded and reorganized probation service at both the juvenile and adult levels. Through the Justice Development Commission, a body authorized under the *Administration of Justice Act*, corrections gained access to developmental funds in different program areas.

One important event in youth corrections occurred in 1970 with the repeal of the provincial *Training Schools Act*, which permitted the superintendent of child welfare to institutionalize juveniles under the federal *Juvenile Delinquents Act*. Although not directly related to the administrative responsibility of a program or management group in corrections, repeal of this act changed juvenile corrections.

A.E. Alexander with young offenders at New Haven (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

According to the *Training Schools Act*, institutionalization of juvenile delinquents was a responsibility of the welfare system, rather than the justice system. Once the act was repealed, momentum gathered to place institutional programs for juveniles under the jurisdiction of the attorney general. The *Administration of Justice Act* required that the Corrections Branch assume responsibility for youth detention centres. Two of them existed, in Burnaby and Victoria.

Repeal of the *Training Schools Act* also removed the option of direct committal to a closed institution from the juvenile courts. An explanation of the decision to close the training schools, including the impact on juvenile justice in B.C., is provided by John Ekstedt:

> In the late 1960s, these training schools were subjected to considerable criticism. Some of this criticism reflected opinions on the containment of juveniles emanating from social science research; some was the result of criticism from the legal community, but the major criticism came from within the child welfare system itself and particularly from those responsible for operating these institutions.
>
> The increased numbers of youths before the courts in these years placed considerable pressure on the training schools. Given the provisions of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act*, these schools did not have any administrative ability to screen intake or to establish criteria for release. Consequently they became overcrowded and generally unmanageable. The government of the day became convinced that the Training Schools Act should be repealed as the only conceivable way of removing the operational and political pressure that had become associated with the training schools.
>
> While these events reflected the liberal-humanistic spirit of the time and were generally supported, the tension between the child welfare authorities and the probation authorities began to escalate. Probation authorities were frustrated by the growing numbers of juveniles on probation who could not be effectively controlled, the lack of adequate mechanisms between probation and child welfare to place some of these juveniles in the community-based child welfare resources that were being developed, and the tendency, as a result of this, to raise larger numbers of juveniles to adult court for disposition.[18]

This particular frustration in the juvenile area lasted for more than 15 years. During this time, the provincial *Corrections Amendment Act* (1977) and federal *Young Offenders Act* (1984) were proclaimed and helped to clarify justice responsibilities. As a result of the *Corrections Amendment Act*, a youth containment program was established in 1978.

18 Raymond R. Corrado, Marc LaBlanc and Jean Trepanier, editors, *Current Issues in Juvenile Justice* (Toronto: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1983).

1974—A year of transition

In the modern era of correctional practice in British Columbia, 1974 was a watershed year. One reason was the number of initiatives that were undertaken. They signalled a fundamental change in corrections work within the province's justice system.

Several events contributed to the changes occurring in 1974. One was the proclamation of the *Administration of Justice Act*. The act:

- Completed work within the Ministry of Attorney General to reform the administration of justice in British Columbia;
- Provided for joint planning and program development within the ministry through the Justice Development Commission. David Vickers was its first chairman and John Ekstedt its first executive director;
- Formally identified corrections as the decision-maker on policing, prosecution, court services, and other relevant government services responsible for the administration of justice in British Columbia.

Decision-makers within the correctional system were required to understand and associate with individuals responsible for firefighting, securities, consumer legislation, landlord and tenant relationships, and public regulations not associated with the operation of jails and probation services.

The intention was to broadly define the administration of justice in British Columbia. Police and corrections, as well as prosecution and the courts would all be included. This provided a context that was expected to improve mutual understanding of one another's work. Justice services now operated in a completely new way.

The *Administration of Justice Act* affected correctional work more directly. Under it, the province would assume administrative responsibility for the lower courts. This move was concurrent with the policy decision to make the provincial court judiciary more professional.

"Nothing works" controversy

1974 was the year of the "nothing works" controversy.[19] Ironically, the year of implementing new options and opportunities in B.C. Corrections coincided with the year of greatest pessimism about the value of correctional work. This was especially true in relation to the ideal of rehabilitation.

The "nothing works" controversy affected programs of B.C. Corrections in this and subsequent years, in the same way that it

19 In 1974, Robert Martinson and his associates completed a survey of 231 evaluations of correctional treatment programs in the U.S. conducted between 1945 and 1967. As a result of this survey, they concluded that "rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism." This came to be known as the "nothing works" finding.

affected policies and programs of most correctional systems in the western world.[20] One effect was to de-emphasize or even ignore the program requirements for institutionalized persons. The "fall-out" was felt in the corrections system of B.C. for years.

Lay magistrates and the Probation Service

In 1973, British Columbia relied on the services of approximately 100 lay provincial court judges, who sat outside the larger urban centres. However, by the end of 1976, the system of lay magistrates was disbanded and replaced by legally trained judges. Itinerant or circuit judges served isolated areas. This ended a long-established system of resident exemplary citizens resolving social conflict. By 1980, lay magistrates were phased out in every province except Newfoundland.

The B.C. Probation Service grew up under the lay magistrate system. A new relationship emerged in many locations when probation offices were established in outlying communities. Lay magistrates relied on the technical training of probation officers and sought their advice on sentencing decisions.

Probation Officer Norm Fages, who began his career when lay magistrates were common, recalls that pre-sentence reports were important to them. In general, the recommendations of probation officers were followed. The lay magistrate system was a fondly remembered and interesting element of local legal culture. It was replaced by another system that dealt more effectively with the growing complexity of the law, increased case volume and heightened sophistication of the defendant. For the Probation Service, this also signalled the beginning of a new era.[20]

First circuit court in Tsay Keh, B.C. l to r: Judge Cunliffe Barnett; Rick Blaskovits, Crown Counsel; Leona Smith, Probation Officer; sheriff, court clerks and defence counsel (1992) Photo: Courtesy of Leona Smith

20 Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988.

20 Interview with Norm Fages, March 10, 1989.

Family court services become part of Corrections Branch

Two acts of the provincial legislature, proclaimed in 1974, granted authority for changes in services to the court by correctional staff. The new legislation also provided stimulating conditions for change and development within the Corrections Branch. These acts were the *Unified Family Court Act* and *Protection of Children Amendment Act*.

The *Protection of Children Amendment Act* provided for shifting the responsibility for managing institutions for juveniles from the welfare system to the justice system. The *Unified Family Court Act* created a demand for a new employee group within the Corrections Branch called family courtworkers. Debate on implementation of this act reflected disagreement about which government agency would provide the services. Eventually, it became clear that the Corrections Branch would train and employ courtworkers as an extension of its community-based correctional work.

Illa Gibson, Family Court Counsellor and Staff Development Officer, outlined the state of family court counselling as it emerged during the previous decade. She was concerned about showing that family court counselling services were a larger component of Corrections Branch activity than what pertained to the new unified court system. She commented as follows:

> Corrections Branch presently employs approximately 200 personnel who have had some training in the area of family court counselling, and are involved to some extent in that area, either on a full-time or part-time basis. To my knowledge less than 10% of the above referred to family court counsellors are employed in the unified family court system. The remaining 90% of the above-mentioned staff offer family court counselling services throughout the province.

The underlying intent of family court counselling, sometimes referred to as conciliation counselling, is to endeavour to assist parties in resolving their immediate joint matrimonial issues in order that court action can be avoided. In parts of the province for the past five years or more, conciliation counselling has been offered to clients who are in the process of separation, to provide an alternative to the adversarial process.

When spouses and/or parents cannot agree on issues such as maintenance, custody or visitation arrangements, they frequently appeal to the court for a decision on the issues. Conciliation counselling thereby offers to assist the parents/spouses in resolving the hostilities and misunderstandings surrounding these issues.

A misconception of conciliation counselling is that it reconciles couples; in reality, if conciliation counselling is successful, it restores communication and eliminates some hostilities, in order that the spouses may compromise within a workable framework that is equitable and realistic for all concerned parties.

> Conciliation counselling may not be the best possible course of action for all separating couples, but it is a choice, and for many the preferable choice over "the battle in the courtroom."[22]

The *Family Relations Act* (1978), which followed the *Unified Family Court Act*, created authority for the Corrections Branch to develop a family courtworker program and probation interviewer program. These programs supported new family court initiatives.

The position of probation interviewer existed in British Columbia since 1962. The first interviewers were hired to supervise alcoholic probationers in Vancouver. As time went on, probation interviewers expanded their activities to help probation officers cope with persons seeking assistance under the *Wives and Children's Maintenance Act*. This meant that the probation interviewer designation was increasingly identified with family relations matters.

After the *Wives and Children's Maintenance Act* was repealed and replaced by the *Family Relations Act* (1972), probation interviewers submitted a brief to the executive director of Community Corrections. This was an attempt to improve conditions under which the probation interviewer worked as well as expand and improve the job description.

The *Unified Family Court Act* had a tremendous impact on the direction of community-based corrections in British Columbia, according to some observers. This was partly because the act resulted from the work of the B.C. Royal Commission on Family Law, established in 1973, headed by Mr. Justice Thomas Berger.

Family court counsellor providing conciliation counselling: Cranbrook Probation Office (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

The inquiry and investigation undertaken by the commission influenced the psychology of corrections in British Columbia as much as specific acts and recommendations that resulted. Many members of the commission and associated researchers went on to implement the family courtworker program. A range of programs and practices emerged:

1. A five-year plan[23] was developed in consultation with other justice components to restructure policy and programs within the Corrections Branch.

22 *Corrections Newsletter*, October 1980.

23 In 1973, Attorney General Alexander MacDonald requested that the Corrections Branch, in consultation with representatives from law enforcement and courts, propose a time-limited plan to close Oakalla. Some larger provincial institutions were also affected. The plan focused on creating alternatives, and was completed and approved by the attorney general in February 1974.

2. To help implement programs in every area of justice service, the Justice Development Commission organized support groups and advisory bodies throughout the province. Names were attached to these groups including joint regional committees, justice councils, and justice information committees. All of these initiatives were placed under the management of the Justice Co-ordination Branch, with a co-ordinator employed in each region of the province.[24]

As part of the internal restructuring of the Corrections Branch, two additional divisions of responsibility were created: the Staff Development Division and the Inspection and Standards Division. John Laverock was the first Director of Staff Development. Staff training and education (institutions, probation, community programs) became centralized under one administration.

Warren Lane became the first Director of Inspection and Standards. This division:

- Began developing institutional and community standards for the Corrections Branch;
- Reviewed inmate complaints and appeals of disciplinary decisions; and
- Provided procedures for the investigation of critical events (breaches of rules, sit-ins, riots, hostage-takings) occurring in correctional programs.

3. For the first time in the history of the Corrections Branch, discretionary funds were available for the Branch to contract services directly with the private sector. Previously, this occurred on a limited basis through the office of the provincial secretary. As a result, the Branch negotiated with agencies such as the St. Leonard's Society, John Howard Society and Elizabeth Fry Society for beds in the community that could be used for individuals on probation, parole or temporary absence.

Collective bargaining

Two other events had a profound effect on the development of B.C. Corrections. The first was awarding collective bargaining rights to the British Columbia Government Employees' Union. Following this initiative, bargaining units were created within all areas of the public service. The corrections component was the first public service group to negotiate an agreement with government under the collective bargaining agreement.

As a result of the first rounds of negotiation and the first component agreement, the operational budget of the Corrections Branch increased by 54% in 1974-75. More important than the direct dollar cost, however, were the work conditions and benefits that applied to

24 The attorney general made a controversial decision to create a justice co-ordinating mechanism that would be regionalized throughout the province. Planning groups in local settings with a justice mandate (co-ordinating public and private sector interests) were required to interface with operational groups (such as family court committees). Some of these groups existed since 1963 to monitor and advise on programs. Numerous difficulties emerged between the structure for change and ongoing operations, which resulted in the dissolution of the Justice Co-ordination Branch in 1978.

employees providing correctional services in outlying areas, camp programs, and stressful situations. Employee discipline and labour-management relations also changed significantly.

Government change and continuing reorganization

For corrections in Canada, the decade of the 1970s was one of rapid change focusing on the management level of responsibility. The federal government and almost all provincial governments, in ministries responsible for correctional services, experienced significant and rapid restructuring. Many positions became "acting" while corrections agencies sought to redefine their purpose and program direction. This was certainly true in the province of British Columbia.

Bureaucracies are inclined to think in terms of fiscal years and, as the 1972-73 fiscal year came to a close, it was clear that major changes were expected. The entire government anticipated reorganization, even at the political level, with departments and ministries merging or restructuring. Similar changes were expected within the Corrections Branch when it began preparing its budgets for the new fiscal year (1973-74).

The Attorney General, Alexander Macdonald, commissioned senior executives of the Corrections Branch to prepare a five-year plan to reorganize B.C. Corrections. It included a process for establishing community-based correctional programs. Eventually, it was hoped that these programs would phase out the larger secure institutions—especially Oakalla.

In the early months of 1973, submissions were already being prepared for review by the Treasury Board to increase the budget of the Corrections Branch and add new "line items." Submissions were placed before cabinet committees to restructure the Branch. Replacing the emphasis on two major programs (institutions and probation), the new administration would have three major divisions of responsibility: institutions, community corrections, and planning and development.

Internal and external pressures affected the often controversial work of corrections. Subject to public and professional criticism, the Corrections Branch had to address the following matters on a daily basis at the local level:

- Prisoners' rights and concerns achieved a higher profile;
- An escalation in critical events (escapes, riots and other disturbances) in both the established institutions and the newer community programs; and
- Many organizational changes were disruptive to personnel in terms of their location and position within the Branch.

The rapid changes that occurred during this time were a source of stress. The Probation Officers' Conference held in Vernon in 1974 is a case in point. This conference provided an opportunity for probation personnel to respond to the new management group and discuss the

changes taking place. In the words of Bernard Robinson, then Executive Director, Institutions:

> It struck me that there were a number of things going on at that conference in terms of the causes of concerns that were expressed. One of them was ... the rupture with the past; the questioning of whether former concerns and values were going to be respected. A second thing that was going on was, I think, a view that has a very positive side to it. That is to say that some of the personnel who were no longer major figures in the configurations were seen to have been dealt with less adequately than one would have liked to have seen. There was a genuine concern for one another and some of the dissatisfaction was focused on the way some individuals had been reconfigured...
>
> A third thing that was going on was that there were unbelievable expectations generated along with the unbelievable energy that was around. Those expectations were to a fairly high degree throughout the community side of the organization. That event occurred about 19 months after the new administration came into place and those expectations didn't seem to be delivered on for some folks.

Late in 1974, the attorney general authorized a management review of corrections in British Columbia. The Associate Deputy Minister of Corrections, Edgar Epp, was relieved of his duties and John Ekstedt was appointed Acting Deputy Minister of Corrections. At the time of this appointment, Ekstedt was Executive Director of the Justice Development Commission. The keen interest of the premier and members of cabinet in correctional reform within British Columbia supported the conclusion of the management review—to achieve rapid and substantial change. In short, the Corrections Branch had to be reorganized.

Attention to correctional reform, especially management restructuring, was an interest shared by jurisdictions across Canada. As a result of the December 1973 Ministers' conference, all of the provinces were involved in federal-provincial initiatives by the mid-1970s. The spectrum of correctional programs was reviewed, including federal and provincial institutions, probation, parole, and contracts for services with private sector agencies.

Task forces were established and publications made recommendations for changes in law and procedure.[25] British Columbia was not alone in its interest in correctional reform. Starting in 1975, there was a shift in political interest and support.

The most important event was the election of December 11, 1975, which brought another change of government in British Columbia. The first months of return to power by the Social Credit Party involved an intensive review of all programs initiated by the New Democratic Party. However, justice initiatives appeared to be supported by the new premier and attorney general. Deputy Attorney General, David Vickers, and Deputy Minister of Corrections, John Ekstedt, were encouraged to present explanatory briefs and proposals supporting

25 Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988.

activities to which considerable commitment had been made.

Many of these activities were supported by the federal government and especially the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. However, the impetus for change slowed when the provincial government directed energy to other concerns. The world was on the edge of a recession and concerns were emerging about maintaining financial commitments to new programs.

Corrections development continued and new programs were initiated. There were continuing and consistent exchanges of information between provinces. British Columbia, for example, had bilateral discussions on justice and corrections issues with the federal government.

Developing regional administration

Reorganization of corrections administration was approved in April 1976 by the attorney general's executive management committee. Instead of centralized management, there would be six regions within the province, each headed by a regional director. After the regional directors were hired in October 1976, there was a three-month training program organized by the staff development division.

The senior management training program (1976-1977) had a number of distinctive features. One was the attempt by senior management to directly experience the effects of corrections programs on offenders. In a highly publicized component of the training, senior managers were admitted to the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre (Oakalla) as inmates:

> Ekstedt, the Provincial Commissioner of Corrections, emerged Tuesday from a 24-hour experimental term as an inmate of the 65-year-old institution. The experience, in which he was accompanied by six senior corrections officials, reinforced Ekstedt's opinion that the facility should be torn down and replaced.
>
> He said the overworked staff is spread so thin scheduled work programs have been curtailed. 'With the loss of programs, the inmates end up stacked on tiers most of the day and their boredom creates tension,' Ekstedt said.
>
> By coincidence, the commissioner added, he is meeting the cabinet's human services committee today for a discussion on corrections facilities. 'Clearly, our experience was tempered by who we are,' Ekstedt said. 'We were treated differently by the inmates and the staff.'
>
> But the point of the exercise, according to Ekstedt, was for senior officials to see the system from the inmates' point of view.[26]

Under regionalization, the title of the "head" of Corrections was changed from deputy minister to commissioner. A new management group, known as Branch Management Committee, was formed in January 1977. This administrative

26 *Vancouver Sun*, January 26, 1977.

body exercised senior management responsibility for all corrections operations.

The committee is described as follows:

> The Branch Management Committee is perhaps unique in provincial ministries. Despite the fact that the Commissioner exercises more influence than is contained in his single vote because of his position, his access to information and his energy, the structure of B.M.C. effectively gives power to direct service managers rather than central office personnel. There are five regional directors and four central office staff (the Commissioner, the Assistant to the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner, and the Director of Staff Development) on the Branch Management Committee. [27]

There were several reasons for creating this management structure. Integration and expansion of correctional services, such as probation and institutions, produced a growing centralized bureaucracy. It was felt that as many of these administrative/service functions as possible should be performed at a more local level. There was also growing concern about the economy and demand for alternative programs. These factors made the case for a decision-making structure that could be more knowledgeable about local circumstances. As early as 1972, the Matheson Report recommended regionalization of all justice services.

The reintegration era produced structural changes to accommodate a rapidly changing system of correctional programs. The concepts of local management (regionalization) and community-based programming were not unique to corrections. Most human service agencies—such as mental health—were undergoing similar changes.

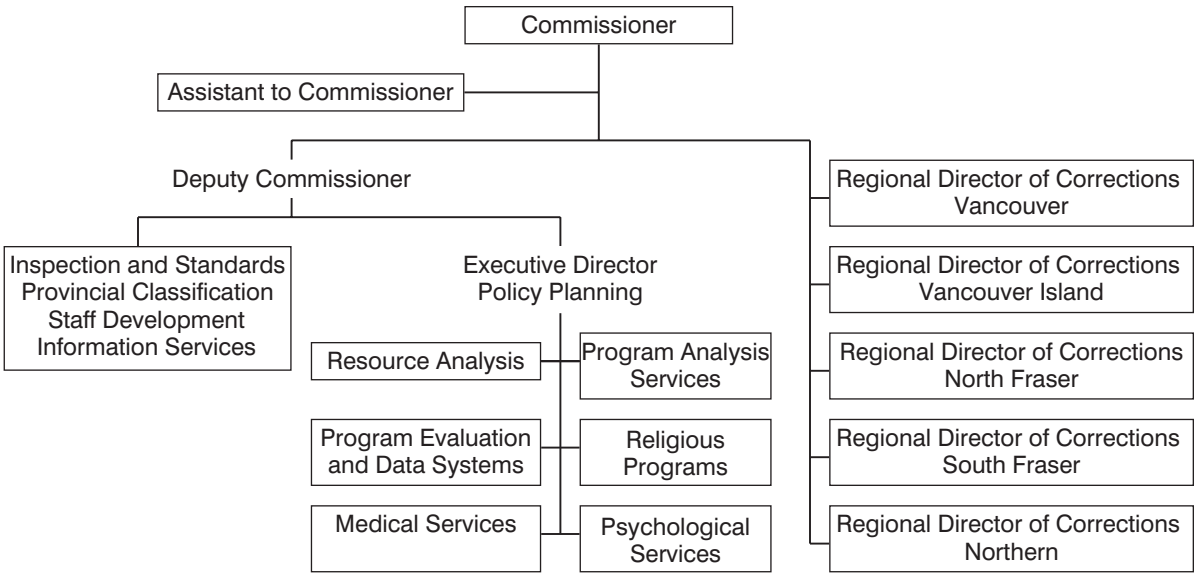
New roles were created for corrections personnel who were undergoing changes and responsible for managing them. Within the commissioner's office, positions were established to monitor resources and program development. For example, a program analysis section was created. Ozzie Hollands, who developed community services in the Vancouver region under Jake Epp's administration, became its first director.

This was also the era of automation. Computerized information systems were established under the direction of Dennis Hartman. Together with information systems specialists employed by the Justice Development Commission, they created programs that changed the quality and quantity of information for research, management and operations.

Across government, this was an era of cost inflation. In corrections, per unit expenditures increased in programs and staff, including salary and benefits, beds for each residential placement, and cells within new jails.

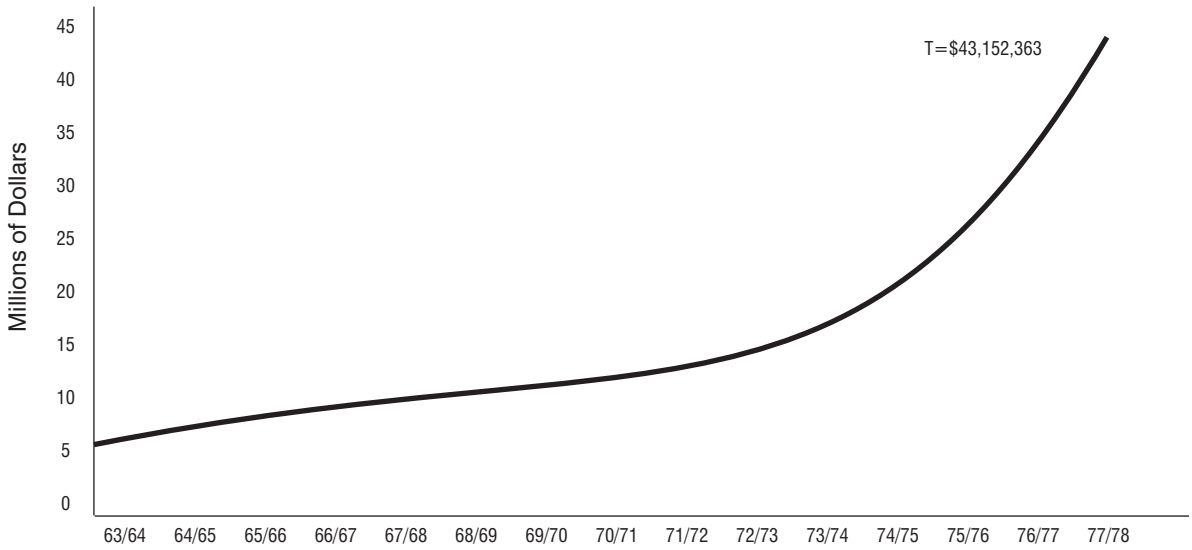
27 Wharf, 1984.

—— Corrections Branch – Ministry of the Attorney-General (1978) ——



—— Corrections Fiscal Expenditures 1963-1978 ——

(B.C. Corrections Annual Report, 1977, p. 19)



Chapter 5

Era of Reparation (1980-1989)

Ab Thorvaldson—moving through time

Ab Thorvaldson had his two feet firmly planted in three eras of correctional history—rehabilitation, reintegration and reparation. Beginning in the early 1960s, it was Thorvaldson's task to study the effectiveness of programs, suggest improvements, and propose new ideas. His work continued through the late 1980s, until his retirement in 1988.

With his new ideas about "reparative sanctions," Thorvaldson first came to attention in the late 1960s. Throughout the decade of the 1970s, he was a major figure in the promotion of research, policies and programs, all of which eventually evolved into the reparation era. Fortunately, much of his work was documented, both through reports to government and in academic publications.

One of his favourite topics was the theory of redress as a goal of sentencing. Specifically, he focused on community service, restitution and the status and rights of victims. He also distinguished himself by convening the first symposium on reparation in Vancouver in 1982.

One of Thorvaldson's most significant contributions to the Corrections Branch—which continues to this day—is his work in community service. Largely through his efforts, British Columbia was the first province in Canada, and probably the first on the continent, to systematically explore and develop the community service order.

Apart from Thovaldson's contributions, there were other signals that the period of reintegration was making way for the new phase of reparation. At the policy level, three events can be identified:

- Resignation of John Ekstedt as Commissioner of Corrections;
- Report of the Royal Commission on the Incarceration of Female Offenders (Proudfoot Commission); and
- Appointment of Bernard Robinson as Commissioner of Corrections.

Ekstedt agreed to be commissioner for the time it took to complete:

- Administrative reorganization, which was authorized by the provincial government on the basis of the Matheson Report (1972);
- A Branch management review (1975); and
- Implementation of recommendations of the Justice Development Commission (1975).

Once the reorganization was completed in 1977, Ekstedt notified the attorney general of his intention to resign.

Bernard Robinson appointed commissioner

Bernard Robinson was appointed Commissioner of Corrections in September 1978, and promptly pointed the Corrections Branch in a new policy direction. Robinson wanted to consolidate and stabilize management and program practices. In his words:

> During a period of rapid organizational change, it is possible to confuse means and ends. Sometimes we tend to act as if organizational change is an end itself. It is now time to put this period of preoccupation with our organizational life behind us and bring our energy to bear on the goals and objectives, which the organization is intended to accomplish.[1]

Robinson's efforts in stabilization occurred at a time of increasing restraint in government spending and pressure for change from the outside. As the transition from reintegration to reparation took place, federal government activities maintained the momentum of initiatives from the previous era. For the Branch, youth services, parole, women's programs and facilities planning were the main priorities.

Juggling needs and concerns

By early 1978, the economy was in a downturn and prospects were poor for obtaining support for continuing program experimentation. Policy and program decisions for the decade of 1978-1988 were driven by a desire to satisfy the needs of victims of crime and respond to community concerns about public safety. This juggling act had to be accomplished without giving up the perceived benefits of community dispositions and other alternatives to imprisonment. This required the Corrections Branch to exercise more care in:

- Assessing and classifying offenders;
- Strengthening institutional dispositions; and
- Concentrating on community options that provide a payoff to the victim or community.

The focus of this decade was on reparation, which referred to:

- Restitution or restoring property; and
- Restoring the balance between offender and victim.

The concerns of victims were more formally addressed in 1980 when a victim assistance program was initiated in New Westminster:

> The Victim Assistance Program in New Westminster started as a pilot project in 1980 under the direction of Probation Services with partial funding by the B.C. Police Commission. The Corrections Branch (Probation) allowed one partial year to the project.

1 *Corrections Newsletter*, December 1978.

Peace officers in New Westminster were provided with business cards on the reverse of which was printed the name, address and telephone number of the Victim Assistance Program Director. The police handed the cards to victims that fell within the program guidelines, that is: residents of New Westminster, not a business organization, and not charged with a Motor Vehicle Act offence.[2]

In 1983, the National Victims' Resource Centre in Ottawa was officially opened in response to recommendations from the Federal-Provincial Task Force on Justice for Victims of Crime. Its purpose was to provide information on victims' services across Canada and assistance to jurisdictions wishing to set up such a program.

Counter Attack

With the hardening of community attitudes towards programs for offenders and the formation of victims' groups, the provincial government increased its attention on policies that emphasized sentences for certain offences. One example was Counter Attack, the program on drinking and driving.

Counter Attack was introduced in the January 13, 1977, speech from the throne. The two primary objectives of the program were to:

- Produce desirable changes in the drinking and driving behaviour of British Columbians to reduce death, personal suffering and financial loss; and
- Heighten public awareness, appreciation, and understanding of drinking and driving through public education and citizen participation in community projects.

Ron Boyle was the first director of the provincial Counter Attack program. Boyle was a former probation supervisor who had a reputation for developing community programs, including initiatives for individuals convicted of drinking and driving offences. His expertise was invaluable in the development of this program. It also reflected the trend of integrating corrections personnel and programs in broader criminal justice initiatives.

The problem of drinking and driving prompted several initiatives. The Screening, Tracking, Education and Prevention (STEP) program was implemented in April 1981 and contracted out in the South Fraser Region. This program was set up to provide an impaired drivers course for inmates of the Chilliwack Forest Camps through probation offices. An impaired driving and alcohol awareness program was established in the late 1970s. By the 1986-87 fiscal year, a pilot study was started to evaluate the impact of this program.

2 This program was reported in Working Paper No. 7 on Crime Victims, a study of the Department of Justice, Canada.

Mount Thurston Forestry Camp (1979), Corrections Branch Archive

Challenges with juvenile offenders

In 1968, a review of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* gathered momentum. This happened through a series of meetings between officials of federal and provincial ministries responsible for juvenile services. By 1974, a position was created in the federal Department of Justice to co-ordinate drafting of new legislation. The following year, the federal discussion document—*Young Persons in Conflict with the Law*—laid down an initial set of proposals for new legislation.

While this was going on, British Columbia was reviewing its programs for young offenders. Due to the lack of containment facilities following closure of the training schools in 1969, the search was on to make a containment disposition available to the court. Negotiations were underway with the federal government to replace the *Juvenile Delinquents Act*, so the province began to draft new legislation. As much as possible, it would be compatible with new federal legislation.

Pressure on the provincial government to make containment dispositions available to the court brought results. The province passed and proclaimed its new legislation (*Corrections Amendment Act*, 1977) before new federal legislation was drafted. Consequently, a number of problems emerged in the attempt to implement the programs provided for in the provincial legislation. Federal legislation was required to give the province the ability to act. Eventually, some provisions of the new provincial law were ruled outside of the jurisdiction of the court.

The difficulties involved in dealing with hard-core juvenile delinquents escalated during 1975 and 1976.[3] Vigilante committees formed in some communities to control behaviour of youth. Juvenile courts became more vocal in expressing frustration about the lack of resources for the toughest juveniles.

Some judges authorized release of a weekly resumé of juvenile cases and their dispositions to local newspapers, as long as names were kept out of print. Formal relationships between the Ministries of Attorney General and Human Resources increased, both in number and commitment of energy to resolve concerns about young offenders. A committee of deputy ministers involving the Ministries of Attorney General, Human Resources, Education and Health was formed to co-operatively provide specialized programs for the most difficult juvenile offenders.[4]

The province started to implement new programs for juveniles early in 1978. From 1978 to 1982, when the federal *Young Offenders Act* was passed, these programs were sanctioned under authority of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* through rulings of the B.C. Supreme Court and Court of Appeal.

Corrections Amendment Act

In January 1978, the B.C. Appeal Court declared that containment centres for youth established under the *Corrections Amendment Act* could be designated industrial schools under the *Juvenile Delinquents Act*. Following bureaucratic and judicial reviews, the complete youth containment program[5] was implemented under the authority of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act.*[6]

However, in late 1979, the Supreme Court ruled that parts of the *Corrections Amendment Act* dealing with containment of juvenile delinquents were outside the jurisdiction of the court.

An important part of the section on youth containment was authority given to the commissioner of corrections (and anyone

3 A hard-core juvenile delinquent was identified as a someone who:
- Committed a serious crime;
- Had a lengthy juvenile record;
- Needed psychiatric or other specialized treatment;
- Was placed in community-based programs; and
- Could not be treated in a community setting.

4 *Programs of the Corrections Branch* (Victoria, B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General, Information Services, 1978), p. 20.

5 Provided in part 4 of the *Corrections Amendment Act*.

6 *Juvenile Delinquents Act,* section 20(3).

designated by the commissioner) to refuse admission to a youth containment centre. Placements could be reviewed on a regular basis to provide for conditional release, but such reviews and decision-making were inconsistently applied. By early 1980, there was serious overcrowding in youth containment facilities of the Corrections Branch.

Staff and confined youth experienced difficulties while the province grappled with:

- Jurisdictional debates on the development of the federal *Young Offenders Act;*
- Pressure from the judiciary of British Columbia to provide secure placements; and
- Demands of family court committees and other advisory groups—a trend towards public participation that began in earnest in the mid-1970s.

Volunteer programs for youth

Youth services had one outstanding form of public participation during this era—programs of organized volunteers. At Victoria Youth Detention Centre, volunteers were organized and productive:

> Under Bernice Yates' supervision, and with the commitment of YDC Director Del Phillips, the centre's volunteer program has grown into a sophisticated set-up that involves volunteers in duties around the centre as well as in the key activity—taking kids on outings, one-to-one.
>
> There is a volunteer at the front switchboard, for example, giving the staff at the control desk some delay time in taking calls. Staffing the home's front reception area also means a volunteer is there to sit down with upset parents or just to identify visitors. Other volunteers handle mail-outs and other office work.
>
> "There's almost no end to the things we can do with people who volunteer," says Bernice. "What volunteers don't do is take over staff roles. They do things the staff would like to do but don't have time for."[7]

Rediscovery and other programs for youth

Privatization was a way of relieving pressure on programs directly operated by government. Private sector contracts for youth services increased significantly by 1982. To cope with overcrowding in secure youth containment facilities, residential bed space was purchased from private sector programs.

Contracted justice services resulted in unique experiments. One such program was Rediscovery:[8]

7 *Corrections Newsletter*, March 1981.

8 "Youth Programs in the Corrections Branch," *Corrections Newsletter*, March 1980, pp. 1-4.

> Fossils, salmon cycles, and woodcarving are all part of a unique youth enrichment program, currently operating on the Queen Charlotte Islands. The program is 'Rediscovery,' a three-year pilot project that began in the summer of 1978 and is scheduled to run through to the summer of 1980. 'Rediscovery' offers youths a program that encourages a deeper appreciation for the environment and culture in which they live. The project is aimed at the thirteen to eighteen year olds, both Haida and white, with special emphasis on the native Haidas in Charlotte City and Masset area.
>
> Although funded by the Ministry of Attorney General and the Solicitor General of Canada, the program is completely community based, administered by the Haida Counselling and Legal Assistance Society and managed by local citizens. The Haida youths were re-introduced to their ancestors' lifestyle through outdoor living; formal education was supplemented, new skills were learned, and many youths gained greater self-confidence.
>
> In addition, the main objectives were achieved, that is, resourcefulness, responsibility, co-operation and friendship. Many adults support the program and feel that 'Rediscovery' is the most beneficial youth program they have seen to date.

The federal *Young Offenders Act* was passed in July 1982. A three-year period (1982-85) followed for the federal and provincial governments to make arrangements prior to program implementation. Although some provisions of the *Young Offenders Act* were not proclaimed until 1985, the momentum of previous provincial initiatives continued.

For example, a juvenile house arrest program was established under contract with private agencies. The program, which started in 1982, was intended to house juveniles awaiting trial and relieve pressure on the few secure facilities.

Because the *Young Offenders Act* provided for a "principle of minimal intervention,"[9] significant resources were committed to develop alternative measures (such as diversion programs) in all regions of the province. Much of this was done through contract with the private sector following proclamation of sections of the *Young Offenders Act* in 1985. Community services, attendance programs and residential programs emerged in all regions of the province.

Of the many attempts to deal with the problems created by the lack of secure placements for youth, the house arrest program was one of the most unique, and allowed compliant young offenders to stay home:

> In Victoria, the House Arrest program provided an alternative to placing youths in custody while on remand. Selected youths, who would otherwise be remanded in custody, were placed on strict undertaking in their own home or in private remand homes. Three staff employed by the centre visited youths in their residences at unscheduled times to ensure that they were abiding by the conditions of their remand orders. Breaches resulted in youths being placed in custody and appearing in court within 24 hours. During 1982/83, a daily

9 *Young Offenders Act*, section 3(1)(d).

average of six youths were on House Arrest.[10]

From the opening of the Lakeview Youth Camp in April 1978 to the establishment of an experimental program for juvenile sex offenders at the House of Concord in 1988, there was a seemingly endless number of developments in programming for young offenders. The growing number of options provided by government, and increase in programs provided under contract with the private sector, reinforced a need for other supporting programs and activities. They included juvenile diversion and inter-ministerial or intra-governmental co-ordination of services to children and youth.

During the 1970s, diversion emerged as an important program emphasis for both juveniles and adults. Practised informally for many years, the diversion of juveniles began to operate under more formal rules by the end of the decade. For example, an accountability panel pilot project was established in Vancouver in 1978.

Its purpose was to screen juveniles who were in contact with the police following an alleged offence, and met criteria for diversion from court. Other localities followed suit during the next few years. The idea of keeping young people from entering the criminal justice system was taken seriously, despite increased attention to juvenile programs within the criminal justice system.

One such community accountability panel operated in the Cedar Cottage/Kensington area of Vancouver:

> Last November, a Community Accountability Panel (C.A.P.) made up of concerned citizens who live and work in the area was set up. The panel meets with young offenders and their parents to discuss the offence and to find an appropriate means of restitution: apology, monetary repayment, indirect community service work or work performed directly for the victim.
>
> Referral may only take place if the case is a summary conviction involving loss or damage not exceeding $1,000. The offender must be from the Cedar Cottage/Kensington area even if the crime is committed elsewhere. If restitution is not completed, the case is returned to the referring agent.[11]

A similar program operated in Nanaimo:

> Ten hours of service at Columbian House (a Nanaimo home for ex-psychiatric patients), a detailed essay on the effects of alcohol on the mind and body, and a personal thank you to the arresting officer for recommending diversion from the court process. That was the content of the Restitution Agreement signed by 15-year-old Carol, making her accountable for her actions: a minor in possession of alcohol, first offence.
>
> Carol's case is typical of almost 200 juvenile offenders under the age of 17 who have appeared over the last year before the John Howard Society-sponsored Neighbourhood Accountability Board

10 Corrections Branch Annual Report, 1982-83, Victoria, B.C., 1984.

11 Memorandum, published by the Attorney General, Summer 1979.

(NAB), which provides an alternative to normal court procedures in Nanaimo...

Presently, there are 39 volunteers from all walks of life who provide a roster from which are selected a minimum of three panel members, who will sit and hear the circumstances of a case, interview the juvenile, and develop a set of accountabilities for the juvenile...

All contracts are monitored by the program director to ensure completion of the various commitments by the expiry date, at which time the youth is required to return to the NAB to meet with the original panel members for personal congratulations for successful completion of the restitution agreement.[12]

To co-ordinate the services necessary to provide institutional programs for juveniles, an inter-ministerial children in crisis program was established in 1978. The program brought together activities of the Ministries of Health, Education, Human Resources (later called Social Services and Housing) and the Attorney General.

For the decade between 1978 and 1988, attempts were made to provide closer co-operation between government ministries providing services to youth. Since the rehabilitation era (1950-1969), decision-making panels and policy groups met at local and regional levels of the province.

Deciding jurisdiction for parole

The administration of conditional release was another important development during the reparation era. Following an amendment to the *Parole Act* (Canada) in 1978, provinces could establish parole boards with jurisdiction over release of inmates in provincial institutions. British Columbia immediately began to consider whether it would be useful to take advantage of this provision. It could, for example, establish a provincial parole board responsible for all conditional releases from provincial institutions. The exception would be cases that institutional administrators were authorized to release.

For many years, the province was dissatisfied with the requirement that provincial prisoners could only be considered for release by the National Parole Board. Given the average sentence of provincial inmates, prisoners would often serve an entire sentence without being considered for parole. Even when the National Parole Board could schedule hearings in provincial institutions, there were co-ordination problems between federal and provincial authorities.

For these reasons, a cabinet briefing paper was prepared early in 1979 that outlined options and costs involved in developing a provincial parole board. The province was experienced in parole matters through its responsibility to administer parole for persons held under definite/indeterminate sentences. A decision to create a new authority would involve moving from one type of parole board function to

12 *Corrections Newsletter*, December 1981.

another. With the abolition of the definite/indeterminate sentence in 1978, the established parole board function was retired.

While British Columbia chose to take advantage of this option, it came only after extensive study and development of guidelines for parole decision-making. These guidelines had to be acceptable to the government of the day and allow the paroling authority to meet the spirit of the new federal legislation. To date, only Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia have accepted responsibility for the conditional release of prisoners held in provincial institutions.

B.C. Parole Board

The B.C. Parole Board was established under the new provisions of the federal *Parole Act*, after almost two years of deliberation. Ontario (1978) and Quebec (1979) had already set up provincial parole boards according to the same provisions. John Konrad, formerly Regional Director of the Fraser Region for the Corrections Branch, was the first Chairman. Mike Redding, formerly Policy Analyst for the Vancouver Region, was its first Executive Director.

A process for the selection and orientation of community parole board members was established. In January 1980, the Canadian Association of Paroling Authorities was created to co-ordinate the activities of the three provincial parole boards and the National Parole Board. The association discussed common strategies for parole decision-making and criteria for parole supervision.

Facilities and sentence administration

Compared with the reintegration era and its emphasis on community programming, the reparation era focused more on institutions. Initiatives related to institutional practice came together under new leadership in a more precise and co-ordinated way. These activities included:

- Attention to reception and classification procedures;
- Standards of practice;
- Sentence management; and
- Development of institutions.

Historically, there were problems in using the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre and the Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre as the primary classification centres in the province. Proposals were developed to regionalize admissions and classification. These proposals would allow offenders serving shorter sentences to be received regionally, directly from court. Previously, they had to go through the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre for classification.

Two alternate entry pilot projects were established in the North and South Fraser regions in 1978. In March 1979, the North Fraser Region Reception Centre was developed to co-ordinate the movement of inmates for sheriffs, classification programs and other centres. The centre provided sentence planning, classification, information on offenders, and admission of offenders serving three months or less directly to regional programs from the North Fraser courts.

In keeping with this trend, a direct entry program for young offenders was implemented in May 1979:

> Based on the information at hand, it was the opinion of the Director of Willingdon that two-thirds of the youths coming into containment at that time had not met the admissions criteria as set out in legislation. In addition, at least that proportion did not require access to containment through Willingdon, which is a secure institution. The Directors of Youth Containment Programs subsequently discussed the concept of direct entry to containment programs, similar to the direct entry model being utilized for adults in Terrace, and experimented with, on a regional basis, in North and South Fraser Regions. A proposal for direct entry was brought forward to the May Branch Management Meeting.[13]

In January 1982, the Review, Assess, Motivate and Place (RAMP) program was developed to improve provincial classification. Its aim was to motivate offenders aged 17-24 years to function in a general open camp setting. This development coincided with an increase in the availability of open camp programs. In 1983, a computerized corrections administration records entry system was installed at the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre, the Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre, the Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre and the Fraser Region Sentence Management Unit.

This system was designed to streamline the admission, transfer and discharge of inmates. It was also intended to improve accuracy and internal record-keeping, including visitor scheduling and sentence calculation. Capacity to manage alternate entry models and provide local classification authority improved. As a result, in January 1984, a decision was made to delegate classification responsibility to the five corrections regions in the province. Coinciding with this development, the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre Sentence Management Unit became operational in April 1984.

Programs to improve classification and sentence management within the province rapidly followed the decision to regionalize authority for these responsibilities:

- A caseload classification project was initiated in four offices of the Fraser Region;
- Several regions established sentence management and assessment centres;
- Alouette River Correctional Centre developed a sentence management unit; and
- Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre implemented a modified assessment program.

13 *Corrections Newsletter*, June 1979.

Standards of practice

Improvements that refined a more technically competent system of reception, classification and sentence management were supported by in-depth studies of work conditions in correctional programs. There were revisions to the *Correctional Centre Rules and Regulations* in August 1978, and a Provincial Standards Committee was formed during the same year to examine corrections operations in relation to standards.

Concurrently, the Correctional Service of Canada developed a standards and accreditation system for federal correctional institutions. Through the secondment of Glenn Angus, B.C. Corrections made an important contribution to the federal correctional standards program. Before moving to the Canadian Criminal Justice Association in Ottawa to direct the program, Angus was the co-ordinator of the B.C. standards project and a probation officer from the Vancouver Region.

Inmate prepares meat in the kitchen of Prince George Regional Gaol (1968)
Corrections Branch Archives

B.C. Corrections was the first correctional jurisdiction in Canada to develop a formal statement of guiding principles. These principles were published in a document entitled *Goals, Strategies and Beliefs* (1978). Other provinces studied the underlying principles associated with correctional operations.[14] However, none of the provinces developed a statement to guide development of policies in correctional operations. B.C.'s statement, drafted in 1976 and finally published in 1978, was intended for that purpose.

The Provincial Standards Committee was chaired by the Director of Inspection and Standards, W.F. (Bill) Foster, and comprised of representatives from each administrative region of the

14 For example, the province of Manitoba produced *The Rise of the Sparrow*, published in 1973.

Branch. Their work was supported by several studies, including the *Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Workload*. This 1979 study was undertaken in the Vancouver Region and the Branch-wide Corrections personnel classification project. It involved a review of job descriptions and development of a classification system to enhance career mobility for all Branch employees.

General standards were implemented in early 1978. The *Standards and Accreditation of Medical Care and Health Services in Jails*, proposed by the American Medical Association, was adopted as a guideline in the British Columbia in 1981. Late in 1982, the Corrections Branch *Manual of Standards* was revised to include standards relating to food services, classification of inmates and physical components of adult correctional centres. Dr. Patrick Merat, the new Director of Medical Services, was also appointed in 1982. With this appointment, a policy review was initiated, which led to a comprehensive health care policy for offenders in B.C. correctional programs.

Attention to standards of practice, coupled with changes in administrative practice at the local level, required new procedures for auditing and monitoring programs. Here are some examples:

- Late 1982—process was initiated to audit probation officers, according to Branch standards.
- January 1983—formal audit of community service delivery units was begun.
- 1984—management training course was developed to monitor and evaluate policies and procedures for contracted resources.
- 1986—review of health services was completed. A multi-professional advisory group was formed to provide advice on health care and meet established standards.

By 1985, the Canadian Criminal Justice Association developed and published standards for corrections in Canada. The standards were based on Canadian jurisprudence, and replaced standards developed by the American Correctional Association. Both federal and provincial corrections systems had used the American standards as guidelines. The initial phase of correctional standards development in B.C. and Canada, which started in the late 1970s, was over.

Staff development and the Justice Institute

Given its focus on program standards and personnel management, the Corrections Branch was compelled to revitalize staff development. The Justice Development Commission also identified training and education as a priority within the Corrections Branch, the Court Services Branch and the law enforcement community.

Following years of study and planning, the Justice Institute of British Columbia was established in 1978. The JI, as it became known, was a training and education centre for government programs involved in public safety and the administration of justice. Corrections staff training was a major component of the new institute. John Laverock served as the JI's first Director of Corrections Training.

Justice Institute Instructor, John LaCavera, teaching course (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

The Proudfoot Commission and female offenders

The Royal Commission on the Incarceration of Female Offenders (Proudfoot Commission) was a key event in the new era of correctional programming in British Columbia. Interest in programs for women, which was highlighted in British Columbia during the Proudfoot Commission, was evolving for some time.

The royal commission was formed under the authority of the *Public Inquiries Act*, and followed charges of misconduct at the Oakalla Women's Unit Late in 1977. Commissioner of Corrections, John Ekstedt recommended to the attorney general that the mandate of the Proudfoot Commission be expanded to include a general management review of the Corrections Branch—particularly in light of the reorganization that had taken place. The commission became the focus of comment on policy and program issues from inside and outside the Branch.

When its hearings were completed, the Proudfoot Commission made 57 recommendations for improvements at the Oakalla Women's Unit:

The Proudfoot Commission was established on December 5, 1977 to address allegations concerning misconduct at the Oakalla Women's Unit. The Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Incarceration of Female Offenders (Proudfoot Commission) submitted its report to government in late April. Since that time, copies of the report have been reproduced and made available to Branch offices.

Virtually all of the recommendations have been accepted by the Attorney General for implementation—many of these of course centring around Oakalla Women's Correctional Centre. Administrative and other changes are underway or complete, and where further budget resources are required, the Branch/Region is working with central agencies.

The recommendations of the Inquiry with respect to the operation of "co-correctional" centres has seen the phase-out of the unit at Prince George Regional Correctional Centre, which will be complete by the end of July. Half of the inmates presently housed there are being transferred to Oakalla Women's Correctional Centre, and the other half are being placed on temporary absence in community-based programs. The Northern Region will be maintaining the capacity to house women through community residential programs, with back-up security...

The decision to close down Lynda Williams Centre in Vancouver has been qualified to include a six-month continuation with the view towards evaluation with respect to lowering costs and increasing use. Its capacity is increased from 10 to 13 beds. Since the time of the decision, the centre has been operating at capacity. The Graham House in Victoria is being monitored as recommended by the Inquiry on a basis of cost and use considerations.[15]

The Oakalla Women's Unit was renamed the Lakeside Correctional Centre for Women in 1979. Renovations were undertaken to implement some of the recommendations of the Proudfoot Commission. Alterations to the Lakeside Women's Correctional Centre continued for at least two years. While this was going on, new programs were introduced, including a life skills program in 1980.

Several national studies on female offenders were initiated and completed prior to the Proudfoot Commission. These included the:

- Report of the National Advisory Committee on the Female Offender (Clark Report 1977);
- Study of the National Planning Committee on the Female Offender (1977), which supported closure of the Kingston Prison for Women and the creation of regional facilities; and the
- Joint Committee to Study Alternatives for the Housing of the Federal Female Offender, formed to study new regional institutions for women.

Phasing out the federal Prison for Women in Kingston was the subject of a longstanding discussion between federal and provincial authorities. Agencies such as the Elizabeth Fry Society lobbied hard to keep women with federal sentences closer to their home

15 *Corrections Newsletter*, July 1978.

Lakeside Correctional Centre for Women at Oakalla (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

communities. In the case of institutionalized women in Canada, this required a provincial or regional facility rather than the federal institution in Kingston.

The Correctional Service of Canada implemented regional organization in 1977, establishing five regions across Canada. This created a need for administrative changes to organize regional placements for women. In British Columbia, as a result of the exchange of services agreement between Canada and the provinces, 58% of all females sentenced to federal custody in 1979 were housed in provincial institutions.

The low numbers of incarcerated females meant that a disproportionately high cost per inmate would result from regionalizing women sentenced to federal incarceration. The movement towards regionalizing institutional placements for the federal female offender became mired in federal/provincial dialogue. The Branch newsletter[16] examined the issue of closing the Prison for Women, including a review of major reports and studies.

16 "Phase-out of the Federal Prison for Women," *Corrections Newsletter*, April 1979, pp. 1-6.

Commitment to institutions

The 1974-1979 five-year plan for correctional development was not realized in every respect. However, it provided the impetus to phase out or modify some facilities for sentenced adults. The plan—approved by the attorney general in 1974—produced the following outcomes on the institutional side:

- Closure of Haney Correctional Institution; and
- Planning for modernization of Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre and the Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre.

By 1981, a five-year plan for facilities was approved with the intent to replace or update facilities throughout the province. By that time, it was apparent that the provincial government would support the development of new facilities. The following decisions had already been made:

- 1978—The government approved development of the Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre. Renovations at Lakeside Correctional Centre for Women were initiated.
- 1979—Major renovations were approved for the Willingdon Youth Detention Centre.
- 1979—Renovations to the Victoria Youth Detention Centre and Rayleigh Camp were approved.
- 1980—Chilliwack Security Unit was converted to a male youth remand centre.

A primary objective of the Corrections Branch from the 1960s had been to limit institutional populations through non-institutional alternatives. A stable institutional count helped to achieve this objective. In spite of the prevailing principle to curb the incarcerated population, Branch management galvanized support to push for improvements to its facilities in the 1980s.

The graph on page 157 illustrates the relationships involving population, probation caseload and institutional population from 1961-1981.[17]

Two serious critical incidents in 1983 increased the public profile of correctional facilities. In April, a major disturbance took place at Prince George Regional Correctional Centre, causing two million dollars worth of damage. In November, there was a similar occurrence at the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre. Prior to these events, Vancouver's morning newspaper reported on factors that caused the riots:

> Already B.C.'s adult prison population is stretching jail facilities to the limit, says Commissioner of Corrections Bernard Robinson, but the number of prisoners coming to jail is expected to continue to increase during the next months and years.
>
> The problem, Robinson says, is not so much the physical overcrowding as the deleterious effect it has on jail programs, especially the secure institutions of Oakalla, in Burnaby, and Wilkinson Road jail, near Victoria.

17 B.C. Corrections Branch Research Report, May 1982.

> And this trend, Robinson says, is unlikely to reverse itself in the near future. Indeed, it's likely to get worse, as the legislature recently passed laws increasing the range of offences for which a person can be sentenced to jail.[18]

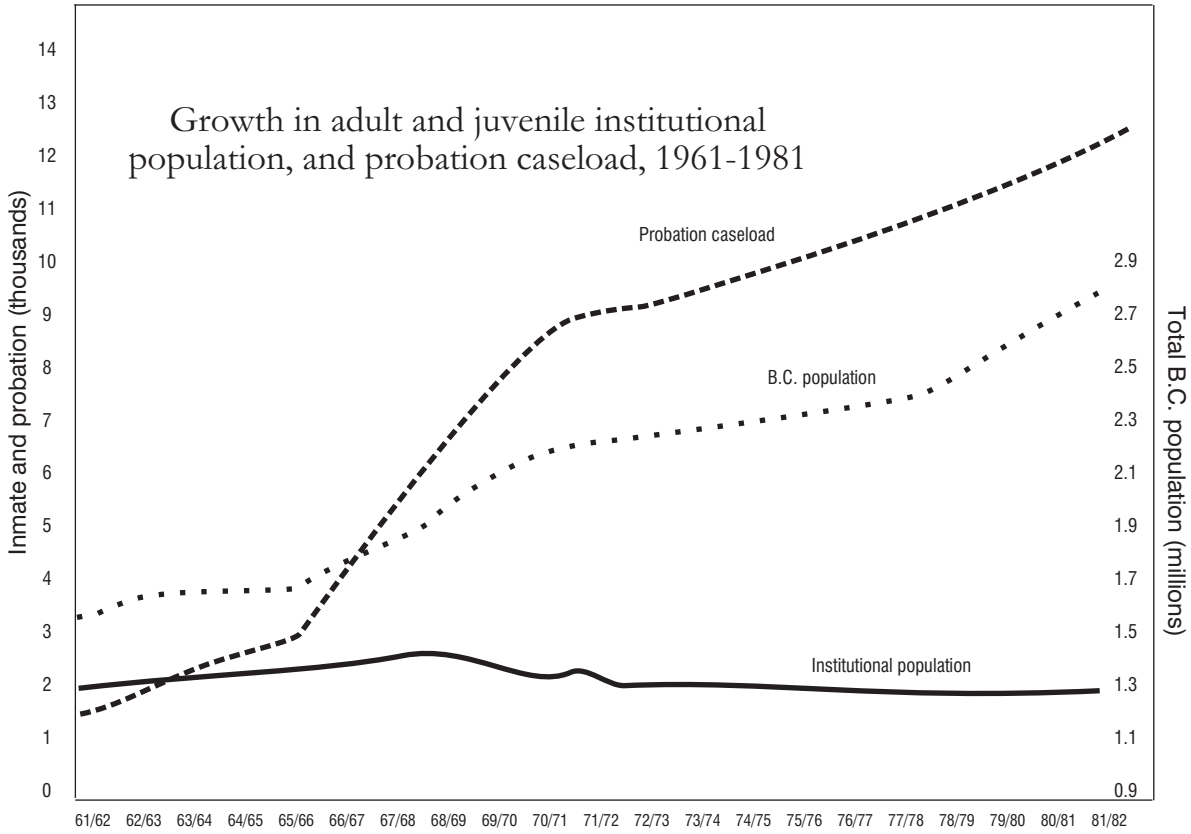
Corrections Branch personnel had experienced disappointment regarding the lack of support from government to replace facilities. However, many of the planning initiatives begun in the 1970s would be implemented during the 1980s. New planning efforts produced the following results:

1981:

- Ford Mountain Camp trailer facilities were replaced and a new facility was opened;
- Chilliwack Security Reception program was replaced; and
- Southview Place Correctional Centre was closed.

1982:

- Brittain River Camp, operated by the B.C. Forest Service, re-opened in February after a serious fire.



18 *The Province*, April 11, 1983.

Fire hose repair facility at Prince George Regional Correctional Centre (April 1973) Corrections Branch Archives

Aftermath of riot at PGRCC (1983) Corrections Branch Archives

1983:

- Snowden Camp in Campbell River closed, and staff and inmates transferred to Nanaimo Correctional Centre (NCC), which officially opened with 90 beds for sentenced male offenders on Vancouver Island in March. NCC was established on the site of the former Brannan Lake School for Boys (opened 1954).
- Southview Correctional Centre opened on the grounds of New Haven Correctional Centre to assist persons on intermittent sentence[19] from the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre.

19 When the sentence imposed does not exceed 90 days, the *Criminal Code* (section 663(1) (c)) provides for use of intermittent incarceration. This presumably allows the accused the opportunity to continue employment, education and financial support for the family. The *Criminal Code* also specifies that the accused must "at all times when he is not in confinement pursuant to such order, comply with the conditions prescribed in a probation order." Refer to L. Crispino and C. Carey, *Intermittent Sentence—Process and Problems* (Ontario: Ministry of Correctional Services, 1978). In the early 1980s, use of this sentence increased in British Columbia, which required additional program support.

NCC administration entrance (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

Manufacturing snowshoes at Hutda Lake Camp (1968)
Corrections Branch Archives

- Jordan River Camp closed after renovations were completed at Nanaimo Correctional Centre. Staff from Jordan River opened a small minimum security unit, Guthrie House, at NCC on Brannan Lake;
- Brittain River Camp was closed due to escalating costs and funding problems;
- Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre opened in August;
- Planning proceeded for Fraser Regional Correctional Centre, Surrey Pretrial Services Centre, and Kamloops Regional Correctional Centre;
- Restoration of the Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre; and
- Programs were improved, modified or discontinued.

1984:

- Chilliwack Security Unit was converted to an open facility to maximize efficient bed use between the Fraser and Vancouver regions. It was renamed the Chilliwack River Correctional Centre;
- Lynda Williams Community Correctional Centre was closed;[20]
- Hutda Lake Camp near Prince George became independent of the Prince George Regional Correctional Centre and responsible for its own admissions and discharges; and

20 Lynda Williams Community Correctional Centre was established in 1977 as the first CCC for women in the province. It was named after a former matron at Twin Maples, who was killed in a car accident in 1976. The centre was featured in the report of the Royal Commission on the Incarceration of Female Offenders (Proudfoot), which recommended its closure. Despite efforts to keep the centre open, it finally succumbed to pressures. Apart from the economy, maintaining residential programs for limited numbers of offenders could not be justified.

Preserving Santa's tradition more than 30 years later (2000) Corrections Branch Archives

Hutda Lake's annual sleigh ride with Santa for school children (1960s) Corrections Branch Archives

- Second phase of renovations was completed at Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre.

1986/87:

- Official phasing out of the Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre began.

Serving communities in northern B.C.

Delivering probation services to populations outside urban areas in British Columbia presented many challenges and opportunities for the Branch and its staff. In northern B.C.—a territory that covers more than half of the province—criminal justice might be administered by travelling circuit courts. Court hearings along the circuit typically take place in makeshift facilities such as classrooms and town halls.

Flexibility is an occupational requirement for probation officers in the north. Getting to work can be half the job, and extensive travel (by air, road and even foot) is part of the job description. Conditions of serving the north through circuit courts are reflected in the following excerpt:

Left: Judge's chambers in the North (1982); above: Circuit court in Atlin, B.C. (1983); right: Official reopening of the historic Atlin courthouse (1982)
Photos: Courtesy of Rob Watts

(Judge Douglas) Campbell is on his way to work. Every two months he does the northern circuit, a 3,200-km trip over gravel roads that takes him to Atlin, Lower Post and Cassiar, three communities at the top of B.C. For a week at a time, the people who form the court — the clerk, the prosecutor and various defence lawyers — are bound together in a rough caravan of justice. On the road, Campbell preserves his judicial distance by travelling separately from both Crown and defence lawyers. Instead, he rides with (Probation Officer) Rob Watts, who makes regular swings through the north.

Atlin is the first court stop, a small town of 250 where Watt's grandmother taught school during the prospecting days at the turn of the century…After Atlin, the caravan rolls on, moving through places so small they show up on only the most detailed maps.

The next day…Watts (is) making a trip to the nearby Indian community of Good Hope Lake, giving a ride to seven people due to appear as defendants or witnesses or both. The courtroom here is in the community hall above the gymnasium and foyer where most of the witnesses wait, watching color television. It is a long, slow-moving session, and by mid-afternoon many of the people who rode into town on Watts's shuttle service are drunk. Inside the courtroom Campbell is struggling just to work through the case list, never mind coming down on the occasional buzz of conversation or the woman who sits close by drinking an orange soft drink. It is nearly 6 p.m. when the last case is heard.

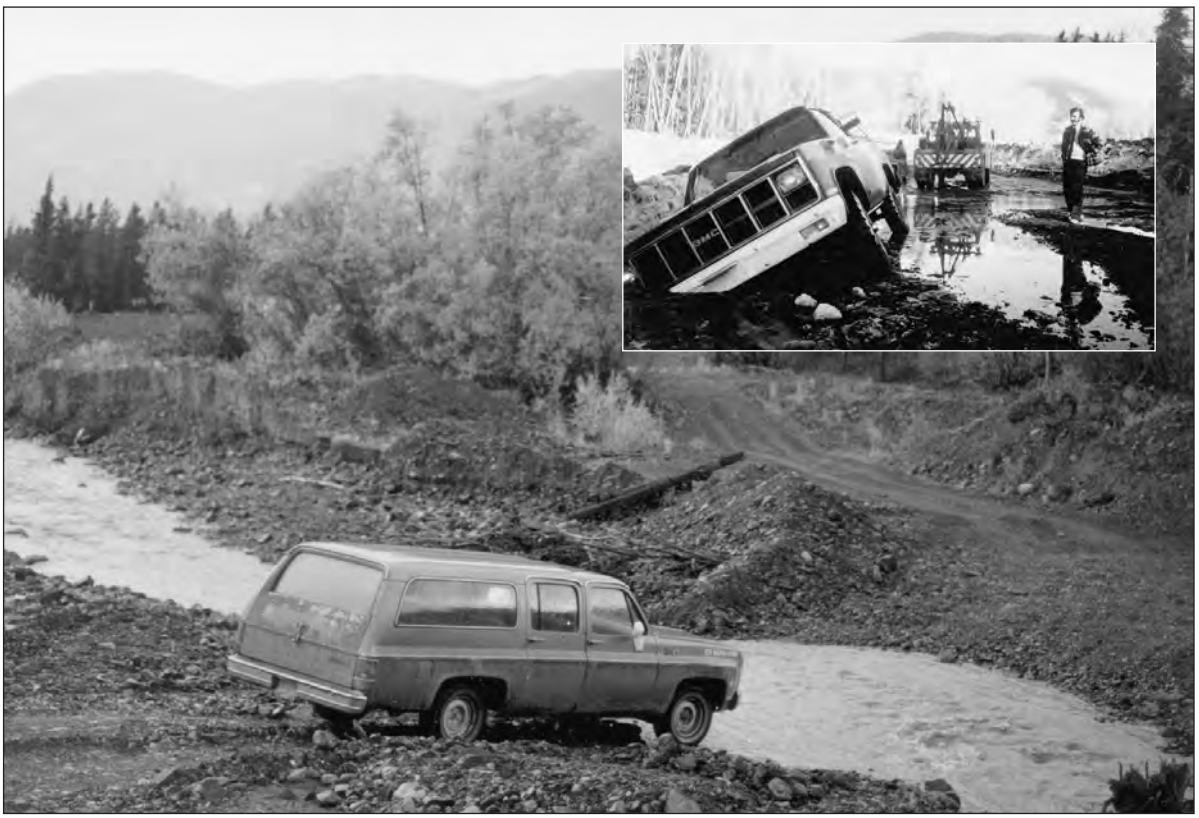
Court is over, and yet the trial by distance isn't finished. There is still an all-night drive to Terrace before the flight home to Vancouver.[21]

Arriving for court by floatplane in Masset, B.C. (1995) Photo: Courtesy of Rob Watts

21 Malcolm Gray, "Justice takes to the road," *Maclean's*, October, 19, 1981. Reprinted with permission from *Maclean's*.

Probation officer delivers Judge Paul Lawrence to court in Usk, B.C. (1993) Photo: Courtesy of Rob Watts

Home visit by foot in bear country (date: 1988) Photo: Courtesy of Rob Watts



Northern road conditions in Atlin area (1984); inset: Probation vehicle becomes a highway statistic in New Aiyansh, B.C. (1983) Photos: Courtesy of Rob Watts

Reparation and community service

While there was renewed concentration on facilities management during the reparation era, the Corrections Branch expanded and developed non-institutional alternatives. In 1979, the community service order program was expanded throughout the province—especially in the Northern Region:

> Community Service Order (CSO) programs in the North are like those anywhere else in the province, except for one important difference: District Director Don Bell has convinced village tribal councils to run the programs themselves.
>
> As with the rest of the province, probationers on CSOs in the North provide a number of hours of service to their local communities or to private individuals for reparation for the probationers' offences.
>
> But unlike anywhere else in the province, native youth and adult probationers are responsible directly to their village tribal council for the services they provide.
>
> The program began experimentally a little over a year ago with a number of coastal villages, including Port Simpson, Bella Bella, and Bella Coola.
>
> It was successful, Bell says, so it was expanded to cover all the villages throughout the Northwest up to the Yukon border. He now has contracts with 16 villages.[22]

In 1980-81, there was an earnest effort to privatize community-based services. In addition, a number of programs were developed such as the challenge program at Kamloops Community Correctional Centre. Residential attendance programs were initiated in Vernon and Salmon Arm for young offenders in 1981. Non-residential attendance programs were also established in Ashcroft, Kelowna and Fernie.

Temporary absence policy was modified in April 1981. Individuals released on temporary absence and placed in community correctional centres would now be assigned to community work. Offenders might also be involved in reparative activities such as restitution (restoring property) or victim compensation (paying money for damages). In 1982, the Burnaby Community Correctional Centre added a program officer. This individual was responsible for implementing a program to provide residents with opportunities for community service and reparation.

22 *Corrections Information*, Vol. 1, 1986.

Promoting the reparation ideal

Some initiatives that were undertaken during the reparation era continued to evolve, while others were temporary and experimental.

In April of 1974, Prince George Regional Correctional Centre became the first co-educational correctional centre in Canada. A unit in the main centre was set aside for females to avoid transferring them away from their home communities.[23]

The small number of female offenders compared with the male population presented management problems provincially and federally. Trying to find a way to decentralize or regionalize institutional programs for women resulted in no end of proposals. The Prince George experiment was an attempt to produce a solution for the northern region.

The program was plagued with difficulties. On average, 11 female inmates were housed in one wing of an institution holding a population of 130 men. Few programs could be shared, and interpersonal conflicts and sexual tension were constant concerns. As a result, Madam Justice Patricia Proudfoot recommended its closure in 1978.

The controversial *Heroin Treatment Act* took effect in June 1978. Although short-lived (its compulsory provisions were ruled *ultra vires* by the B.C. Supreme Court on October 9, 1979), it spawned joint initiatives between the Ministries of Health and Attorney General. The most memorable was the Brannan Lake Heroin Treatment Centre.

Brannan Lake was an institution for juveniles under the superintendent of child welfare until 1969. Since that time, the facility did not have a permanent use despite many proposals. The burgeoning drug problem in British Columbia resulted in a proposal to develop an extensive apprehension/treatment program with voluntary and compulsory components. The compulsory treatment program developed at Brannan Lake attempted to merge the containment function of the corrections system with the treatment function of the health system.

The reparative approach during this era was supported through other events. In 1978, the federal government proclaimed the *Transfer of Offenders Act*. This legislation allowed Canadian offenders confined in other countries to be transferred back to Canada, and foreign offenders in Canada to be transferred to their native country.

In the family relations area, an automatic enforcement of maintenance orders project was established in 1978. In 1979, the Supreme Court ruled on the jurisdiction of the provincial court in *Family Relations Act* matters. This ruling clarified roles and responsibilities for individuals providing services under the *Family Relations Act*.

Later in the reparation era, the Corrections Branch developed programs for sex offenders. In 1987, a sex offender program was implemented through the Southeast Specialized Supervision Unit for convicted offenders on

23 *Annual Report of the Attorney General*, 1976, p. Q87.

Wood salvage program at Stave Lake (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

probation or parole. In 1988, the Stave Lake program for sex offenders was initiated.

During the 1987-88 fiscal year, British Columbia introduced an electronic monitoring pilot project for non-violent offenders serving intermittent sentences. An advisory committee of justice professionals and representatives of interested community groups was formed to monitor this development.

The same year, the Corrections Branch released a policy of reparation through community service that was implemented in all its correctional centres.

Electronic monitoring bracelet
Corrections Branch Archives

Recognizing the contributions of personnel

The reparative era may be remembered as a period when line staff received greater public recognition for their contribution of service to corrections. Three awards were established to honour such service:

- Corrections Exemplary Service Medal (federal); and
- Commissioner's Commendation for Bravery and Commendation for Meritorious Service, which honoured the extraordinary contributions of staff under difficult, and often dangerous, circumstances.

As the following report indicates, the honours reflected well on the recipients as well as the Branch:

At a luncheon honouring the officers in Victoria 5 July 85, Commissioner of Corrections Bernard G. Robinson presented the Commissioner's Commendation for Bravery to principal officer Ted Anchor, and the Commissioner's Commendation for Meritorious Service to correctional officer Wayne Willows and auxiliary correctional officers Dan Kroffat and Jim Shalkowsky. These officers were awarded certificates for their role in helping to resolve a difficult hostage-taking situation that involved an armed inmate who shot and wounded one of the officers.

Recipients of the Corrections Exemplary Service Medal (2000) Corrections Branch Archives

> "The value of the award is that few are given, as the Branch has high standards and expectations of all staff. Today, we all celebrate together the triumph that exists," said Robinson.[24]

Given the size and complexity of corrections in B.C., such contributions by individuals—especially under the extreme conditions of custody and control—could be overlooked or undervalued. Awards and other events were important ways for the Branch to recognize dedicated commitment by its staff.

Bernard Robinson retires

Bernard Robinson ended his tenure as Commissioner of Corrections on March 31, 1988. During the 10 years he served in this position, he was a highly respected and competent administrator. Progress was made in consolidating the resource management functions of the Branch and creating stability in a rapidly changing organization.

However, broader changes in public policy, including the downsizing of the public service, created new challenges. For the Corrections Branch, there were difficulties caused by the trend to privatize government services, and the increasing complexity of central agency control. Prior to his resignation, these issues occupied much of Bernard Robinson's time.

In his words:

> Restraint and privatization, since 1983, have provided most remarkable challenges, demanding inventive responses. The Branch examined its legislative mandate and reviewed its roles before the courts and in carrying out the supervisory and custody orders of the court.
>
> The Branch was then able to make distinctions between those roles which it appeared possible to eliminate or deliver on a privatized basis and those which it did not.
>
> Many of the challenges faced by the Branch have been externally imposed and some have been very difficult, indeed. Among them have been the increasing complexity of government's operations and the increased number of systems of external accountability and control which have developed.

These tensions eventually prompted Robinson's departure. In the same article, he commented:

> I hold the view that it is the role of the public servant, and particularly those in senior leadership, to find the point at which personal, professional, and political interests intersect. It is by finding those points of intersection that any of us can function well as persons, as professionals, and as public servants in a parliamentary democracy.

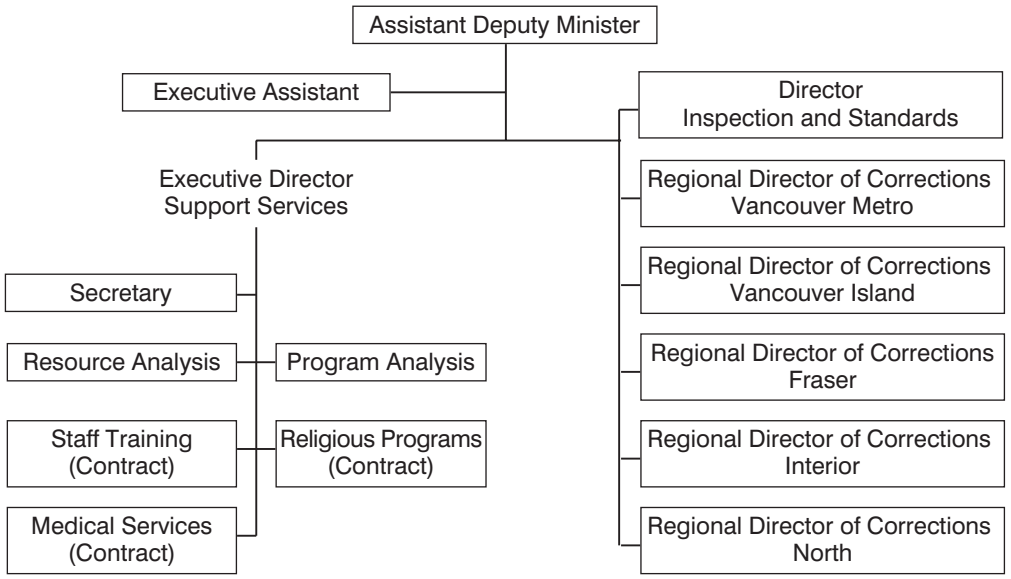
24 *Corrections Information*, Summer 1985.

> When one can no longer stand at that intersection usefully—and in the final analysis, it doesn't matter whether that judgment is arrived at by oneself or by someone else—then it is time to move on. I do that now, not without sadness, but with confidence that the Branch will carry on with continuing clarity of vision and creativity in response to challenge.[25]

On July 6, 1988, the premier established a new Ministry of Solicitor General. The new ministry was responsible for administering programs of public safety, including corrections. With this change, the title of commissioner of corrections was phased out and the senior manager of correctional operations became known as assistant deputy minister of Corrections. Jim Graham, former Deputy Commissioner, was appointed to this new position.

B.C. Corrections entered a new phase as an organization that was established for the protection of the public and rehabilitation of offenders.

Corrections Branch – Ministry of Solicitor General (1991)



25 *Corrections Information,* March 1988.

Chapter 6

The Era of Risk Management (1990-1997)

Overview

The B.C. Corrections Branch was transformed during the 1990s. Tremendous growth and change in offender populations created challenges in client management and service delivery. As a result, the Branch was obliged to re-evaluate the effectiveness of its practices.

By the arrival of the new millennium, the vastly reshaped Corrections Branch had weathered changes in government, its own leadership, and organizational structure. Changes to the character and size of the corrections population demanded creative solutions to managing offenders, both within correctional centres and the community. Several new correctional facilities were built, just to cope with the surge in numbers.

In 1993, an internal review of the organizational structure was conducted with staff and management. Although a regionalized and decentralized organizational structure was still favoured, the review identified a need for procedures to better support functional leadership within the Branch. A number of areas were targeted for change. Before they could be implemented, however, there were a few new developments.

Two high-profile incidents were critical to changes in how offenders were managed:

- Danny Perrault, a young adult placed in the open setting at New Haven Correctional Centre, escaped and committed a sexual assault.
- Jason Gamache, a young sex offender, committed offences shortly after the Perrault incident.

These incidents highlighted public concerns for safety and awareness "of the potential consequences when decisions based on inadequate information or assessments endanger the public."[1] There were calls from inside the Branch, as well as from the public, to improve the youth justice system and release decisions.

Public inquiries into these events led correctional staff in the community and institutions to increase scrutiny of offenders who were candidates or participants in

1 S. Howell, Core Programs Statement Discussion Paper, 1996, for Branch Management Committee meeting, January 30-31, 1997, B.C. Corrections Branch, Victoria, B.C.

community supervision. The heightened sense of awareness increased expectations placed on probation officers, who were already supervising high caseloads.

Around this time, Assistant Deputy Minister Jim Graham retired and the search began for a replacement. Don Demers, former Assistant Deputy Minister for Manitoba corrections, was appointed ADM, Corrections Branch, in May 1995. Demers was open to organizational change, especially in light of challenges facing the Branch and the government's pressure for fiscal responsibility and accountability.[2]

Additional criticism of the Branch focused on the need for more specialization within its functions. The delivery of youth services was viewed as needing separation from adult correctional services. Several reports proposed integration of youth and child services with a more youth-centred focus.

In the area of family justice services, several reports recommended that family court counsellors required a specialized skill set, distinct from probation officers. It was recognized that increased demand for probation services was eroding the number of family justice services available in many communities. At the same time, enhanced quality and level of service were needed in family justice.

Events outside the Corrections Branch also had an impact on the delivery of correctional services. The 1995 Commission of Inquiry into Child Protection in British Columbia (Gove Commission)[3] examined the death of a foster child. The inquiry led to questions about the delivery of child and youth services within the province. The recommendations of the Gove Commission included creation of a ministry responsible for all child and youth services.

During the 1990s, there was a review of the "nothing works" notion, which pervaded correctional practice in the previous decade. This perception[4] supported the belief that correctional treatment programs were ineffective. Ideas about treating offenders were revitalized. Building on early challenges to the "nothing works" conclusion,[5] other researchers produced more positive results.[6]

These reviews argued that certain treatment approaches could bring about positive change in some offenders. The key to success was

2 The focus on public accountability is discussed in the Auditor General of British Columbia and the Deputy Ministers' Council report, *Enhancing Accountability for Performance: A Framework and an Implementation Plan.* According to former Deputy Minister Maureen Maloney, "This report calls for increased accountability, more extensive use of performance measures, and a shift in management focus from process and activities to intentions and results."

3 Commission of Inquiry into Child Protection in British Columbia, Judge Thomas J. Gove, November 1995.

4 This perception arose from statements of Robert Martinson. Refer to R. Martinson, "What works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform," *The Public Interest,* 35, 1974, pp. 22-54.

5 Refer to the research of Adams, Palmer, Gendreau and Ross: S. Adams, "*Evaluation: A way out of the rhetoric,*" Paper presented at the Evaluation Research Conference, Seattle, Washington, 1975; T. Palmer, "Martinson Revisited," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 12, 1975, pp. 133-152; P. Gendreau, and R.R. Ross, "Revivification of rehabilitation: Evidence from the 1980s," *Justice Quarterly,* 4, 1987, pp. 349-408.

6 D.A. Andrews, I. Zinger, R.D. Hoge, J. Bonta, P. Gendreau & F.T. Cullen, "Does Correctional Treatment Work? A Clinically Relevant and Psychologically Informed Meta-analysis," *Criminology,* 28, 1990, pp. 369-404; D.A. Andrews and J.L. Bonta, *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct,* (2nd edition). Anderson: Cincinnati, Ohio, 1998.

matching an offender to the right treatment approach. Not surprisingly, this kind of thinking generated new energy within the correctional environment, which propelled the B.C. correctional system through the 1990s and into the new century.

The development of assessment tools launched a new era of correctional practice based on specialized staff training. The risk/needs assessment process allowed more offenders to be considered for community release programs. By differentiating between high and low-risk offenders, better use was made of correctional resources. There were also better matches between offenders and programs. The highest priority of all was community safety.

Changing face of offenders

Increased pressure on custody and community corrections during the 1990s was exacerbated by the growth and changing nature of the offender population. The emerging population included:

- Significant numbers of offenders whose crimes were against persons, such as sexual and spousal assault; and
- Offenders with mental illness, who posed additional challenges for the system.

Concurrent with the gradual aging of the Canadian population, the offender population was growing older. In 1983, almost half the admissions to community corrections were between the ages of 18 and 24. By 1998, nearly two-thirds were between 25 and 45 years old.

Increase in age contributed to a greater number of offenders under community supervision who had longer criminal histories. The combination of age and history of violence also increased their risk to the community.

Since the mid-1980s, the Corrections Branch practised a generalist approach to its three core areas of work—adult and youth corrections, and family justice services. In most smaller communities, the same individuals delivered all three areas. Specialized community services were available only in some of the larger metropolitan areas. The Branch recognized that effective supervision and management of distinctive populations required specialized skills and training of its staff.

Sex offenders

During the 20-year period from 1980 to 2000, sex offender admissions to probation almost quadrupled. This escalation occurred due to:

- Changes to the *Criminal Code of Canada* regarding sexual assault;
- More aggressive prosecution tactics, particularly concerning child sexual abuse;
- Heightened awareness of offences; and
- Increased reporting of child sexual abuse.

The first specialized sex offender office opened in Vancouver in 1987. In September 1990, a specialized sex offender caseload was created in the Interior region. A specialized supervision program was also established in Coquitlam during the same year. Sex offenders from Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, Port Moody, New Westminster and Burnaby reported to this office for individual and group programs.

Increasing numbers of sex offenders under community supervision[8]

An examination of caseload information on sex offenders shows a dramatic rise in the number of sex offenders under community supervision in the B.C. provincial corrections system during 20 years. In 1979-80, there were 157 admissions for sex offences to probation. This number rose to 599 in 1999-2000.

Admissions for sex offences increased dramatically through the 1980s and continued to rise in the 1990s, peaking in 1995-96 with 792 admissions. Although there was a decline in admissions to probation since the peak year of 1995-96, the number placed on probation each year did not drop to below 1990s levels. In contrast, admissions to custody declined and the numbers stayed below mid-1980s levels.

Similar initiatives were established in the Fraser Valley later in the 1990s.

In 1994, the Gamache and Perrault cases significantly affected the management of sex offenders. The government responded to these cases by providing more probation officers for sex offender supervision. The province's response to the management of sex offenders also led to increased specialization. Despite these measures, sex offender specialists were still not available in all locations of the province.

The introduction of the sex offender risk assessment (SORA) in 1996 assisted with the management of this offender group in the community. It was used in case planning and helped to determine the frequency of reporting. Supported by a 1998 report by the Investigation, Inspection and Standards Office[7] into an incident involving a supervised sex offender, the Branch introduced policy that only sex offender specialists would manage sex offender cases.

Two smaller institutions began to specialize in the management and treatment of this population:

- Stave Lake Correctional Centre became the first B.C. Corrections facility to specialize in working with sex offenders in 1987.
- Prior to the closure of Oakalla, the protective custody population (largely comprised of sex offenders) shifted from that institution to Ford Mountain Correctional Centre. A number of these offenders were federal inmates housed in a provincial institution as part of the exchange of services agreement.

Although other institutions housed sex offenders, they did not develop the same degree of specialization.

7 The Investigation, Inspection and Standards Office reported directly to the Attorney General and Solicitor General regarding independent reviews of complaints and incidents.

8 *FOCUS*, 1(4), Corrections Branch Research Unit, 2000.

Overview of Stave Lake Correctional Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

Stave Lake program buildings (2001) Corrections Branch Archives

Spousal assault

Two government initiatives changed the way corrections responded to offenders of spousal assault:

- Task Force on Family Violence, established in March 1991 by the Minister of Women's Programs and Government Services and Minister Responsible for Families; and
- Violence against women in relationships policy (VAWIR), introduced in April 1993 and revised in 1995.

The mandate of the task force was "to identify ways to reduce violence against women, children and the elderly and to improve government policies, programs and services for victims of family and sexual violence." In February 1992, two reports were published: *Report of the British Columbia Task Force on Family Violence: Is Anyone Listening?* and *Family Violence in Aboriginal Communities*.

Wild bird recovery centre at Stave Lake (2002)
Corrections Branch Archives

The task force stressed the need to provide a more comprehensive approach to violence against women. Important changes in the area of family justice services arose from the task force, which recommended that:

- Courts consider wife assault as a factor in custody and access cases;
- Centres be established for supervised access or where supervised transfer of children could take place,[9] and
- Mediation is unsuitable in cases of family violence.

While the task force conducted its research, the wife assault policy was under review. This policy was initiated in 1984 in response to the increasing attention placed on family violence issues. It was replaced by the VAWIR policy, which addressed wife assault as a crime and part

9 These centres were considered important when there were allegations of, or a history of, family violence so that both children and their mothers could be protected from continued abuse.

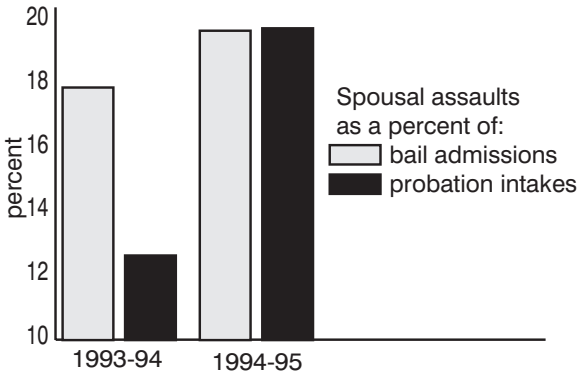
of the larger issue of violence against women. The ADM of Corrections released new procedures for screening for violence[10] in family justice services that ensured screening occurred in every new family case.

Police were required to identify all spousal assault cases by marking a "K" immediately after the police file number on the Report to Crown Counsel. The "K" was then added to the court information when it was sworn. When sentenced, the "K" identifier followed the accused into the corrections system, identifying the offender's spousal assault status. This alerted corrections staff of notification requirements affecting the victim.

The K file policy assigned responsibility to each correctional centre to notify victims about the release of offenders. A staff member within each correctional centre had responsibility for making this notification. Probation staff also provided notification to the victim of the offender's status.

Increase in spousal assault offenders under community supervision

In 1993-94, spousal assault cases accounted for an average 17.8% of all bail admissions. In 1994-95, spousal assault offenders accounted for an average 19.6% of all bail admissions. For probation intakes in the 1993-94 fiscal year, 12.5% were spousal assault offenders, which increased in the 1994-95 fiscal year to 19.7% of all probation intakes. This represents approximately 228 new spousal assault offenders on probation per month in the 1994-95 fiscal year.[11]



The Branch realized that to effectively supervise these cases, specialized knowledge was required. As a result, probation officers received training in supervision and intervention strategies. The spousal assault risk assessment (SARA) instrument assisted probation officers in determining the level of intervention required in each case.

Offenders with mental health issues

Historically, individuals with mental health issues were treated within the health system. During the 1990s, however, the health system was radically transformed by de-institutionalization.

Community-based services could not adequately support individuals released from mental health facilities in the province. At the same time, changes to the *Criminal Code* and budget restraint hampered the community's ability to deal with these people. As a result, many individuals with mental health issues committed minor nuisance offences and ended up in provincial custody. Mentally disordered

10 ADM Directive 95:21, British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1995.
11 *FOCUS*, Corrections Branch Research Unit, 2000.

offenders or MDOs reportedly comprised 20% of offenders in provincial custody.[12]

Service providers in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside became aware of the growing number of mentally disordered individuals coming into contact with the justice system. MDOs experienced multiple problems and were not connected to, or well served by traditional care.

Specialized services for mentally disordered offenders began in 1987 when probation officers in Vancouver began to focus on this group. During the same year, three service providers got together to establish the Inter-Ministerial Program (IMP). The organizations were:

- Forensic Psychiatric Services;
- Corrections Branch; and
- Greater Vancouver Mental Health Services.

In 1999, the National Conference on Best Practices and Mental Health Reform recognized IMP with an award that highlighted its contribution to "assertive community treatment/ case management."

Specialized units were established in other urban locations including Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre and Kamloops. Assertive case management approaches were applied to multi-problem, mentally disordered offenders who were under court supervision. The units sought to extend tenure of these individuals in the community and maintain contact when they entered hospital or jail. The units were also intended to provide continuity of case management, assisting when clients were released back to the community.

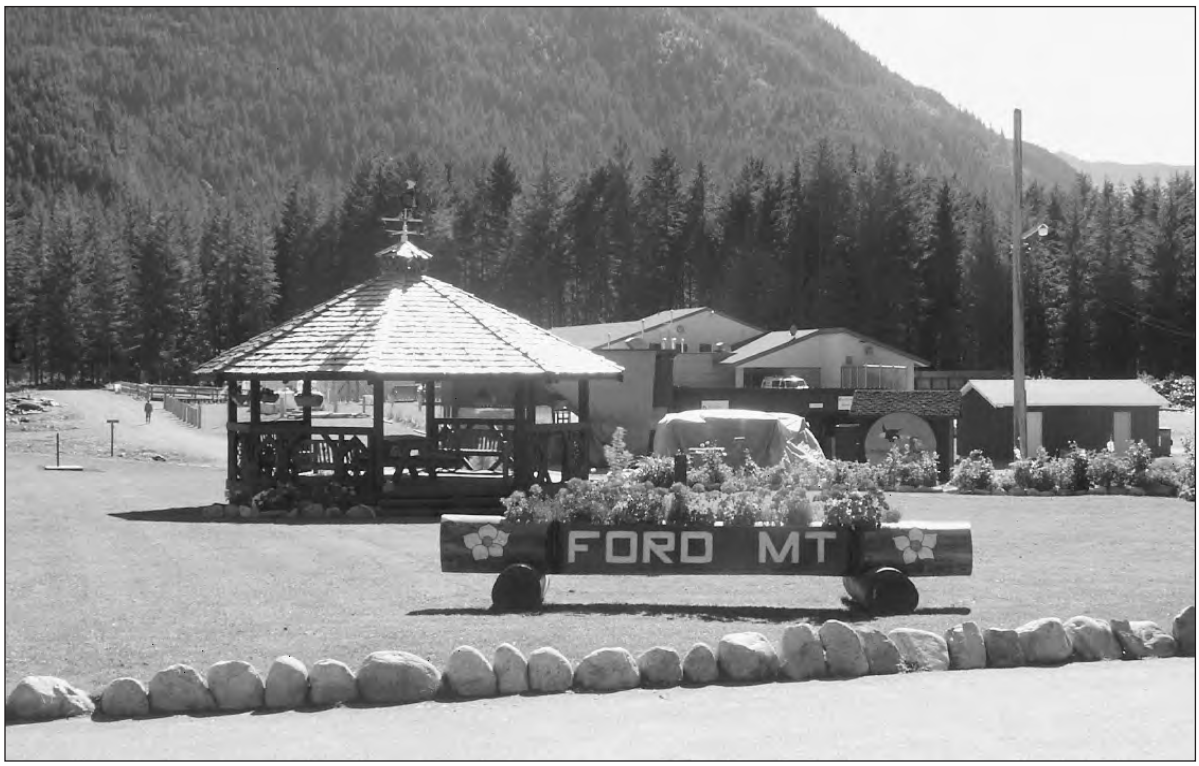
With support and expertise from these units, specialized probation services for mentally disordered offenders developed on a smaller scale in other regions of the province. As Rob Watts, Provincial Director for Community Corrections, pointed out, "pockets of expertise exist throughout the province" to serve MDOs.

The protective custody population at Oakalla included mentally disordered offenders who could not function within the general population. With the transfer of MDOs to Ford Mountain, a specialized response developed for this group.

Ford Mountain provided a more open environment to manage MDOs, accommodating approximately 15 low-risk offenders. Two on-site psychologists provided counselling and a contracted program provided MDOs with assistance in reintegration to the community. The Ford Mountain program worked closely with the Vancouver Disordered Offender Unit and Inter-Ministerial Program (IMP).

Within secure centres, the introduction of special handling units assisted in managing MDOs at a higher level of security. In 1991, the Surrey Pretrial Services Centre opened the first such unit, which was jointly developed and funded by the Corrections Branch, Forensic Psychiatric Services, Alcohol and Drug Programs, Mental Health and Social Services. The unit provided screening, assessment, intervention and case management. Its focus was on post-release planning to help MDOs reintegrate into the community.

12 A. Welsh and James P. Ogloff, "The Surrey Pretrial Mental Health Program: An Analysis of Admission and Screening Data," Corrections Branch Management Report 2002:02, 2002.



Welcome sign at Ford Mountain Correctional Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

Similar units were opened in all secure centres (VPSC, KRCC, PGRCC, FRCC, BCCW). However, most were created to manage MDOs more effectively and humanely. Until the units were in place, these offenders—who were vulnerable, unable to cope and exhibited bizarre behaviour—were often segregated for their own protection.[13]

In 1997, the Forensic Psychiatric Institute (FPI) was unable to house extreme MDO cases due to overcrowding. In response, Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre developed a 13-bed mental health unit. The unit—developed by Ministry of Health and the Corrections Branch—co-ordinated correctional, health and mental health services to incarcerated MDOs and worked with the Inter-Ministerial Program (IMP) and Vancouver Disordered Offender Unit. Once again, the purpose of the mental health unit was to assist multi-problem offenders to reintegrate into the community.

To improve government services to mentally disordered offenders, the deputy ministers of Health, Social Services and the Attorney General approved the Inter-Ministerial Protocols for Persons with Mental or Physical Handicaps in the Criminal Justice System. These protocols were approved in 1993 and focused on improving the co-ordination and management of services to this offender group.

13 Refer to section 38.1 of the *Prisons and Reformatories Act.*

The Director of Adult Forensic Services, J.A. "Gus" Richardson, was seconded to the Corrections Branch as Director of Psychological Services to help implement the protocols. Corrections Branch staff took the lead in implementing the protocols and co-ordinating services with other agencies.

According to Richardson, the protocols "…are important for a number of reasons, but particularly due to the fact that they indicate that no one in B.C. should be denied services on the basis of being involved with the criminal justice system."[14]

Replacing and upgrading adult secure institutions

As noted during the reparation era, most of the adult and youth institutions of the Branch required upgrading or replacement. Many facilities were overcrowded due to increases in the population of offenders. While plans proceeded to replace the older facilities, conditions in these centres deteriorated.

In December 1987 and January 1988, a riot and mass escape highlighted the need to replace Oakalla and other aging facilities. The Drost Inquiry report[15] addressed issues arising from these incidents and called again for the facility to be closed. The report highlighted the overcrowded conditions, dilapidated state and antiquated security of Oakalla to emphasize that a replacement was urgently needed.

As a result of commitments from the reparation era, most secure institutions were replaced through the 1990s. Two community correctional centres were also replaced. Most of the planned new centres focused on housing remanded and higher risk offenders. Lower risk offenders were to be released into the community as soon as possible. The closure of several community correctional facilities and camps resulted from reduced numbers of offenders suitable for these levels of custody.

By early 1990, construction of Fraser Regional Correctional Centre (FRCC)—the second of the Oakalla replacement facilities—neared completion. Rene Gobillot left Oakalla to become the centre's first director. Deputy Director Grant Stevens became responsible for the closure of Oakalla.

FRCC, located in Maple Ridge, officially opened with a capacity of 254 beds for sentenced offenders in July 1990. Surrey Pretrial Services Centre (SPSC), the last of the replacement centres for the men's Oakalla facility, opened with a capacity of 150 beds in May 1991. This centre was designed to accommodate the remaining remand population at Oakalla. While Oakalla had the capacity to house more than 600 men, the three replacement facilities had a combined capacity of only 554.

An official ceremony closed Oakalla prison in July 1991. Following this event, the prison was

14 *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Spring 1994.

15 Released in November 1988. The Royal Commission of Inquiry, headed by Judge Ian L. Drost, was established under Order-in-Council No.1 (January 6, 1988) to review the escape of prisoners from the Lower Mainland Regional Correction Centre (Oakalla) on January 1, 1988.

Fraser Regional Correctional Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

open to public tours for two weeks. Oakalla was finally demolished in early 1992. Townhouses, condominiums and parkland now occupy the site.

Outside of the Lower Mainland, two prisons were scheduled for replacement: Kamloops Regional Correctional Centre (KRCC) and Prince George Regional Correctional Centre (PGRCC). VIRCC was upgraded in 1994 to enhance outside security and install additional beds.

The new KRCC opened in February 1989 with 160 beds. This facility expanded the capacity for the Interior of the province and allowed inmates from the Interior to be repatriated from the Lower Mainland. Thirty of the additional 52 beds were funded through federal cost-sharing to accommodate federally sentenced inmates.

PGRCC was the last of the secure facilities to be replaced. The new centre opened in 1996 with a capacity of 188—including 40 in double-bunking—and was built next to the old prison on the existing site. Additional beds at PGRCC increased the provincial capacity by seven. The replacement of PGRCC prompted criticism about the lack of a female correctional centre in Prince George.

Changes in design

The physical layout of the new secure centres substantially changed from that developed during the punishment era. The new centres incorporated the living unit concept, which provided a suitable setting for offender case management.[16]

16 John W. Ekstedt and Curt T. Griffiths, *Corrections in Canada: Policy and Practice* (Toronto, Butterworths Canada Ltd., 1988).

Last days of Oakalla (date: unkwown) Corrections Branch Archives

Under demolition (1992) Corrections Branch Archives

Kamloops Regional Correctional Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

Prince George Regional Correctional Centre (2003) Corrections Branch Archives

The institutional design created a role change for correctional officers who were expected to be involved in case management and program planning with inmates. In contrast, correctional officers at Oakalla were only involved as guards. According to an investigative report conducted at FRCC:

> The change in design and the requirement of case management was a radical change for staff that required a corresponding cultural change to be successful.[17]

To meet surveillance needs, the new centres increasingly relied on technological advances, rather than manual security. The Drost Report called for enhanced perimeter security through additional prowl officers and dog patrols. The new facilities featured:

- State-of-the-art security systems;
- Closed circuit television cameras mounted throughout the interior and exterior, to monitor movements of inmates and staff;
- Cameras and motion detectors, to supervise the perimeter of institutions; and
- Bullet-proof glass instead of iron bars.

Oakalla strong-room and armoury (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

17 Fraser Regional Correctional Centre investigation report. Inspection, Investigation and Standards Office, British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, 1997.

Oakalla perimeter security guard with 12 gauge, pump-action, shotgun (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

The switch to technology-based security systems resulted in the removal of firearms from B.C. correctional institutions. Firearms were rarely deployed, and it was expensive to train staff to use them. Corrections Branch management determined that firearms were better left to the police. Protocols were negotiated with the RCMP and municipal police forces to provide perimeter security in the event of an inmate disturbance. Traditionally used to prevent inmate escapes and disturbances, firearms were no longer used at secure centres once the outdated facilities were replaced.

Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women

Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (BCCW) opened in April 1991, replacing Lakeside Correctional Centre (on the Oakalla site) and Lynda Williams Community Correctional Centre. The facility had a capacity of 142 open and secure beds. The design incorporated the living unit concept and high-tech security measures.

East yard outside Lakeside Correctional Centre for Women (1988) Corrections Branch Archives

Entrance to Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

A joint endeavour of the federal and provincial governments, BCCW accommodated remanded and sentenced federal and provincial female offenders. Under the exchange of services agreement, up to 50 of the women could be federally sentenced inmates. The agreement would help the federal government to eventually close the Prison for Women in Kingston, Ontario, and allow women to serve their sentences closer to home.

Unlike other exchange of service agreements, the Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women (1990) did not apply provincial resource standards and levels of service to federally sentenced women. It recognized:

> ...that the Burnaby agreement is a unique agreement in that it incorporates resource standards and provides for ongoing involvement and joint federal/provincial responsibility for women transferred under this agreement.

The new women's centre offered solid benefits in programming. Some programs were transferred from Twin Maples Correctional Facility for Women to the open living unit at BCCW. They included the:

- Mother-child program, which allowed mothers to keep their new babies with them;
- Tailor shop;
- Ceramics program; and
- Kitchen and maintenance programs.

Correctional Officer, Leeanne Howard, frisks female inmate (2000) Corrections Branch Archives

New programs included:

- Day care for children of inmates, staff and community members;
- Sweat lodge for aboriginal inmates;
- Dog grooming and training—working with dogs from the community;
- Enhanced educational, work release and recreational programming;
- Improved community support and medical facilities; and
- Private family visiting program/residence.

Although BCCW provided improved conditions for female inmates, the centre was criticized. Many women in jail were still isolated from their families and communities. Given this factor, conditional release options were made available throughout B.C. for sentenced female offenders. These options included electronic monitoring and day parole with residential options.

For women from outside the Lower Mainland who were not eligible for conditional release, incarceration in the Lower Mainland was a hardship. In addition, it was no longer an option to house female offenders in male institutions. BCCW's private family visiting program helped offenders maintain contact with their families.

Impact of Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women in B.C.

In 1989, a Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women was initiated to develop a comprehensive strategy for the management of women offenders. The federal government endorsed its report, entitled *Creating Choices*, in September 1990.

The principles of the report served as a driving force for the closure of the Prison for Women. It recommended that five regional facilities be constructed as well as an aboriginal healing lodge. By 1997, four regional facilities and a healing lodge for aboriginal women opened. The first facility was the Okimaw Ohci healing lodge, in August 1995.

BCCW was constructed under the exchange of services agreement between the federal government and the province, to house federal and provincial women offenders. BCCW was expected to adhere to the principles embodied in the task force report. Consistent with the task force's recommendations, BCCW had a mother-child program since its inception.

The task force also recommended that the government develop a community release strategy. It would serve to expand and strengthen residential and non-residential programs and services for federally sentenced women on release.

BCCW canine kennels (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

Entrance to BCCW (2000) Corrections Branch Archives

In 1992, the gender bias committee of the Law Society of British Columbia published its report on *Gender Equality in the Justice System* and recommended that female offenders be housed in regional facilities. Comparing what was offered in institutions for men, the report criticized programming and educational services for women at BCCW.

The *Correctional and Conditional Release Act* (1992) and commitment by the Correctional Service of Canada resulted in improved services. BCCW offered treatment programs including cognitive skills, Breaking Barriers, anger management, substance abuse, parenting programs, and mental health and psychological services.

The old Terrace Community Correctional Centre (date: 1989) Photo: Courtesy of Rob Watts

Replacing open centres

In addition to replacing and improving secure institutions, the Corrections Branch rebuilt two open centres:

- In 1989, Chilliwack Community Correctional Centre was reconstructed. This increased its capacity from 18 to 23 plus dorms for an additional 12 inmates on weekends. The new facility included an attached work area and greenhouse.
- In July 1993, a new 24-bed Terrace Community Correctional Centre opened. The old facility, the former Blue Gables Motel, was described in 1991 as outdated and not meeting contemporary codes or standards.

Vancouver Jail project

In the mid-1990s, the Corrections Branch began a project to assume responsibility for operation of the Vancouver Police Jail. The project was intended to avoid duplication of services when police held remanded prisoners. Once renovated and integrated with Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre, the new Vancouver Jail brought together police, sheriffs and corrections in a single, more efficient operation.

Population surges in institutions

Public perception of rampant serious crime during the 1980s led to legislative and policy changes both nationally and provincially, which were intended to get tough on crime. While other jurisdictions experienced higher institutional counts,[18] B.C. managed to hold institutional counts relatively steady through the use of a variety of dispositions, from community alternatives to incarceration. This ability disappeared in the 1990s.

After a decade of no increases in adult institutional counts, the trend reversed in fiscal year 1991-92. During the 1990s, institutional counts rose continually from 1991-92 through 1997-98.[19] The number of offenders serving jail sentences grew at the same rate as the general population in the province (12%).

The rise in counts was attributed to the:

- Increase in dual status inmates (individuals sentenced and awaiting trial on additional charges);
- Number of immigration detainees; and
- Increase in remand population and longer stays in remand. Unsentenced offenders occupied approximately two-thirds of secure custody space. While the sentenced population growth peaked in 1995-96, the remand population continued to climb through 1999-2000.[20]

18 Corrections Branch Budget Estimates, 1992-93.

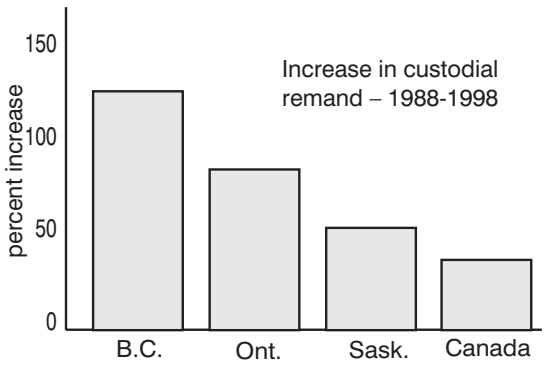
19 *Use of Custodial Remand in Canada*, Catalogue # 85-550 (Ottawa, Ontario: Statistics Canada, November 25, 1999).

20 Corrections Branch Management Committee, March 1993.

B.C. shows largest increases in custodial remand through the 1990s

The *Use of Custodial Remand in Canada* examined the trend of remanding people into custody while they awaited their next court appearance. In this study, it was reported that the number of adults remanded into custody represented a growing proportion of all individuals who were jailed.

In 1997-98, about half of all adults admitted to custody were on remand. The average increase across all jurisdictions between 1988 and 1998 was 39%. Increases in the number of remands varied widely among provinces and territories. British Columbia (128%) had the sharpest increase followed by Ontario (83%) and Saskatchewan (50%).



Addressing population growth in institutions

Until the construction of North Fraser Pretrial Centre in Port Coquitlam, all the replacement facilities of the Branch produced only a seven-bed increase in capacity. While the offender population in sentenced and remand custody continued to grow, there were no additional resources through most of the 1990s.

Because most provincial offenders served sentences of 90 days or less, early release options were developed for this group. For the remaining institutional population—the burgeoning remand population and a significantly hardened group of sentenced offenders—the Branch required additional secure custody space.

The pressure became acute by 1993. In March of that year, the count at Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre (VPSC) reached 197—or 47 more than the design capacity of 150. The Branch decided to use some beds at Fraser Regional Correctional Centre (FRCC) for remanded inmates and transfer inmates from VPSC to FRCC and Surrey Pretrial Services Centre (SPSC). At FRCC, counts averaged slightly below capacity (244 inmates with 254 available beds). SPSC counts averaged slightly above (155 with 150 available beds).

Once maximum bed capacity was reached, double-bunking became the only option. Additional beds were installed to address the increased population. In January 1994, 36 cells at SPSC received extra beds, increasing the institution's capacity from 150 to 186.

In 1994, the Corrections Branch instituted a double-bunking policy. It stated that double bunks were only to be used when:

- A centre's count exceeded the design capacity;
- No beds of an appropriate security level were available in other adjacent centres; or
- Transportation to such centres was impractical.

Promoting health of inmates

In September 1991, Branch management decided to develop a health promotion initiative to address the following issues:

- Smoke-free jails;
- Low fat or vegetarian diets;
- Infectious disease prevention;
- Provision of condoms; and
- Fitness programs within the organization.

No smoking policy in provincial jails

Although partially exempting correctional centres from the 1990 declaration of smoke-free government work sites in B.C., the deputy attorney general requested the Corrections Branch to plan for the elimination of smoking within centres. The Branch moved towards a smoking ban in adult centres as part of its health promotion initiative, and Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre introduced a total smoking ban in September 1993. Garnering a fair amount of media coverage in Vancouver, the plan included the following components:

- Restricting smoking to outdoor patios and gym yard;
- Limiting inmates' purchase of cigarettes to one package per week; and
- Offering reduction programs to inmates in the first month of the new policy to assist in the transition.

Changes in food and nutrition standards

The standard Branch menu was revised to include healthier choices. As part of this process, guidelines for food and nutrition were created. Following these guidelines, a new menu was developed for adult males, females and youths. In addition, the standard menu included a vegetarian alternative menu. These changes responded to numerous requests from inmates and the ombudsman's office for meals that conformed to special dietary requirements.[21]

Strategies to combat the spread of infectious diseases

In the 1980s, the Corrections Branch acknowledged the spread of AIDS, hepatitis and other infectious diseases. Responding primarily through education, the Branch distributed a new policy in 1989 on infection control and guidelines for prevention and education.[22]

This policy required correctional centre directors, in conjunction with health care

21 Special dietary requirements may arise due to health issues, or for religious reasons.

22 *Institutional Services Manual of Operations*, British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, March 1989.

professionals, to develop and implement comprehensive educational programs for staff and inmates. Procedures were outlined to deal with inmates who had an infectious disease. It introduced the concept of universal precautions—the handling of body fluids of all inmates as if potentially infectious. Basic training for correctional officers included a component on communicable diseases, including AIDS. Written and video materials were available to staff and inmates at each institution.

HIV and other infectious diseases were increasing in both the community and correctional centre populations. Despite attempts to address the importation and use of drugs in correctional centres, drug use by inmates continued to be a problem. Western countries recognized the disease transmission problem, and were implementing harm reduction measures.[23]

The Branch funded a three-month study to test the prevalence of HIV infection among provincial inmates in late 1992.[24] In addition to determining rates of infection, the study assessed how rates of infection varied according to inmate demographics and risk behaviours, such as injection drug use. Results from this study revealed that HIV had "established a clear foothold in inmate populations" with a 1.1% infection rate among male inmates, and an alarmingly high rate of 3.3% among women inmates.

In step with the advice suggested in this report, the Branch started to adopt harm reduction strategies to address the significant risk of disease transmission in correctional centres. Over time, the following measures were initiated:

- Bleach was provided for cleaning injection, tattooing and piercing equipment;
- Condoms and lubricant were made available to prevent sexual transmission of diseases;
- Methadone treatment was introduced to help eliminate the craving for heroin and its associated high-risk injection practices; and
- Individuals leaving custody were encouraged to use community needle exchange programs.

In addition to harm reduction, HIV testing and pre and post-test counselling were deemed essential to stem the spread of infection among inmates. They also complemented the promotion of infection awareness that was conveyed through individual and group HIV educational sessions. Other strategies to combat the spread of diseases included:

- Vaccination for hepatitis A and B, pneumococcal pneumonia and influenza; and
- Testing, counselling and treatment for tuberculosis, and hepatitis A, B and C.

Impact of the Cain Report

In 1993, as a result of a growing number of B.C. deaths due to illicit narcotic overdoses, the Government of British Columbia requested the Chief Coroner, Vince Cain, to conduct an

23 Harm reduction is an approach that seeks to reduce the harmful consequences of drug use, such as HIV and hepatitis C, without necessarily reducing drug consumption. It emphasizes risk behaviour prevention (e.g. using clean needles, reducing injecting frequency, not sharing needles, treatment with methadone) rather than the elimination of drug use.

24 Dr. Diane A. Rothon, et al, *Canadian Medical Association Journal,* 151 (6), Canadian Medical Association, 1994, pp. 781-787.

investigation. The report of the Task Force into Illicit Narcotic Overdose Deaths in British Columbia (Cain Report) was presented to the Attorney General in September 1994.

The Cain Report became public in January 1995. It contained 62 recommendations, 15 of which were directed to the Ministry of Attorney General. An inter-ministry group was formed to co-ordinate a response to the report.

Drug interdiction strategy to reduce flow of illegal drugs

In 1994, the Corrections Branch introduced a zero drug tolerance policy as part of a greater harm reduction strategy. The purpose of zero tolerance was to enhance the safety of staff and reduce the risk of infection for inmates. As part of this program, centres took the following measures:

- Enhanced staff training in the detection and interception of drug activities;
- Developed information packages detailing dangers associated with drug use in correctional centres;
- Increased inspection of living areas for hidden drugs; and
- Introduced a drug dog detection pilot project.[25]

As part of the local implementation of this strategy, Fraser Regional Correctional Centre started the internal preventive security officer (IPSO) program. This program, patterned after the Correctional Service of Canada's IPSO program, gathered intelligence to stop importation and internal distribution of drugs within the centre.

Harm reduction committee

The Corrections Branch established a harm reduction committee in 1995. Its task was to review procedures in correctional centres regarding prevention of infectious diseases. This included reviewing the suitability of methadone and needle exchange programs. The Branch's Director of Health Services, Dr. Diane Rothon, chaired the committee of Branch medical and operational staff.

The goal of the committee was to improve working conditions for staff by reducing the incidence of hepatitis, HIV and other highly contagious diseases in correctional centres. In September 1996, after a year of study, the committee submitted its report. Its recommendations, which senior management endorsed, included:

- Making methadone maintenance available for treating adult inmates;
- Ensuring access to bleach for cleaning injection, piercing and tattooing equipment;
- Implementing a comprehensive drug interdiction strategy based on zero tolerance;
- Providing universal availability of effective alcohol and drug treatment programs;
- Providing substance abuse treatment within adult and youth custody centres;
- Accrediting agencies that deliver alcohol and drug services within the correctional system; and

25 Dogs were trained in drug detection at a correctional centre in Washington State. There was a relationship both at an operational and training level between the Branch's drug dog program and the Correctional Service of Canada's program. The CSC program pre-dates the Branch's program. Staff and managers valued this program. (Refer to Bob Stewart, "Review of Drug Interdiction Programs in Correctional Centres," British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1997.)

- Applying therapeutic guidelines for acute substance withdrawal.

Because of risk and liability, a needle exchange program was not recommended. Although some recommendations were only partially implemented, improvements were still achieved.

The committee discovered that the availability of bleach varied across correctional centres. Access and distribution of bleach was subsequently improved. Similar policies with respect to condoms and bleach were implemented in youth custody facilities, after consultation with the ministries of Health and Social Services.

The report also called for security measures, including:

- Anti-drug initiatives relating to visits;
- Drug detection dogs;
- Internal preventive security officers (IPSO) at all institutions;
- Security screening during the selection of employees, contractors and volunteers in contact with inmates;
- Effective inter-agency collaboration; and
- Severe sanctions for inmates found in possession of illicit drugs.

As soon as Branch physicians were trained and licensed for prescribing methadone, the availability of methadone to inmates followed. While the committee continued to meet occasionally and provide updates to the Assistant Deputy Minister about harm reduction initiatives, the committee was disbanded in 2001.

Methadone therapy policy

Prior to 1992, the Branch expected inmates on methadone maintenance programs to withdraw from methadone when they entered custody. In 1992, after becoming aware of the danger of miscarriage if methadone was terminated, the Branch allowed methadone maintenance therapy for incarcerated pregnant women.

Medical literature suggested that persons with AIDS, cardiac illness and hepatitis might also be adversely affected if methadone was withdrawn. In May 1996, the Branch allowed methadone in cases when, in the opinion of the centre's physician, withdrawal would have adverse affects. The policy of methadone maintenance was expanded in September 1996 to include inmates were who were on a recognized methadone maintenance program in the community.

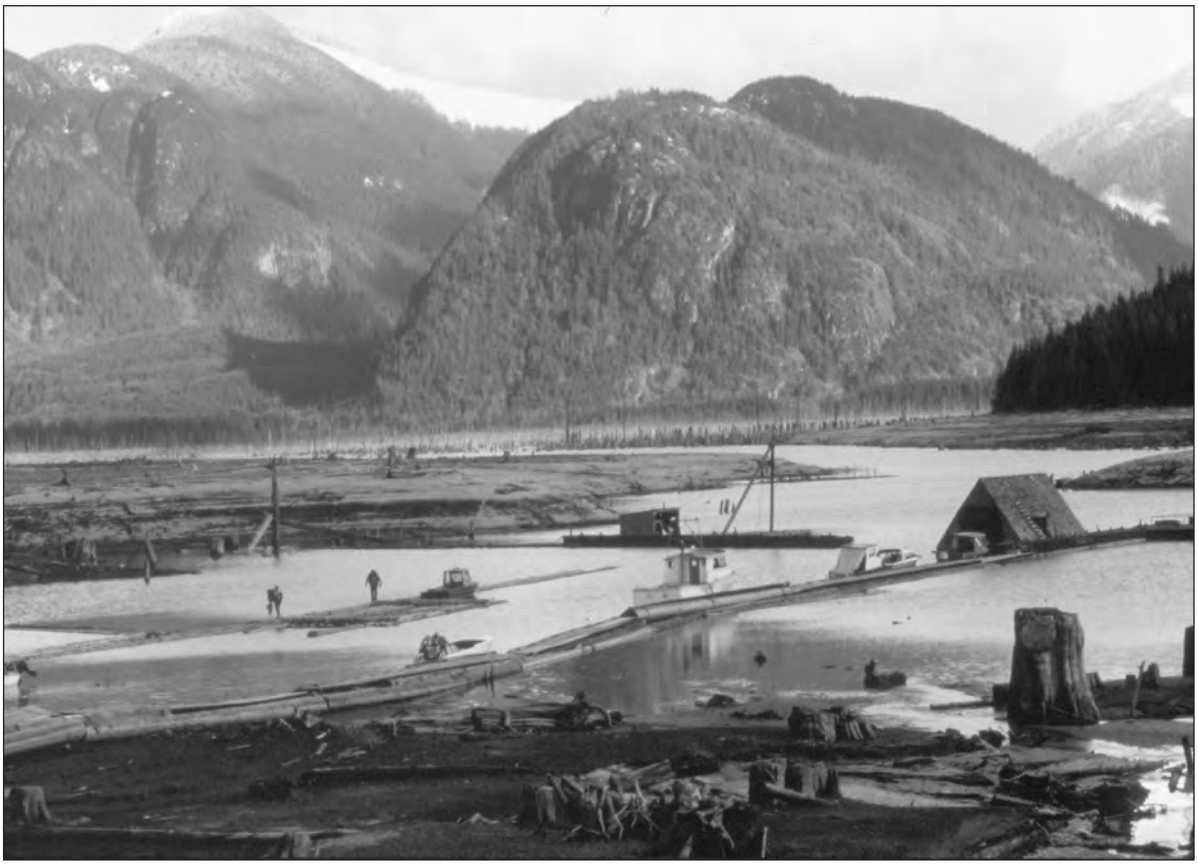
Following senior management's endorsement of the harm reduction committee recommendations, the Branch reviewed whether an inmate in custody could start a methadone maintenance program. By 2000, methadone induction was prescribed for selected cases in most correctional centres, provided resources were available.

A generally positive effect was noted for inmates who continued established methadone maintenance programs after admission. According to Dr. Rothon, it "greatly reduced drug withdrawal, drug seeking, treatment compliance problems and needle use in jail."[26]

26 Dr. Diane A. Rothon, "Update on Harm Reduction Strategies in B.C. Corrections," British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, Health Services, 2000.

Privatization of health care and food services

In keeping with government's continued focus on fiscal responsibility, health and food services were privatized during the 1990s. In some institutions, health care services were privatized in 1991. Food services were also privatized in the early 1990s. To provide cost savings, food services were amalgamated into one contract so that there was only one service provider for the entire province. This step resulted in considerable cost savings to the Branch.



Wood salvage at Stave Lake (1985) Corrections Branch Archives

Inmate work programs

Inmate work programs continued to be an important focus for incarcerated offenders. Rehabilitation required the development of employment skills, because a lack of such skills was related to criminal behaviour. The emphasis on employment programs and the need to operate in a fiscally restrained environment resulted in innovative development of inmate work programs.

The waste plastic material recycling program at Fraser Regional Correctional Centre was one of

Cedar shake program at Stave Lake (1985) Corrections Branch Archives

these programs. This type of initiative is costly to operate in the community, but by working with the Branch, operating costs were reduced. This work program reduced environmental impact by decreasing plastic in landfills. A similarly beneficial program operated at Alouette River Correctional Centre where inmates recycled old computers by breaking them down into their component parts.

The Branch also delivered programs in partnership with other government agencies. This type of work program dates back to the colonial era when inmate labour was used for construction of government buildings and roads. The BELL-COR Netpen Project[27] at Alouette River Corrections Centre (ARCC) exemplified such a partnership.

Established in 1991 as a joint project involving B.C. Corrections, B.C. Ministry of Environment and BC Hydro, this fisheries project was set up to improve sport fishery stocks and provide employment for inmates at

27 BELL-COR fisheries project pamphlet, produced by BC Hydro, Alouette River Correctional Centre, Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch and Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks.

Hatchery program at Stave Lake Correctional Centre (1980s) Corrections Branch Archives

ARCC hatchery dedication (1991)
Corrections Branch Archives

Sayers Lake fish-rearing facility at Stave Lake Correctional Centre (date: unknown)
Corrections Branch Archives

Inmates collecting fish for hatchery program (1988)
Corrections Branch Archives

ARCC. A net pen facility was constructed on the east side of Alouette Lake, 3.5 km north of the Alouette Dam. This facility allowed juvenile rainbow and cutthroat trout to be raised for release into Alouette and Hayward Lakes. In 1996-97, there were 1,500 cutthroat and 50,000 rainbow trout net pen releases.

Managing community caseloads

Caseload classification system

Similar to the experience of correctional institutions, community corrections faced significant growth in caseloads without an increase in fiscal resources. The first attempt to manage community staff resources and identify high-risk offenders was the pilot caseload classification system.[28]

In September 1989, senior management approved the concept of caseload classification to assist probation officers in managing these tasks. A working committee developed the system and the pilot project commenced in October 1991. Two classification systems were tested in eight community offices. Five of the offices used a modified Ontario classification model. Three offices used a modified Wisconsin assessment.

Evaluation of the caseload classification project suggested that the introduction of classification systems did not change case planning or offender management practices. It simply confirmed the professional judgment of probation officers. Because the instruments required additional time to complete, the Branch rejected implementation of either model.

Surge in community caseloads

Community caseloads steadily increased during the 1980s while the Corrections Branch sought to address pressures on its institutions. During the 1980s, the average community caseload rose 19.4%—from 13,456 to 16,063.

In the 1990s, this pressure on the community continued to mount. The bail supervision caseload grew by 225% between 1991-92 and 1997-98. Overall probation caseloads increased by 60% and affected the ability of probation officers to manage their family justice responsibilities.

28 Prior to the pilot project, the Fraser Region tested a classification instrument in 1983-84. After reviewing the project, the Branch did not proceed with province-wide implementation.

Caseload capping

In the early 1990s, the Branch considered creating the community equivalent of an institutional bedload plan.[29] This plan would allow overcrowding when caseloads reached a certain level. Information in the plan would also justify seeking additional resources from the Treasury Board.

Although the plan was attempted, probation officers experienced difficulty capping their caseloads or refusing service to clients. One exception was in the Interior region, where they refused bail supervision cases. The administrative procedures of probation officers were also reviewed so they could spend less time on file work.

In 1993-94, additional probation officers were allocated. The boost in resources still did not address the number of offenders under community supervision. Created in response to the Gamache case, the additional positions were intended to monitor sex offenders and other high-risk individuals under community supervision.

Risk-based offender management was introduced in 1995-96. Accounting for factors related to risk, a probation officer determined when it was acceptable to terminate supervision of individual offenders through:

- Administrative closure[30] of a case file; or
- Return of the case to court for review and early termination.

Generally, these measures would apply to low supervision cases. They would also be considered after the offender satisfied one-sixth of a sentence or 60 days following intake.

Safety concerns in community offices

When the number of high-risk offenders supervised in the community increased, probation offices raised safety concerns. The installation of security devices upgraded offices by making them more secure. Safety of administrative staff was a concern, given that they are often the first staff to come in contact with offenders. Shirley Maniec, Executive Assistant in the ADM's Office, highlighted this problem:

Bill Foster, Regional Director, Interior Region, at golden anniversary of probation services in B.C. (in Kelowna, 1992) Corrections Branch Archives

29 A bedload plan determines the capacity of a correctional centre. This planned capacity enables management to identify when overcrowding occurs so that additional resources can be considered.

30 Administrative closure of a file means that although the file is open, the offender has minimal contact with the probation officer. Changes of address or employment might be reported to the supervising office.

Admin support staff are often alone in the probation office and deal with difficult clients. Members of the public are frequently not happy and tend to take it out on the first people they encounter. I have a great deal of respect for people in admin support who are in these higher risk positions.

In family offices as well, there's a high degree of emotional charge when children are involved and there are custody and access issues. The administrative support staff in these situations are vulnerable, and probably don't get the recognition they deserve.

People don't know the risk they assume every day at work, or the abuse that is sometimes directed at them. An administrative support position is not always typing and answering the phone. It takes a special person to deal with people who are irate.[31]

Terminal temporary absences

Adding to the pressure of overcrowding in correctional centres, there was political pressure to spend less. The Branch responded to these concerns in 1993 by releasing offenders serving short sentences (seven days or less) for defaulting on a court-ordered fine. These releases were called terminal temporary absences.

This type of temporary absence release, with conditions, was not unusual. Such a process had been around since the late 1980s. However, the Branch's action received negative media attention. This was because offenders were being placed in the community through the temporary absence process without also being placed on the electronic monitoring program. Ironically, many higher risk offenders were already in the community on probation and other court orders.

Implementation of the electronic monitoring program (EMP) began in 1987. The Corrections Branch used EMP as a classification option. While electronic monitoring was not a sentencing option for the courts, recommendations from the court were strongly considered. Offenders were placed on the program if they met the criteria, but exceptions could be made with the approval of a regional director.

Initially, this program targeted the intermittent population (inmates serving their sentence on weekends in jail) and offenders whose sentences did not exceed 90 days.[32] The criteria were later expanded to include offenders serving continuous sentences of up to four months.

Integration of parole and temporary absence EMP

For some time, attempts were made to reduce overcrowding in prisons by moving offenders into community supervision. These efforts re-ignited controversy about the authority to make releasing decisions.

31 "Interview: Shirley Maniec in recognition of administrative support staff," *CorrTech Quarterly* #24, Spring 2000, pp. 6-7.

32 L. Neville, *Electronic Monitoring System for Offender Supervision*, EMS Pilot Project Evaluation, Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Solicitor General, 1989.

When the B.C. Parole Board was created in 1980, the Branch agreed to discontinue use of back-to-back temporary absences. It subsequently reinstated them to address institutional overcrowding and support the EMP program. The Parole Board (which released offenders on parole) and Corrections Branch authorities (who released offenders on temporary absence) were in direct competition for clientele.

Pilot projects were launched during the 1990s that attempted to co-ordinate the release of inmates from provincial institutions with the Parole Board's authority for release. These pilots were intended to increase offenders under community supervision and reintegrate higher risk offenders through enhanced supervision and programming.

This division of release authority was not borne out in practice. One problem was that the process was confusing to inmates. According to Irene Heese, then Chair of the Parole Board, inmates were unclear about whether to be released on a temporary absence through EMP or parole. Experienced inmates "shopped" for their best release option.

It was more expedient for the Corrections Branch to release offenders on EMP because less preparation was required. Parole involved a more intensive community release plan. In some cases, the Parole Board determined that when offenders presented themselves, their cases were not properly prepared for release.

Because the Parole Board is bound by law to have certain information and records for review at a hearing, it was not able to hear a case if records were incomplete. Some offenders were also placed on EMP just prior to their parole hearing. Many low-risk cases that would have been good candidates for parole were consequently released to EMP.

By April 1994, EMP as a condition of full parole was approved for all regions. The Branch subsequently decided that EMP should also be used for day parole. This allowed the offender to be confined at home rather than sleep in a community-based residential centre.

As of 2001, the Parole Board retained access to the electronic monitoring technology that commenced in 1987. Once the Parole Board became the primary releasing authority, the problem of integrating the Parole Board and Corrections Branch as the two releasing authorities was finally resolved.

EMP versus parole: An offender's perspective

For offenders, it was not difficult to choose between EMP and parole. After serving two-thirds of their sentence on EMP, an offender could be released on good behaviour because EMP was considered a jail sentence. With the alternative—parole—the entire sentence had to be served under supervision in the community. The process of getting out on EMP was also quicker.

Alternative measures

The increased numbers of individuals entering the criminal justice system during the 1990s led to strategies to keep offenders out of the formal justice system. The introduction of Bill C-41 by the federal government gave the provinces legislative authority to implement alternative measures programs.[33]

In anticipation of enacting Bill C-41, the Branch implemented alternative measures programs throughout the province as part of a response to reduce the backlog in adult criminal provincial court. The programs, delivered by community alternative measures contractors, received direct referrals from Crown counsel.

Alternative measures refer to non-judicial proceedings that dealt with criminal offences with minimal intervention. They applied when there was no risk of compromising public safety. When an offender did not complete conditions of the alternative measures agreement, legislation allowed prosecution of the original offence. The program provided a cost-effective alternative to processing low-risk offenders through the criminal justice system.

Alternative measures programs, in addition to community accountability and diversion initiatives, provided forms of restorative justice. The programs removed low-risk offenders with minor crimes from the courts. They also focused on relationships involving the offender, victim and community to produce meaningful consequences for crimes. While victims of crime were given a voice through alternative measures, offenders had an opportunity to accept responsibility for their actions and make amends to individuals they had harmed.

Community accountability programs are diversion programs operated by community groups. Referrals to such programs come from the police. While several community accountability programs (e.g. family group conferencing, neighbourhood accountability boards/panels and circle remedies) existed, they were not consistently available province-wide.

In contrast, alternative measures programs were based on referrals by Crown counsel after the police decided to lay charges. Corrections Branch staff in the Community Corrections Division managed contracts for the delivery of these programs to agencies such as Elizabeth Fry Society and John Howard Society. Once a referral was made to a community agency, an offender interview was conducted and the agency drafted an agreement setting out how the offender would make amends for the crime.

Examples of alternative measures agreements have included:

- Completion of community service hours;
- Drug and alcohol programs;
- Apology or restoration of property to the victim;
- Shoplifter's responsibility program;
- Referrals for special needs clients, such as new immigrants and the mentally disadvantaged.

Victim/offender reconciliation and neighbourhood accountability programs have also been a part of alternative measures agreements.

33 Although Bill C-41 was not enacted until 1995, it received second reading on October 18, 1994.

Population growth in the youth system

Consistent with the experience in the adult correctional system, youth corrections faced overcrowding concerns in the 1990s. Following implementation of the *Young Offenders Act* (YOA) in 1984, youth counts initially rose slowly, ending a period of dramatic decrease.

Implementation of the uniform maximum age (17 years old) increased youth counts in adult centres. The YOA also affected the population in youth custody centres. In B.C., the count rose from an annual average of 139 in 1980-81 to 314 in 1990-91.

Similar to the adult system, there was a lack of resources to deal with the dramatic increase in the youth population in custody. In May 1989, the federal government announced that cost-sharing for initiatives associated with implementing the *Young Offenders Act* would be frozen at fiscal year 1988-1989 expenditure levels for the next five years. The Branch considered cost reduction strategies and options for the closure of youth facilities. In 1990, the youth containment centres in Nanaimo and Prince George closed.

By 1993, overcrowding in youth custody facilities was greater than in adult facilities and double-bunking was routine.[34] This prompted attempts to address the growing youth population.

Outdated facilities

Like adult correctional centres, several youth custody facilities were outdated and needed replacement. Ombudsman reports (1985, 1989, 1994) called for new facilities.

The Branch viewed replacement of Willingdon Youth Detention Centre (WYDC) as critical, due to reports of peer abuse within the facility. The design of WYDC made supervision of residents difficult. In 1985, the ombudsman recommended construction of a new custody centre that would maximize staff-resident interaction and enable staff to maintain effective supervision.

The problems in youth custody centres—including victimization of youth, inadequate programs and services and inadequately trained staff—were highlighted in a government report.[35] Design of the facilities was a major issue. Victoria Youth Custody Centre, for example, was viewed as institutionalized in appearance, cramped, with no room for needed program expansion and lacking "green outdoor space" for activities outside.

The report asserted that new facilities should reflect architecture that was less institutional, and more residential in character. The design would emphasize rehabilitation to youth rather than punishment. The ombudsman also stated that there should be a complete overhaul of youth correctional services. To meet the

34 Branch Management Committee discussion paper, Corrections Branch, November 1993.

35 Dulcie McCallum, *Building Respect: A Review of Youth Custody Centres in British Columbia*, Public Report No. 34, Ombudsman of B.C., Legislative Assembly, Victoria, B.C., 1994.

principles outlined in the report, the government should create a separate ministry.

By the time of the public report's release in 1994, the Branch was planning to replace WYDC and Victoria Youth Custody Centre with three new custody centres. The plan was to divide the Willingdon complex into two smaller, separate facilities with one facility in the Fraser Valley. The new centres were expected to address many of the concerns raised by the ombudsman regarding program space, overcrowding and poor conditions.

Difficulties arose with the replacement of Willingdon Youth Custody Centre. The public was opposed to the proposed new location of the facility.

Meanwhile, separate rooms were being developed at Boulder Bay Camp to allow for more privacy. A living unit was reconstructed at Lakeview Camp. Staff were also receiving additional training. Following the report on youth custody centres, the Branch began working with the Justice Institute to develop specialized training for staff working in the centres.

The construction of new youth centres was scheduled for completion by 1997. However, planning was halted before a shovel even hit the ground. Renewed planning for the replacement of youth centres had to wait until the late 1990s.

Addressing the challenges of overcrowding

By 1992, overcrowding in the open custody facilities within Vancouver Island Region became a problem. Guthrie House and staff cottages on the site of Nanaimo Correctional Centre were converted into an open custody facility for youth. On the same property, Campbell House became Nanaimo Youth Custody Centre—a medium security institution. In 1989, the Campbell House unit was closed and the new Prince George Youth Custody Centre was opened to help resolve overcrowding.

Due to overcrowding in youth facilities, the Branch considered using an unoccupied unit with 25-34 vacant secure beds at Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women (BCCW). At the time, release options were provided so women could serve their sentences closer to home. This factor decreased the population at BCCW to approximately 80 inmates.

Despite the use of this facility, overcrowding in youth custody continued. In 1996, additional bunks were installed at the Victoria Youth Custody Centre to alleviate overcrowding.

Use of terminal temporary absences

The youth custody system, like the adult system, gave priority to the development of early release options to reduce overcrowding. These options were also considered more cost effective than building new facilities.

One option for early release was the terminal temporary absence program that was introduced in 1991 as a response to severe overcrowding. Terminal temporary absences were granted in the last one-third of a sentence, and provided an efficient avenue for early release of young offenders from custody. In 1991-92, 36% of all releases from custody were through terminal temporary absences. In 1992-93 and 1993-94, this increased to 42% and 50% of releases, respectively.

New Haven administrative building (2001)
Corrections Branch Archives

Cottages at New Haven (2001)
Corrections Branch Archives

In 1993, the escape and subsequent reoffending of two young offenders brought early release and transfer procedures for youth into disrepute.

Danny Perrault was sentenced in 1991 as a young offender to a three-year secure custody sentence. This sentence was for a manslaughter conviction in which he beat an elderly man to death. In 1993, he was sentenced as an adult to 45 days for failure to return to Willingdon Youth Detention Centre from a temporary absence pass. After completing his escape sentence, he was transferred to New Haven.

After only 10 days at New Haven, Perrault walked away. While unlawfully at large, he broke into an apartment and sexually assaulted a 28-year-old woman. He was then sentenced to 14 years for break and enter, and sexual assault. He received a consecutive eight-month sentence for being unlawfully at large.

The Correction Branch Inspection and Standards Division prepared an investigative report on the matter. Senior Branch staff received the report and restricted use of the temporary absence policy for Willingdon. Clarification was also made regarding the chain of command to be followed in release decisions.

When the report was released to the public in April 1994, significant portions were deleted because of the non-disclosure and non-publication provisions in the *Young Offenders Act* and *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*. This editing process, and the perception that the Corrections Branch hid facts and protected individuals, encouraged the public's mistrust in the report and the Branch:

> Within days it became evident to the Attorney General that public confidence in the administration of justice was being undermined by these events to a degree, which called upon him to appoint an independent commission of inquiry.[36]

Justice Jo-Ann E. Prowse was appointed to inquire and report "...on the process and procedure followed by the Ministry of Attorney

36 Justice Jo-Ann E. Prowse, Commission of Inquiry, Report on the Transfer of Daniel Michael Perrault to the New Haven Correctional Centre, 1994.

General in transferring Mr. Perrault to New Haven and on any public safety issues arising from the transfer."[37]

In May 1994, before the release of the Prowse Report, the temporary absence policy was amended for youth programs. This move reflected the increased concern for public protection in releasing decisions. Discussing offender risk and public safety, the Prowse Report stated:

> In considering public safety, staff should be careful not to confuse risk to public safety with security/non-compliance. For example, a young person may be a high public safety risk but a low security/non-compliance risk, or vice versa. Even though the young person may be a low security/non-compliance risk, public safety must be the paramount consideration.[38]

This statement exemplified the problem that arose in the Perrault case. Evidence supported the view that Perrault was a low security/non-compliance risk, despite his failure to return on a prior temporary absence. However, sufficient consideration was not given to the danger Perrault presented to the public if he were to escape, particularly if he consumed drugs or alcohol while at large.

The Perrault incident and ensuing Prowse inquiry made Branch staff more cautious about releasing inmates on temporary absences. Youth custody and community staff were anxious about their personal responsibility. The pressure was on them to ensure that the right decisions were made whenever early release was considered.

Following the Perrault case—and the case of Jason Gamache that occurred soon after—the trend to use terminal temporary absences as an early release mechanism was effectively stopped. Only 16% of early releases were through terminal TAs in 1994-95. The ombudsman's annual report in May 1995 criticized the Branch for this "virtual elimination" of temporary absences. The Prowse Commission was blamed for reduced use of this program. Although there were fewer temporary absence releases from youth custody, they were primarily from secure custody.

The Perrault case was influential in terms of the Branch's adoption of risk assessment tools, which provided a more systematic approach to assessing the risks and needs of an offender.

Policy amendments regarding transfers to adult centres

Several changes occurred as a result of the recommendations of the Prowse Report. These changes went beyond the temporary absence policy. On April 1994, youth policy regarding transfers to adult custody was amended to move decision-making authority to a higher level.

The amendments specified the regional director as the person ultimately responsible for the decision to classify a youth to an adult correctional centre. Prior to this amendment, there was a lack of clarity regarding who had the authority to make the decision—the director of the youth custody centre or director of the receiving adult custody centre.

37 Section 8, *Inquiry Act*.

38 Prowse, 1994.

Policy changes required a joint plan for young offenders. In addition, the regional director had to approve the plan prior to the court application for transfer. This eliminated last-minute transfer decisions such as occurred in the Perrault case. It also removed the final decision from individuals who had direct responsibility for the young offender. Presumably, there would be more objectivity to the process.

Youth alternatives to custody

In the early 1990s, additional funds were allocated to the Branch to develop alternatives to custody programs. Dedicated funds were also received to develop alternatives to custody for aboriginal young offenders.

Regional contract co-ordinators were hired in 1992 to assess and develop alternatives to custody and supervision resources. In addition, efforts were made to co-ordinate and evaluate youth programs (residential and non-residential) to reduce admissions to custody.

Alternatives to custody included:

- Programs jointly funded with the Ministry of Social Services (e.g. Prince George and Terrace);
- Residential facility for native youth[39] in the Fraser Valley;
- Community supervision of youth sex offenders in the Vancouver Region; and a
- Youth attendance program for sex offenders operated by the John Howard Society in co-operation with Social Services, Education and Health.

The ombudsman's report (1994) recommended that the Branch develop government operated open custody programs in local communities to serve as an intermediary resource between residential attendance programs and secure custody. Closer to home, open custody options—such as community residential centres and group homes—were generally not available to youth. Although many youths required more control than contracted attendance programs, they did not need the restriction of being held in a secure or remotely located custody facility.

At the time of the report, there were three isolated forest/wilderness camps—Lakeview, Centre Creek and High Valley—as well as two residential centres and one group home in Burnaby. Development of this intermediary resource was viewed as consistent with the *Young Offenders Act*,[40] which promoted the principle of minimal interference with freedom.

Residential attendance programs were considered a suitable alternative to developing other open custody options. Youth participated in residential attendance programs by court order while on probation. Application of residency requirements were generally handled by probation officers who had authority in the probation order to instruct the youth to reside where directed.

39 This followed from a consultative process involving the Ministry of Attorney General and aboriginal communities and organizations to create program options suitable to First Nations people. It was considered particularly important to develop suitable options that would assist with post-release placement. Many aboriginal youth were serving lengthier sentences in custody. There was also a disproportionate increase in aboriginal offenders in custody following introduction of the YOA in 1984.

40 Section 3(f), *Young Offenders Act*.

Residential resource for aboriginal youth on probation

In 1992, Swo Weles Lalem became the first community residential resource developed for native youth probationers. Located in the Fraser Valley, the program was for youth probationers between the ages of 12 to 17. The seven-bed facility was staffed primarily by First Nations people and included an educational program as well as psychological, recreational, cultural and spiritual components.

Swo Weles Lalem was located in a former residential school in Mission, B.C. and accepted referrals from throughout the province. The program assisted youth by enhancing their culture and heritage. Youth were sent to the program for up to six months as a condition of a probation order. The Chilliwack probation office managed the contract.

Conditional supervision for young offenders

Parliament proclaimed an *Act to Amend the Young Offenders Act and the Criminal Code* on December 1, 1995.[41] This represented the most significant change to the youth justice system since the introduction of the YOA in 1984.

The legislation involved major changes affecting young offenders, from investigative procedures through judicial intervention, to administration of dispositions and maintenance of records. The spirit of the YOA, embodied in the Declaration of Principle, was modified to reflect new approaches in achieving two primary objectives of the system—rehabilitation of offenders and protection of the public.

This amendment introduced conditional supervision to protect the public. It also offered a gradual release program that would assist the reintegration of youth into the community. Conditional supervision is like adult parole, except the court makes the decisions. It allows a youth court to make an order, with conditions, to release a youth from custody.

Conditional supervision is an option for all offences.[42] For offences of first degree and second-degree murder, conditional supervision may be ordered as part of the disposition, following the custodial portion of the sentence. A conditional supervision order is in effect until the end of the custodial disposition, unless it is suspended. Changes to the conditional supervision order or status require a youth court review.

Development of specialized programs

Specialized programs for young offenders, such as sex offender programs, emerged during the 1990s. In the 1980s, young offenders from two facilities that specialized in the management of sex offenders attended outpatient sex offender treatment programs run by Forensic Psychiatric Services in Burnaby.

A residential attendance program, attended as a condition of probation, was established in Burnaby. Prince George Youth Custody Centre developed a sex offender assessment and therapy program in the 1990s. During the same period, residential programs for young sex offenders were developed as probation resources in Campbell River, Victoria and Terrace.

41 Bill C-37.

42 Pursuant to sections 28 and 29 of the *Young Offenders Act*.

Integration of services

During the 1990s, criticism mounted about the lack of a co-ordinated service system for youth among the ministries responsible for delivering services to children and youth.

Several attempts were made to correct this lack of co-ordination and integration of child and youth services. One public report evolved from an investigation of Eagle Rock Youth Ranch. A 15-year-old ward of Social Services who resided at the ranch died in a fire set by two other young residents.[43]

The report reinforced the need to integrate services. It was also necessary to strengthen safeguards to ensure adequate protection and fair treatment of children and youth with special needs. At the time, nine provincial authorities and eight ministries shared responsibility and provided services to children, youth and families.

The report contained 17 recommendations, including the creation of a single authority within government. It would have:

> ...a formal mandate, executive powers and an adequate resource base to ensure uniform, integrated and client-centred provincial approaches to policy setting, planning and administration of publicly funded services to children, youths and their families.

The deputy ministers and assistant deputy ministers' committees on social policy agreed that fragmentation of services for children and families was a problem. The ombudsman therefore recommended that this committee establish a child and youth secretariat consisting of four assistant deputy ministers (from the Ministries of Education, Health, Attorney General and Social Services) and four senior staff. The secretariat's mandate was to:

- Monitor cross-ministry projects and protocols;
- Ensure integrated approaches to policy development and program planning;
- Ensure the effective operation of IMCCs[44] (inter-ministerial children's committees);
- Establish meaningful communication links among the Child and Youth Secretariat, IMCCs and communities;
- Establish formal links with the ombudsman office's child and youth team to monitor issues of mutual concern and address recommendations in the report;
- Undertake a comprehensive review of child, youth and family justice services in B.C.; and
- In consultation with communities, recommend improvements in provincial approaches to integration. These recommendations would be made to government within two years.

The deputy ministers' committee on social policy assumed responsibility for co-ordination of services at the provincial level in 1990.[45] A child and youth secretariat was created. IMCCs, organized at regional and local levels across the province, were replaced by 11 regional and 90 local child and youth committees (CYC).

43 *Public Services to Children, Youth and Their Families in British Columbia: The Need for Integration*, Public Report No. 22, Ombudsman of B.C., Victoria, B.C., 1990.

44 These committees were responsible for inter-ministry planning and management of "hard to serve" youth between the ages of 12 and 19.

45 This followed the Ombudsman's Public Report No. 22, 1990.

Despite these measures, there were still problems providing services to youth.

Making the youth system more "grown up"

During this time, a major criticism of the British Columbia youth corrections system was lack of separation of the youth system from the adult system. In many locations, youth corrections shared callboards[46] and uniforms with the adult system. Many staff worked in both systems. This was viewed as contributing to a lack of a youth-focused approach. Transforming the youth system into one with more features of the adult system was controversial ever since the Corrections Branch began managing youth corrections.

In November 1991, the Minister of Social Services appointed a community panel to review child protection issues. In its public report,[47] the panel acknowledged serious problems affecting young people in youth custody programs. It specifically mentioned the lack of separation of the youth system from the adult system.

The structure and operation of the system was viewed as unable to provide youth with the treatment and rehabilitative services intended by the *Young Offenders Act*. In a report regarding peer abuse prepared by the ombudsman in 1994, a broader criticism of the youth justice system in British Columbia was presented. It outlined an over-emphasis on security and control, inadequate treatment programs and lack of qualified staff as issues affecting the youth system. It recommended:

- Replacing outdated facilities;
- Increasing staff levels—particularly in camps;
- Enhancing qualifications and training of staff; and
- Improving institutional programs.

A final issue with the youth correctional system related to the lack of other ministry involvement with youth once they were placed in custody. The community panel (1992) noted this issue and recommended that:

- Responsibility for all programs and institutions administered under the *Young Offenders Act* must be transferred from the Ministry of the Attorney General to the Ministry of Social Services; and that
- All other related ministries must share responsibility for these youths in the community before and after release.

Although the ombudsman's report supported a more comprehensive approach to dealing with youth, it stated:

> A significant paradigm shift is necessary in our provincial child and youth caring institutions. Making this shift was considered a cross-jurisdictional challenge because of the overlapping populations and vital inter-dependence among child welfare, youth correctional, children's mental health, youth forensic and special education programs.

The Gove Report

In May 1994, Justice Thomas Gove was appointed to investigate the death of Matthew Vaudreuil, a client of the B.C. child protection

46 Callboards are used to call auxiliary staff into service.

47 *Making Changes: A Place to Start,* released in October 1992.

system (Ministry of Social Services). After 18 months of investigation, the Gove Report (November 1995) was released with 118 recommendations for change to B.C.'s child welfare system.

The report criticized the ministries delivering services to children in reporting that there were too many conflicting and overlapping programs. The report concluded that B.C. needed to provide a continuum of services and programs that would ensure the safety of children and youth.

To accomplish this goal, the report recommended the transfer of all child, youth and family services to a new ministry for children and families. It was believed that a child-centred ministry would ensure that the needs and concerns of children were addressed. It was recommended that youth probation and related community justice services, youth containment centres and family court counselling be transferred to the new ministry from the Ministry of Attorney General.

In November 1996, the Report of the Federal-Provincial Territorial Task Force on Youth Justice reinforced the need for integration and co-ordination of services for young offenders. The report stated that youth crime could not be effectively addressed in isolation because many young offenders have multiple needs that require a range of responses to address their offending behaviour. To meet this need, it was critical to co-ordinate several agencies with the resources, mandates and expertise to deal with the diverse needs of youth. These agencies included social services, health and schools.

A new ministry for youth

Following the Gove Report, a transition commissioner for child and youth services was appointed to establish the new youth and child-centred ministry. The new ministry would integrate services and programs serving youth and children. As part of the transition to the new ministry, an integrated youth services office opened as a pilot in the South District of the Island Region in September 1996.

Staffing consisted of three social workers, two probation officers, a district supervisor and administrative staff. A full-time teacher was also on-site. Space was available for alcohol and drug, mental health, forensic and community agencies.

In December 1996, while awaiting enactment of the *Youth Corrections Act* to transfer youth authority to the Ministry for Children and Families (MCF), youth services were planned using the Corrections Branch functional model. In 1997—the year that the Corrections Branch reorganized—youth probation and containment centres were transferred to the new Ministry.

Introduction of risk/needs assessment

A number of events and circumstances influenced the development of a risk management strategy in B.C. Corrections. These factors included:

- A growing body of literature on effective correctional intervention supported the need to match offender risk and needs with suitable programming.
- Research indicated that a systematic approach to assess risk and needs improved accuracy of decision-making. These were growing concerns, particularly after the Perrault and Gamache cases.
- The Branch needed a process to strategically manage community caseloads within a fiscally restrained environment.

By November 1995, Branch management adopted a systematic assessment process based on an offender's risk to reoffend.

The risk/needs tool determined which offenders required intensive supervision and program intervention. This tool provided a more effective way to manage resources without jeopardizing public safety.

Risk assessment instruments were developed for adult and youth institutions and the community. Three risk/needs assessment instruments were introduced to the community for cases involving EMP, individuals considered for early release (i.e. parole), and adult and youth probation. These instruments, which were also used during the classification process in institutions, included:

- Community risk/needs assessment (CRNA);
- Sex offender risk assessment (SORA); and the
- Spousal assault risk assessment (SARA).

The made-in-B.C. CRNA instrument was developed with the assistance of Bill Glackman and Simon Fraser University. CRNA was based on the research of Don Andrews and James Bonta (1995) who developed the level of supervision inventory (LSI).

Adapted by the Branch for use in assessing both youth and adults, CRNA was modified to include validated criminal history factors from established instruments (e.g. statistical instrument for recidivism scale, salient factor score).

SORA is a specialized instrument to assess adult and youth sex offenders, developed by Randy Atkinson, Randy Kropp, Richard Laws and Steve Hart (1995). SARA is a specialized instrument to assess spousal assault cases. Adoption of SARA was influenced by the violence against women in relationships (VAWIR) policy.

Risk/needs assessment training for probation officers began in late 1995 in the Northern Region and was completed in March 1996 in the Lower Mainland. Probation officers began using the instrument on all new intakes in the province in April 1996.[48] By August, more than 10,000 CRNAs were completed for offenders. Risk/needs assessment replaced caseload capping as the strategy for managing increased community workloads.

Case management standards were developed to accompany the level of risk/need presented by an offender. The basic principles of case management standards were:

- Supervision that offenders receive should correspond to their level of risk;
- Service that offenders receive should correspond to their needs; and
- Branch resources focus on higher risk cases and offender needs that are linked to criminal behaviour.

The standards also focused resources on medium/high risk cases and reduced the level of intervention for low-risk cases. Individual offender risk was managed to protect the public and effect change in the offender's criminal behaviour.

Community workload strategies indicated that offenders who fell into low risk/low needs, or low risk/medium needs categories of the CRNA would receive one mode of supervision.[49]

Modes of supervision

Under the risk/needs supervision strategy, there were modes of supervision that varied in type and number, depending on the risk and needs of the offender. Modes of supervision could include one or more contacts with:

- A probation officer by telephone;
- Collaterals, such as family members;
- A contracted therapist;
- An employer;
- A landlord; and
- Attendance at a core program or other treatment program.

With review of assessments every six months, these modes could be changed during the period of supervision.

Offender programs

Overview

The hardening face of the offender population resulted in a demand for treatment programs. Programs were required for sex offenders, spousal assault and mentally disordered offenders. In addition, the prevalence of addiction in offenders needed to be addressed.

48 Following training for institutional staff in 1996, assessment tools were applied at the classification stage, although priority was given to community level assessments. This meant that application of the RNA process within jails was not consistent. By the time North Fraser Pretrial Services Centre opened in 2001, risk assessment instruments were routinely applied during the classification process.

49 ADM Directive 96:29, British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1996.

Programs were initially developed at the local level (both in the community and in institutions) in response to identified local or regional needs. Until 1996, contracted agencies and individuals delivered all programs. After 1996, the use of risk/needs assessment led to staff delivery of treatment readiness programs focused on offenders' criminogenic needs.

Sex offenders

The Corrections Branch and Forensic Psychiatric Services Commission worked together to create programs for sex offenders. Treatment programs delivered through Forensic Psychiatric Services were introduced to correctional centres at Stave Lake, Kamloops, Ford Mountain and Nanaimo.

In the community, sex offender treatment programs were developed in conjunction with specialized training for probation officers. Programs for young sex offenders were also introduced.[50]

By 1992, approximately 25 adult and youth group treatment programs for sex offenders operated out of community offices and institutions within the province. Despite this growth in programs, the number of sex offenders far surpassed available program spaces.

Throughout the 1990s, additional resources for specialized sex offender programming were obtained for delivery in the community and institutions. Although treatment took many forms, relapse prevention was the focus of most programming.

Mentally disordered offenders

Services for mentally disordered offenders (MDOs) required improved co-ordination across the constellation of service providers involved with these multiple-need clients. Within institutions, treatment services were largely individualized and delivered by sessional psychologists or psychiatrists. Within the community, forensic liaison workers, community mental health teams and other psychological services provided support and services to MDOs.

Spousal assault

Programs for spousal assault offenders grew from the Task Force on Family Violence (1992). The task force stressed the need for enhanced community-based services for victims of family and sexual violence, and treatment programs for assaultive men. Through funding provided by the Ministry of Women's Equality, community agencies and individuals were contracted to deliver spousal assault programs in local communities. Local probation officers were often instrumental in establishing programs in their communities.

Programs for assaultive men rapidly increased between 1990 and 1995—from four to 44 community-based programs.[51] By 1995, funding for programs came from the Corrections Branch ($1.7 million for community programs) and Forensic Psychiatric Services Commission ($250,000 to each of six community agencies for institutional programs). Cognitive behavioural programming was the basis for most of these programs.

50 Refer to page regarding youth sex offender programs.

51 C. Coulis and T. Trytten, *Assaultive Men's Treatment Programs Review Project*. B.C. Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1995.

Substance abuse programs

During the 1990s, substance abuse programming shifted from the delivery of services to drinking drivers, to recognition that substance abuse is an important issue for most offenders. Until 1993, Alcohol and Drug Services provided substance abuse programs for incarcerated offenders. Community clients were expected to access mainstream community programs delivered by Alcohol and Drug Services. However, treatment providers often resisted delivering services to individuals who they perceived as coerced into treatment by the courts.

After 1993, the Corrections Branch contracted for its own substance abuse services with community agencies. By 1996, substance abuse programming was available in most institutions and community locations in the province.

Other programs were initiated in the early 1990s that were directed at offender groups. These programs focused on critical thinking skills, social skills and life skills. They proliferated through the mid-1990s until the Branch adopted risk/needs assessment tools.

Services and programs for aboriginal offenders

Specialized programming for aboriginal offenders focused on the involvement of aboriginal agencies in the delivery of services. This direction grew out of consultations in the late 1980s, which produced recommendations for more First Nations control of programs.[52] There were also recommendations for more involvement of aboriginal people in the delivery of programs, preparation of release plans, applications for early release, and development of alternatives to imprisonment.

Through contracted aboriginal organizations, culturally-based programs were developed. In the community, these included life, parenting, employment skills, and substance abuse relapse prevention programs.

During the 1990s, the Branch established contracts with First Nations organizations to provide native justice workers. These workers assisted probation officers with high caseloads of aboriginal clients to:

- Supervise aboriginal offenders on probation;
- Improve communication and case management between correctional centres and native communities; and
- Involve aboriginal probationers in activities and programs that support traditional native justice values and practices.

The Canim Lake Band initiated a family violence program in 1994-95 with support from the Ministry of Attorney General. It offered an alternative to criminal charges by encouraging abusers to admit their offences. Offenders were then offered treatment without formal charges. Both the Corrections Branch and Community Justice Branch of the Ministry of Attorney General provided funding.

In correctional centres, culturally-based programs differed by location. Programs included aboriginal substance abuse, cultural awareness, aboriginal treatment readiness, spiritual healing, individual counselling with elders, and sweat lodge ceremonies. Native liaison workers and elders assisted with case management and release planning. BCCW

52 D. Bell, "Native Justice Issues," Corrections Branch discussion paper, 1989.

provided cultural programming and services for aboriginal female offenders.

Hutda Lake Correctional Centre became known for its culturally-based services. In the late 1980s, the centre developed a specialized approach and provided services such as:

- Native brotherhood;
- Sweat lodges where a pipe carrier led regular sweats;
- Powwows;
- Regular attendance of native elders; and
- Close partnerships with the local native friendship centre and native court workers.

Development of core programs

Following implementation of risk/needs assessment, program development refocused on the offender's criminogenic needs (i.e. factors known to contribute to criminal behaviour). Based on the research of Andrews, Bonta and others, British Columbia designed programs for its incarcerated population. These core programs were intended to promote

Opening of Hutda Lake Administration Building: (l to r) R. Ellis, E. Lupul, W. King, D. Bahr, B. Bjarnason, B. Stobbe, B. Madhock, B. Rafuse, C. Phillips (1987) Corrections Branch Archives

Hutda Lake sawmill (date: unknown) Corrections Branch Archives

"long-term changes in the thinking skills and lifestyles of serious offenders that are known to contribute to crime."[53]

A 1995 review of Corrections Branch programs defined core programs, considered program consistency and delivery, and developed an implementation plan. The Branch wanted to ensure that programs—based on effective treatment models and principles—were available consistently in institutions and the community.

The initial core programs slated for development focused on motivation, cognitive skills, family violence, substance abuse, anger management, sex offenders, and employment/housing/financial needs.

53 D.A. Andrews, J. Bonta and R.D. Hoge, "Classification for Effective Rehabilitation: Rediscovering Psychology." *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 17, 1990, pp. 19-52; D.A. Andrews, I. Zinger, R.D. Hoge, J. Bonta, P. Gendreau and F.T. Cullen, "Does Correctional Treatment Work? A Clinically Relevant and Psychologically Informed Meta-analysis." *Criminology*, 28, 1990, pp. 369-404.

Victim notification and participation in the justice system

Victim participation in the criminal justice system increased during the 1990s. Attention to victims' rights and public safety resulted in legislation and policies that formally recognized the role of victims in the criminal justice system.

Prior to legislation that required notifying victims of crimes about parole hearings, release dates and movement through the system, it was Branch practice to contact victims whenever they wished to be notified. There was no formal system to ensure that all victims were notified of important dates and no mechanism to make all victims aware of the practice.

The victim was also contacted for comment when probation officers prepared:

- Community assessments for parole hearings or temporary absences;
- Pretrial inquiries; and
- Predisposition and pre-sentence reports.

Victim comments were included in these reports, but were especially sought in cases involving crimes of violence. With respect to bail clients, victims who were family members were notified of the conditions of release. They were also advised what to do if the accused violated the conditions.

Verbal impact statements at parole hearings

In 1992, the federal government passed the *Correctional and Conditional Release Act*. This act granted victims the right to attend a parole hearing as observers. Prior to this legislation, victims could only submit a letter to a parole hearing.

In July 1996, the federal *Victims of Crime Act* gave victims the right to request the dates affecting the custody of an offender. It also granted them permission from a parole board to attend a hearing. These rulings significantly expanded victims' rights. Although legislation did not specify verbal statements by victims, it did not prohibit them.

In December 1996, the B.C. Parole Board, under the direction of presiding Chair Irene Heese, introduced a new policy granting victims or their representatives the right to make verbal impact statements during parole hearings. The Branch facilitated opportunities for victims to speak at hearings.

In most cases, victims went to institutions where hearings were held. A process was developed to ensure victim notification, preparation of victims entering an institution for a hearing, and assistance to victims about follow-up to a hearing.

B.C. was the first province to grant rights to victims during parole hearings. Victim participation at parole hearings moved the process towards victim/offender reconciliation and restorative justice. The National Parole Board started to move in this direction by allowing victim statements to be read at the beginning of a hearing.

Notification to protect children from abuse

In 1995, the Ministry of Attorney General introduced a notification policy to protect children from abuse.[54] Based on the provincial *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (FOIPPA), this policy enhanced public safety with regard to high-risk sex offenders. It also protected children from sexual abuse perpetrated by known sex offenders.

Disclosure occurred when there was risk of significant harm to the health or safety of an individual, the public or a group of people, or it was in the public interest.[55] Under this policy, probation and correctional officers were required to prepare a risk assessment on all persons under their supervision or in custody who were convicted of sexual or violent offences against children.

When the risk of reoffending was high, the probation or correctional officer provided notification to persons who were at risk. Notification included disclosure of personal information about the offender to the party at risk, with or without an offender's consent. The ADM of Corrections established guidelines for probation officers to interpret this policy.[56]

Developments in family justice services

The work of several groups, committees and individuals led to reforms of the family justice system and successful pilot projects. The reforms flowed from the need to manage resources efficiently while providing better quality, more accessible, family justice services. These reforms and pilots also focused family justice services on alternative dispute resolution services.

By the end of the decade, Family Justice Services Division was a significant player in the Corrections Branch. In 2001, it became part of the new Justice Services Branch of the Ministry of Attorney General.

Events in the late 1980s

The specialization of family justice services (formerly known as family court counselling services) started in the 1980s. A number of developments brought about a review of family justice services and the role of family court counsellors.

In 1987, as part of a government-wide initiative, the Branch explored privatization of some family justice services. Privatization was an attempt to deliver services more efficiently.

Although the government decided not to privatize family justice services, the review process still had an impact on the organization. The examination of privatization thoroughly

54 As part of the known abuser project, the *Criminal Records Review Act* was passed and came into effect on January 1, 1996, for new employees who worked with children. The purpose of this act was to help protect children from physical and sexual abuse. It established procedures to ensure that anyone in the province who worked with children had a criminal record check.

55 Section 25 of the FOIPPA.

56 ADM Directive 99:02, British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1999.

considered the advantages and disadvantages of specialization. According to Provincial Director Wendy Hacking, this was a positive outcome because it laid groundwork for specialization that occurred later.

In November 1987, the government appointed the Justice Reform Committee, chaired by Justice Ted Hughes. In its report, *Access to Justice*, published in 1988, changes were recommended to service delivery that would increase use of alternative dispute resolution.

In 1989, the *Family Maintenance Enforcement Act* was proclaimed and the family maintenance enforcement program (FMEP)[57] was established province-wide. This legislation and program removed family court counsellors from involvement in maintenance enforcement and encouraged examination of the role of family court counsellors.

Inter-Ministerial Family Justice Review Working Group

In June 1991, assistant deputy ministers from the Ministries of Attorney General, Social Services and Women's Equality appointed an Inter-Ministerial Family Justice Review Working Group to improve the quality and co-ordination of service delivery of family justice services. At the time, the Corrections Branch provided conciliation/mediation, custody and access reports and assistance with the court process.

In its 1992 report, *Breaking up is hard to do,*[58] the working group recommended reforms to the family justice system, including:

- Separation of family court counsellor and probation officer functions;
- Promotion of alternative dispute resolution;
- Enhanced mediation training; and
- Creation of community-based family centres.

The working group criticized the adversarial approach for resolving family dissolution cases. Their recommendations focused on family justice services outside of the court system, and emphasized a more conciliatory approach to family disputes. The report laid out key principles to be followed in the reform of the family justice system.[59]

Family justice reform pilot

In 1993, the family justice reform project committee was established to examine the feasibility of an office that would provide a single location for delivery of family justice services. The committee, chaired by Wendy Galloway (now Hacking), piloted a specialized service delivery model for family justice services.

In implementing the pilot project, recommendations of the family justice review working group and 13 other reports during the past 20 years were considered.

In 1994, the family justice reform pilot project enhanced the quality and availability of family

57 The Family Maintenance Enforcement Program (FMEP) monitors and enforces child and spousal support amounts that are specified by the court or stated in a filed written agreement.

58 *Breaking up is hard to do: Rethinking the family justice system in British Columbia: Report of the Family Justice Review Working Group*.

59 Robert W. Metzger, *Report of the Chief Judge of the Provincial Court. Delay and backlog in the Provincial Court of British Columbia*, Vancouver, B.C., April 1998.

justice services provided to children and their parents. Meanwhile, integrated service delivery was tested in four family justice centres in Burnaby/New Westminster, Kitimat, Merritt and Kamloops. Each centre provided different services to test the suitability of alternative delivery models. The centres provided supervised access programs, parenting after separation programs, enhanced mediation and an aboriginal program.

An evaluation of the project by a private research firm[60] indicated that client satisfaction increased with staff specialization and the provision of services at one location. The availability of quality family mediation services and parent education programs were also highly valued by parents.

Alternative dispute resolution policy

Alternative dispute resolution (ADR) was increasingly viewed as an important method of resolving family conflict, although it was not widely available in B.C. during the early 1990s. At the same time, the roles of youth probation, adult probation and family justice services were becoming increasingly complex.

Specialized knowledge and skills were required. For probation officers to continue to deliver mediation and conciliation services, they needed specialized knowledge, regular practice, supervision and consistent professional development. To resolve family disputes effectively through mediation, conciliation and non court-based alternatives, the family function needed to be separated from probation.[61]

Refocusing the role of family court counsellors on ADR received increasing support within the Branch. If matters could be settled outside court, there would be decreased demand for custody and access reports. A 1994 decision by the Branch to increase mediation training to 80 hours supported this direction. It also enhanced the ability of family court counsellors to resolve family disputes.

Information sessions for parents

In 1988, Williams Lake Probation and Family Services Office initiated 90-minute *Family Relations Act* information sessions for families who were experiencing separation.[62] Family justice counsellors facilitated the sessions and new clients were required to attend them prior to an initial interview with a family justice counsellor. The sessions covered available relief, the court process, impact of separation, family violence and divorce matters. An information package on children's rights and joint custody was given to clients.

Parenting after separation education programs were one of the reform initiatives tested in four locations as part of the family justice reform pilot project (1994). These programs provided parents with information about dispute resolution options and services available through the justice system and in the community.

60 Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Family Justice Reform Pilot Project Evaluation,* Ministry of Attorney General, Victoria, B.C., 1995.

61 Interview with Wendy Hacking, 2001.

62 D. Brown, "*Family Relations Act* Information Sessions," *CorrTech Quarterly*, 1(2), 1992, p. 16.

The three-hour workshop was delivered at no cost to participants. Parents were informed about effective ways to communicate and problem solve. These tools helped them and their children work through parental separation.

In 1997, parent education programs were expanded to 50 communities across the province.

Staff training and recruitment

Employment readiness training

In 1990, the Branch faced a prolonged period of fiscal restraint, rising costs and increased demands for training. The curriculum needed updating, new courses were required, and technological changes had to be incorporated into the training process. Given the limited budget committed to training, and growing demands to train and maintain staff to high professional standards, it became difficult to meet requirements.

The Branch asked the Corrections Academy of the Justice Institute of B.C. to undertake a training review. The intention was to explore options to maximize outcomes within the training budget. The review initially identified the custody division for change, because most of the training budget supported these programs. Based on the review, the Branch decided to test an employment readiness program (ERP).

Under the old system of training, new personnel were hired and then trained. The Branch paid for the training as well as full salaries and benefits of the new personnel before they were posted to a position. The Branch also paid travel and living expenses for staff who came for training from the Lower Mainland.

The ERP training model was used in other professions such as nursing and teaching. It was gaining popularity in North America for training correctional personnel. Under this model, candidates underwent a screening process prior to acceptance into the training program, paid tuition fees and financially supported themselves while attending the course. Graduates received a certificate of achievement. An individual who completed the required training was not guaranteed employment, but met basic prerequisites to apply for the Branch's hiring and selection process.

A shift in the recruitment process

The ERP model for correctional officers' training brought a major shift. Institutional directors no longer involved themselves in advertising, recruiting and selecting candidates. Previously, they determined who would work in their institutions and then obtained training at the Justice Institute. This was no longer possible due to the *Employment Standards Act*. It stipulated that if an individual was recruited for a job subject to completion of training, the person must be paid for the training. In addition, a salary had to be provided to the recruit during training.

Such a scenario would undo any cost-benefit of ERP. Consequently, the Justice Institute

assumed responsibility for advertising, screening, testing, training and certification of candidates for correctional officer positions. Following certification, applicants would be added to a candidate list that would be sent to all institutions. The institutions would hire from the list.

There were growing pains under the new system. Institutions were not always satisfied with the profile of candidates they received (e.g. not enough life experience, paramilitary background). To address these concerns, the JI advertised its selection and training of candidates, and developed a process for institutions to give input.[63]

In April 1992, the Corrections Academy introduced the ERP model for security/ correctional officers. The five-week program was offered at an initial cost of $65. Candidates paid tuition fees and supported themselves during training.

The program was assessed at the end of its first year of operation. The findings were that 63% of graduates from the 1992-93 fiscal year obtained work with the Corrections Branch and 70% got work in corrections or a related field by June 30, 1993. Cost savings from the program were used to fund advanced training for in-service staff.

The success of the security/corrections officers ERP led to the development of an ERP for probation officers/family court counsellors, which was introduced in April 1993. The 18-week course for probation officers was longer than for correctional officers. The screening process was also more complex, involving a language proficiency exam and a role-playing assessment of interpersonal skills. Consequently, the cost to recruits was higher than for correctional officers.

An evaluation compared the old system of training to the new system.[64] Although there were fears that the introduction of ERP would negatively impact the Branch, the evaluation did not substantiate these concerns.

Advertising campaign focuses on minority recruitment

In the 1992-93 fiscal year, the Corrections Branch offered eight correctional officer pre-employment readiness programs in locations including Vancouver, Victoria, Langley, Kamloops and Prince George. These cities coincided with institutional locations and anticipated hiring by those institutions. An intense advertising campaign was launched in the first year of the program to promote public awareness and broaden the appeal to women and visible minorities who had not considered a career in corrections.

The latter focus grew from a Branch employment equity initiative to increase applicants from groups traditionally under-represented in the corrections field. The groups included visible minorities, aboriginals and women. As a result of the extensive advertising campaign in the first year of the program, 46.3% of graduates were from one of the three groups.

63 Interview with Paul Pershick, 2002.

64 D. Duerden, P. Pershick, B. Sadler and R. Watts, "Employment Readiness Program for Community Program Workers: Evaluation Report," Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1995.

Pinpointing particular groups continued as part of the recruitment process for both the community and institutions. It was deemed particularly important to recruit aboriginal candidates due to the disproportionate number of aboriginal offenders in the correctional system. Greater success was experienced in recruiting aboriginal individuals to the community, compared to institutions. Recruitment of women to work in prisons also remained a challenge.

The old model of recruitment, hiring and in-service training allowed the Branch to make decisions regarding community postings of new recruits. In some instances, offices were forced to operate with vacancies until new employees completed basic training. Most recruits were hired on provincial postings and only allowed to state their preference of work location.

The Branch, however, could place these recruits anywhere in the province for two years. This allowed the Branch to fill remote or northern vacancies. For some new probation officers, placements outside of the Lower Mainland caused complaints—at least until they became established in their new community.

This provincial pool and Branch placement resulted in many probation officers applying to relocate after completion of their two years. Relocation, including attendance at job interviews, housing searches and moving expenses were all accomplished at Branch expense. The ERP attempted to resolve this situation by allowing new graduates to apply for vacancies in any location. Unfortunately, vacancies in many northern locations went unfilled. Students received their ERP training in the Lower Mainland and chose to remain there, instead of applying for positions elsewhere.

Challenge exams

A challenge exam was developed to accommodate individuals with experience and training in corrections or a related field. A student who achieved a mark of at least 80% on a challenge exam could be exempted from all or part of the program.

Challenge exams were viewed as maintaining high standards of training and competency for a position while providing credit for training and experience. Eligible candidates for a challenge exam included individuals who:

- Worked as a security officer/correctional officer or probation officer for the Branch;
- Were out of service for more than two years; or
- Worked as a full-time correctional officer or probation officer in another jurisdiction.

Specialized training

Changes to offender populations during the 1990s prompted specialized training for probation officers and correctional officers. Staff required additional training to deal effectively with sex offenders, spousal assault offenders and the mentally disordered.

The most comprehensive training developed for sex offenders. Although basic training provided information about this offender group, it was not adequate to meet standards for supervision of sex offenders in the community. In 1990, the Justice Institute offered the first sex offender management training course for probation and institutional staff. This was expanded to a certificate program in 1993-94.

In response to investigations arising from the Perrault and Gamache cases, sex offender

training standards were increased for probation officers in March 1995. The Branch adopted a minimum training standard of 42 hours in core courses for probation officers carrying a generic caseload. For probation officers working as specialists with youth and/or adult sex offenders, another 20 hours were required.

The first mentally disordered offender course was offered in 1990. Training was also offered for probation officers supervising spousal assault offenders. While this initial training followed the introduction of VAWIR policy (violence against women in relationships), training for family violence was expanded in 1996.

Concurrent with specialization of family justice services in the mid-1990s, the Corrections Academy moved from a generic training model to a specialized model for training family justice counsellors and probation officers. Following enactment of the *Family Relations Act* in 1978, the academy trained every probation officer recruit to function in both criminal and family law areas. Commencing in 1982, all existing probation officers were trained as family court counsellors. In 1995, the increasing complexity and knowledge required to perform these roles led to the separation of training into two programs.

Candidates were then selected based on their background and interest for either family justice services or probation. The implication of this split was that individuals could no longer work in a generic role and were posted to either family or probation workloads.

A similar specialized model was developed for youth probation and custody in 1997, following the transfer of youth services to the Ministry for Children and Families. This specialized training required a significant organizational shift because the Corrections Academy had to market and develop each separate functional area (i.e. adult and youth corrections, family justice services).

New Justice Institute campus opens

Since its beginning in 1978, the Justice Institute fostered a reputation for quality training in corrections, fire, paramedic, police and the provincial emergency program. With the support of the major client groups, the Ministry of Advanced Education provided funding for a new facility.

The new campus for the Justice Institute officially opened on June 23, 1995. This facility replaced the antiquated and outgrown Vancouver site of the Justice Institute at Jericho Beach.

Built in New Westminster at a cost of $34 million, the design of the new campus was based on input from staff. This measure was taken to ensure the facility met the institute's unique training needs. Features included:

- Apartment with a one-way mirror for viewing domestic disputes;
- Gymnasium that could be divided to accommodate physical training for both corrections and the police; and a
- Mock courtroom.

In addition to infrastructure support from the Ministry of Skills, Training and Labour, operational funding was obtained in each division through contracts with the Ministries of Attorney General, Health and Municipal Affairs. Other contracts and student fees provided additional revenue. This funding structure required healthy working relationships between the Justice Institute and its major client groups.

First site of the Justice Institute at Jericho Beach, Vancouver (date: unknown)
Photos: Justice Institute of B.C.

Justice Institute atrium (2003)

New home of the Justice Institute (2003)

Changes in the workplace

Technology

The advancement of technology during the 1990s had a tremendous impact on the work of Corrections Branch staff. Greater efficiencies were achieved through:

- Integration of information systems that were previously separate;
- Improved access to justice and family information;
- Monitoring compliance to orders by offenders;
- Availability of tools to assess operations and outcomes of programs and services;
- Improved security surveillance systems; and
- Access to services for offenders.

The use of technology affected the operation of correctional centres. High-tech security devices replaced perimeter surveillance by "prowling" officers and dogs. Video technology reduced administration and transport costs by allowing inmates to appear before the judge on video when setting dates for preliminary inquiries or trial. Electronic monitoring used radio frequency (RF) technology.

In 1992, the Branch introduced hand-held alcohol screening devices for use in community-based and electronic monitoring programs. These devices provided on-the-spot detection of alcohol consumption.

Apart from technological resources that were applied in the management of offenders, the Branch felt the impact of technology in other ways. In 1993, Burnaby Probation implemented a paperless office pilot project to reduce paper flow, enhance efficiencies and give staff more flexibility in organizing their work. Many current technologies throughout the Corrections Branch were piloted through this project. Technologies tested at this site included document imaging, voice messaging, expanded electronic mail, electronic fax and intelligent workstations.

Employment equity program

In 1985, a federal government royal commission identified four groups in Canadian society that were under-employed in the workforce, or concentrated in lower paying jobs. The four groups were women, aboriginal people, individuals with disabilities and visible minorities.

In 1987, the Corrections Branch—ahead of the rest of the provincial government in B.C.—implemented an employment equity program for women. The Branch recognized that the percentage of women in Branch managerial/supervisory positions did not represent women in line level positions, or the percentage of women in the population.

One of the first Branch initiatives to promote employment equity was the development of bridging positions, which enabled women to gain management experience. Bridging positions were management/supervisory level positions that were temporarily filled by female employees. A bridging position lasted one to two years.

A review of employment equity in 1991 found that progressive initiatives resulted in positive changes in the number of women employed by the Branch. A decision was made by senior management to enhance and expand this program to include aboriginal people, visible minorities and persons with disabilities.

Although improvements and successes occurred, the Corrections Branch continued its commitment to strategies that would help it meet employment equity targets. Other initiatives were developed within the Branch including:

- Annual employment equity plans and progress reports;
- Family-friendly work options such as job sharing;
- Staff publications;[65]
- Mentoring programs;
- Recruitment campaigns that encouraged target groups to apply;
- Staff conferences; and
- Cross-cultural training.

Most of these activities were initiated by the Branch Equity and Diversity Committee (formerly the Women's Programs and Employment Equity Committee), which made recommendations to senior management on equity and diversity issues.

Given the reorganization of the Branch in 1997, the responsibility for equity and diversity objectives and initiatives was subsumed in each division. The committee was disbanded in 1999.

65 *Shiftworker's Guide for Correctional Officers*; *Pregnancy in the Workplace: A Handbook for B.C. Corrections Staff*. Both published by Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, October 1997.

Equity and Diversity Committee: (seated from left): Dianne Chapman, Morlene Tomlinson, Brenda Tole, Theresa Forsythe; (standing from left) Colin McMechan, Dianne Crittenden, Joyce Oates, Heather Hunter, Brian Mason, Rose Brown, David Keillor, Kim Fogtmann, Ivor Day (1999) Corrections Branch Archives

Supportive workplace initiatives

The provincial government established a sexual harassment policy early in the 1980s. In the 1990s, the Branch sponsored conferences and workshops on sexual harassment. The issue was also addressed during basic and employment readiness training. A joint Corrections Branch/BCGSEU committee, established in 1991, worked to address this concern.

Despite these initiatives, the Branch needed to provide confidential support and decision-making assistance to individuals who believed they were being harassed. In April 1996, 23 Corrections Branch staff from across the province received training as workplace harassment advisors. One month after training, the program was officially introduced.[66] Its purpose was to reduce and resolve harassment/discrimination in the workplace.

Advisors were employees of the Branch. For example, a correctional officer may have had harassment advisor duties while performing the regular job functions of a correctional officer. Advisors were known to staff and available to provide advice, assistance and support. The role of harassment advisor was a volunteer position.

66 ADM Directive 96:12, British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1996.

Chapter 7

The Era of Directing Change (1997-2001)

Corrections Branch reorganization

In the 1990s, the regional structure of the Corrections Branch came under scrutiny. This structure worked well for years, producing many programs and innovations in services. On the down side, however, there was inconsistency in the operation and delivery of programs and services across the province. In addition, making decisions in a timely manner and managing the Branch budget proved difficult under the regional model.

The Branch was also challenged with managing a larger and higher-risk offender population. All of this happened during a time of budget restraint and increased media attention. For the organization to work more efficiently, it was necessary to have a strong central focus that would lead to co-ordinated responses.

With the complexity of each role and function, it was increasingly difficult for a regional director to be a knowledgeable leader in each of the five key areas:

- Youth probation;
- Youth correctional institutions;
- Adult community corrections;
- Adult correctional institutions; and
- Family justice services.

Institutions tended to overshadow other functions under the regional model, because they were the largest sector and demanded the most resources. As a result, they attracted most of the energy of the regional directors.

A new organizational structure became inevitable when youth correctional services were identified for transfer to the new Ministry for Children and Families in late 1996. In 1997, the Corrections Branch went through the first major reorganization in approximately 20 years. By April, the Branch became a functional structure with six divisions, each with province-wide responsibilities. The functional divisions separated community corrections, adult custody, strategic planning and corporate programs, family justice services, provincial releasing authority and youth services.

Provincial directors were appointed to each of the divisions:

- Ben Stobbe—Adult Custody;
- Rob Watts—Community Corrections;
- Wendy Hacking—Family Justice Services;

Assistant Deputy Minister Don Demers with Provincial Directors Rob Watts, Brian Mason, Wendy Hacking and Ben Stobbe (1999) Photo: Courtesy of Shirley Maniec

- Brian Mason—Strategic Planning and Corporate Programs; and
- Dave Bahr—Provincial Releasing Authority.

Abe Neufeld became Interim Provincial Director for Youth Correctional Programs and Services. The Senior Management Committee was comprised of the provincial directors, the issues management analyst, and chaired by the assistant deputy minister. The provincial directors were located in Victoria to facilitate working together. The Provincial Releasing Authority, however, was located in Burnaby to interact with parole authorities and the Correctional Service of Canada.

In 1997, the *Correction Act* was amended and youth services were transferred to the new Ministry for Children and Families (MCF). With youth services under the new ministry, the number of provincial directors was reduced to five.

The separation of youth correctional services was an unsettling experience to many probation officers and correctional staff. With the transfer, correctional staff could decide whether they wanted to transfer to the new ministry. Some staff also had the option of early retirement.

Corrections Branch senior managers' meeting: Shauna Morgan, Paul Pershick, Beverly Roest, Paul Whitehead, Brian Mason, Brent Merchant, Dudley Mathieson, Ron Williams, Micheila Cameron, Bob Riches, Ken McKeen, Rob Watts, Tim Stiles, Doug Johnson, Bev Porter, Bert Phipps, Dana Cosgrove, Peter Tilt, Tim Trytten, Ben Stobbe, Nancy Wrenshall, John Surridge, Ron Crawford, Dina Green, Wendy Hacking, Glenn Angus, Don Demers (1999)
Photo: Courtesy of Shirley Maniec

The generic focus in the former regional management model hindered the development of expertise in programs and service delivery. The move to a functional structure—with adult, youth and family justice services as separate entities—had its benefits. These changes revitalized interest and expertise in all three areas and provided focused leadership in each functional area.

This functional direction and the development of specialized training are the most significant legacies of this chapter of Corrections Branch history.

Responsibilities of each of the five functional divisions

Adult Custody Division was responsible for custodial supervision of adults sentenced to custody and individuals remanded to custody. Custodial supervision had five main areas:

- Remand;
- Secure sentenced;
- Medium sentenced;
- Open sentenced; and
- Specialized sentenced.

Community Corrections Division provided supervision to adults in the community on:

- Bail supervision;
- Probation;
- Conditional sentence; and
- Electronic monitoring.

Family Justice Services Division provided services such as:

- Dispute resolution;
- Parenting after separation educational programs; and
- Child custody and access reports.

Strategic Planning and Corporate Programs Division provided:

- Support, advice and co-ordination to the Branch;
- Strategic and facilities planning;
- Financial management;
- Systems development;
- Research and evaluation;
- Training programs;
- Oversight of health services and mental health services;
- Chaplaincy; and
- Victim notification.

The Provincial Releasing Authority (PRA) pilot was initiated due to budget cuts to the B.C. Parole Board. As an alternate means to provide an administrative support structure to the Parole Board, the PRA supplied file information and co-ordinated release and supervision issues. The chair of the B.C. Parole Board and PRA director were responsible for developing the concept of an integrated provincial releasing authority.

In April 1999, following a two-year evaluation, the PRA office closed. The PRA was viewed as having improved administration, support and training. However, the Parole Board's independence was perceived as being compromised through its administrative relationship with the Branch. The PRA budget and mandate were then amalgamated with the Parole Board.

The Parole Board and the Branch also completed an administrative agreement regarding the preparation of files for parole cases. The Board became involved in hiring parole co-ordinators. According to Irene Heese, this represented a philosophical shift in terms of preparing inmates for release into the community.

Irene Heese (B.C. Parole Board) and Don Demers (Corrections Branch) sign administrative agreement. Witnesses to the signing (l to r): Rob Watts, Susan Christie, Ben Stobbe, Luke Tsoukalas, Jim Graham (2000)
Corrections Branch Archives

A process of consolidation

As part of the reorganization, 14 management and administrative support positions were eliminated. In the Adult Custody Division, district directors—each responsible for management of an institution—reported to the provincial director. This eliminated the need for regional directors.

Within Community Corrections Division, five regional managers reported to the provincial director, eliminating the positions of community district directors. The role of local manager consequently assumed more supervisory and managerial responsibilities, such as case management. Administration was also consolidated, with 74 offices and local managers reduced to 53 offices and 34 local managers.

Family Justice Services Division initially appointed one specialist regional manager and shared regional managers in the Interior and the

Local managers of the Community Corrections Division (2000) Photo: Courtesy of Micheila Cameron

North with Community Corrections Division. A second specialist regional manager was appointed in 2000. By the following year, the Family Justice Services Division was transferred to the Justice Services Branch of the Ministry of Attorney General.

The provincial director of the Strategic Planning and Corporate Programs Division replaced three senior management positions: director, Program Analysis Section; director, Resource Analysis Section; and executive director, Management Services.

Impact of reorganization on staff training

Prior to the 1997 reorganization of the Branch, planning for training occurred from the bottom up through regional staff development officers (RSDOs). These officers consulted with staff in their regions to develop a list of training needs. The provincial training plan was developed through the provincial staff training committee. It consisted of the Director of the Corrections and Community Justice Division at the Justice Institute, and five regional RSDOs.

Every year, this group developed a training needs analysis. It was then presented to senior Branch management. In most instances, the plan was approved or slightly modified.

The challenge with this system, according to Paul Pershick, Director of the Corrections Academy (Justice Institute of B.C.), was that:

> ...we set up expectations that could not possibly be met for staff in the field. We had a huge list, as we asked what training was needed. Someone had to decide what the priority was.[1]

The process of developing a training plan changed with Branch reorganization, and management identified its priorities to the provincial staff training committee. Training needs were identified by functional area. The direction and tone for training was based on each division and the Branch's strategic plan.[2]

In 1997, provincial staff development officers (PSDO) replaced the regional staff development officers. Over time, the focus of each PSDO complemented the specialized training needs of each division of the Corrections Branch. Under the functional model, Senior Management Committee and the divisional management committees became responsible for planning staff training.

Online training helped to promote successful recruitment campaigns for community corrections. An online program was developed to provide on-the-job training for institutional staff. This training eliminated costs related to travel, meals and backfilling positions. Other jurisdictions, such as the Correctional Service of Canada and Atlantic provincial correctional systems, expressed interest in developing a similar training system.

North Fraser Pretrial Centre's Emergency Response Team conducts training (2003) Corrections Branch Archives

1 Interview with Paul Pershick, 2002.

2 Interview with Brian Mason, *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Fall 1999.

PSDOs, Program Assistants and Justice Institute Directors:
Back row (l to r): Stan Der Leong, Ray Gough, Carol Sonneson, Selma Swaab, Paul Pershick.
Front row (l to r): Jan Campbell, Leona Smith, Angelle Brown, Laurie Morgan (1999) Corrections Branch Archives

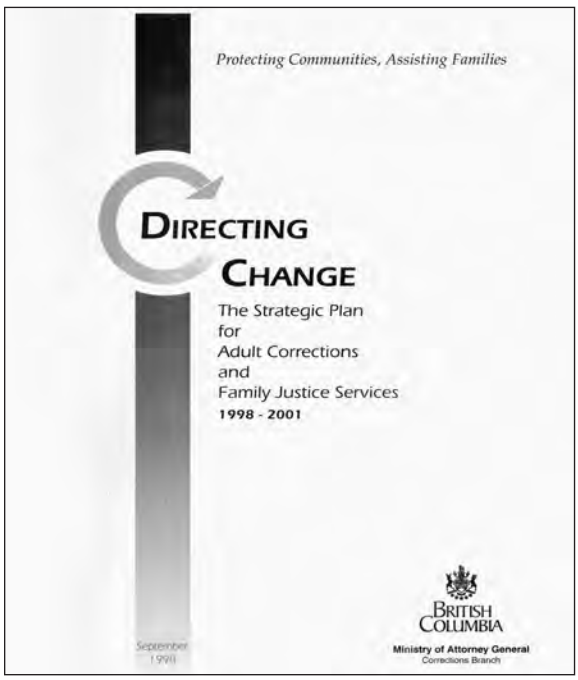
Reorganization eliminated program advisory groups (PAGs) that were established in 1982 to assist senior management in creating policies and long-term plans. PAGs provided advice and decisions on operational issues that cut across former regional jurisdictions. No longer necessary within the functional model, PAGs were eliminated and replaced by time-limited focus groups.

The functional model removed duplication of policy development within functions. This was particularly the case with institutions where policy and program development were locally based. The functional model resulted in correctional centres working towards more consistent operations, and emphasized commonalities rather than diversities.

Strategic planning

As part of the reorganization of the Branch in 1997, a strategic plan was developed with the expectation that it would be revised every three years. The first plan was developed for adult corrections and family justice services for the years 1998-2001. This document, *Directing Change*,[3] provided information about the reorganization of the Branch, evolution of correctional programs, and expanding role of corrections.

With regard to adult corrections, the priority of the strategic plan was reducing the recidivism of high-risk offenders. Accordingly, it focused on victim notification and integrated offender management. The integrated offender management system included risk/needs assessment, core programs and offender tracking.[4]



With regard to family justice services, the strategic plan placed priority on promoting timely resolution of family and marital disputes outside of the traditional court system.

Under the former regional model, there was little time for developing a "strategic kind of enterprise."[5] Instead, overcrowding and workload management issues drove the Branch. According to Rob Watts, reorganization made the Branch more "responsive" and less "reactive." With a functional model and strategic plan, the future of the Corrections Branch was purposefully determined.

Research and evaluation

To succeed in achieving the strategic objectives outlined in *Directing Change*, the Branch made research and evaluation a priority. A management information system was developed to extract data from operational systems and produce statistical and management information for resource planning. Branch managers were also given access to time-sensitive monitoring and research reports, and program evaluations.

3 *Corrections Branch, Directing Change: The Strategic Plan for Adult Corrections and Family Justice Services 1998-2001.*

4 A computerized information network (CORNET) tracked the progress of offenders on their correctional plans in institutions and the community.

5 From interview with Brian Mason, 2002.

Through agreements with external partners, the Branch incorporated a broader scope of offender management information. While responsible for analyzing issues and challenges for Branch management, the Strategic Planning and Corporate Programs Division made all staff more aware of research and evaluation outcomes. For example, it distributed bulletins on topics such as the implementation and effectiveness of core programs. It also instituted an annual research plan to ensure that applied research and evaluation focused on emerging operational needs and priorities.

Core programs development

Four core programs became operational in correctional centres and the community:

1. Breaking Barriers (BB)[6]—a motivational or critical thinking skills program—was implemented first and became widely available.
2. Violence Prevention program (VPP) was introduced in 1998 as the first program developed for the Corrections Branch. The program was available in institutions and the community.
3. Substance Abuse Management program (SAM) was introduced in 1999 in custody and community settings.
4. Respectful Relationships (RR)—the family violence prevention program—was introduced in 2001. This treatment readiness program was available in the community and some correctional centres.

Core programs were developed with consideration of the length of time offenders were incarcerated in provincial institutions. Most programs were 10 sessions, each of which was 2 or 2½ hours long. SAM was a longer program of 18 sessions, each 1½ hours long.

By 2001, a sex offender program and educational upgrading program were being developed. A life skills program was planned that would include modules addressing problems faced by offenders in the community. Research was conducted into cognitive skills programming.

Unlike previous offender programming, core programs were developed to deliver standardized, complementary programs within the community and institutions. Core programs took a psycho-educational approach and helped offenders prepare for treatment. They also served as the basis of case management strategies and follow-up. Rather than replace treatment programs delivered by contractors, core programs were intended to complement them.[7] The Corrections Branch also took a more active role in defining its expectations of contracted treatment programs.[8]

6 Gordon Graham and Company Inc. holds the copyright for this program.

7 Johnson, Doug, "Core Programs and Community Corrections," *CorrTech Quarterly, 20 (Winter)*, Corrections Branch, pp. 7 & 12, 1998.

8 From interview with Selma Swaab, 2002.

First class of probation officers' training in the Substance Abuse Management program (1999)
Photo: Courtesy of Doug Johnson

Core Programs Committee: Patricia Râtel, Selma Swaab, Brian Mason, Tim Trytten, Bob Riches, Doug Johnson, Len Dueck. Dina Green, Christina Pederson and Dr. Diane Rothon are absent. (2000)
Corrections Branch Archives

Improved budget management and financial forecasting

Reorganization improved the ability of Branch operations to meet ministry and government fiscal requirements. A centralized financial management structure enhanced the process of preparing budgets and forecasts, and responding to resource information requests. Oversight of contracts, purchasing and leasing were more efficiently managed. The Branch also took advantage of this new structure to analyze financial policy and reform procedures related to contract management.

Increasing demands on the corrections system had to be met with fewer resources and balanced budgets. Sound financial

management ensured that the Branch weathered a relentless series of annual budget freezes and reductions during this period.

Information systems

Integration, improvement and development of information systems were instrumental in making current and reliable data available to staff. The following list highlights the main developments during this era:

CORNET

- Initiated in April 1995, it integrated three existing information systems.
- Offender risk/needs assessment (RNA) was integrated in 1999.
- Integration allowed staff in the community and institutions to access the same information about offenders.
- Redundant information and data entry was reduced.
- Database applied to offenders who are provincially sentenced, on bail supervision, and remanded to custody.
- Correctional staff used information from risk assessments, core programs and supervision to track and manage offenders.

JUSTIN

- Introduced in 1995 and completed in 1999, JUSTIN was an integrated case tracking system for the criminal justice system.

CORNET Community Trainers (l to r): Barb Main, Debbie Bastiaansen, June Meers, Carrie Lennam, Ed Andrews, Jeanie Dedoborski, Karen Olafsen, Jodie Green, Trish Elliott, Debbie Mulligan (1999) Corrections Branch Archives

- Data came from police, the Crown, judiciary, courts and corrections.
- Access was provided to the RCMP, municipal police, Crown counsel, criminal courts registry staff, sheriff, Corrections Branch staff, victim/witness services and judicial trial schedulers.
- Integration with CORNET assisted in the case management of clients.
- For example, probation officers could learn the status of a breach charge, or access information about when a bail client was scheduled to appear in court.

Lockup management system (LMS)

- LMS helped the Corrections Branch assume management of the Vancouver Police Lockup.
- It became operational in 1998 when the Branch took responsibility for the jail.
- The Vancouver Court, Vancouver Police and Corrections Branch were involved.
- LMS allowed tracking of information in court and movement of offenders to and from court.
- LMS was integrated with CORNET.

Family information system (FIS)

- FIS provided a central system to track clients, required services, and the completion of custody and access reports.
- It was fully operational in 1998.

Other systems

- Smart card technology improved efficiency in managing inmate phone calls. It also gave inmates ready access to canteen items.
- In 2001, vending machines in NFPC were installed with smart card technology.
- Photo imaging was introduced at Vancouver Jail and piloted at VIRCC and Nanaimo. Staff could take a digital photo of an offender and file it with CORNET for identification purposes.

Staff communications and public relations

With the divisional heads and assistant deputy minister located at Corrections Branch headquarters, corporate communications became easier to facilitate. The Branch was in a better position to keep staff informed and provide information about its current events and initiatives. *CorrTech Quarterly* evolved into a publication that focused on themes relevant to staff development. *Corrections Connection* continued to be an electronic newsletter to share news among Branch staff.

Web communications took hold during this period when new computer technology was introduced to all work locations. The Branch intranet Web site provided a centralized and paperless way to make Branch information available to staff.

Senior management also made it more of a priority for staff presenters to engage with the community about the role of corrections in public safety. A presentation kit was assembled that included computer hardware, a portable display unit and informational resources: brochures, PowerPoint presentation and introductory video/DVD about the Branch, *Faces of Corrections*.

Notifying crime victims and the public

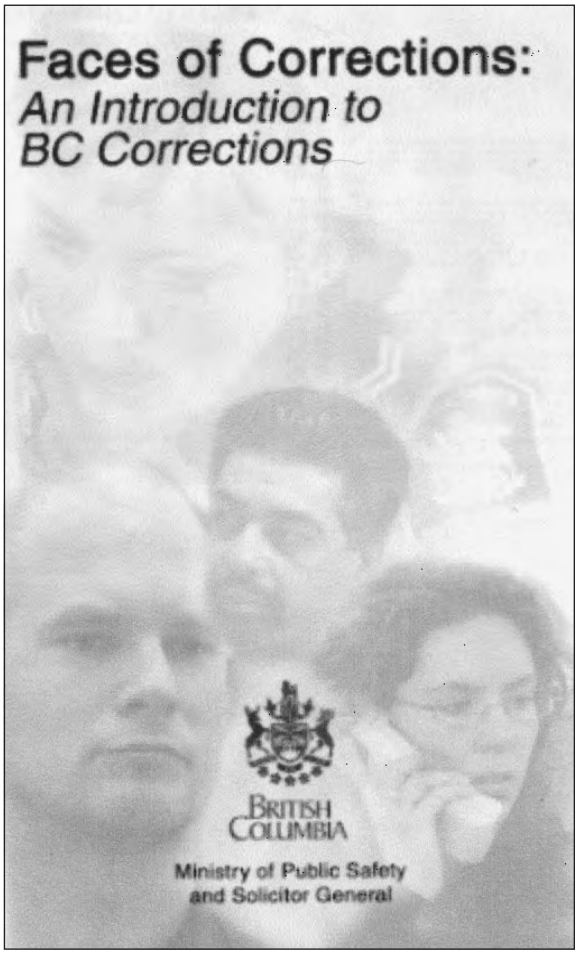
The Ministry of Attorney General introduced the *Victims of Crime Act* in 1996. This act

established a formal policy of victim notification and gave victims more input into procedures involving provincial offenders. The Branch established the Victim Notification Unit (VNU) in January 1998. It addressed notification requirements under the *Victims of Crime Act* and Ministry Protection Order Registry[9] Protocol Agreement.

The VNU notified parties protected by orders registered with the Protection Order Registry. These orders included *Family Relations Act* restraining orders, section 810 peace bonds, and probation orders for a threatening or assaultive offence. The VNU initially established procedures for notification regarding end-of-sentence releases. Notification procedures for conditional releases (i.e. parole, EMP and temporary absences) were introduced in an ADM directive.[10]

An automated victim notification system was installed in 1998 at the VNU and became fully operational in 2000. The VINE system[11] was linked to the CORNET information system and received data on changes in offender custody status (e.g. escape, transfer, and release) several times per day.

VINE kept registered victims informed about escaped, transferred and released offenders through an automated telephone call. Probation officers continued to keep victims informed of changes in the status of community offenders. A victim information line was created to facilitate information to victims.



The video DVD, Faces of Corrections, takes less than eight minutes to explain Corrections Branch programs and services.

9 The Security Programs Division of the Public Safety and Regulatory Branch manages the Protection Order Registry (POR). This registry is a databank that stores all civil and criminal protection orders. The police initially used this databank to check for the existence of protection orders when attending domestic calls. In 1998, Branch staff were directed to check the database for the existence of orders applied against sentenced inmates. They also had to notify parties protected by a protection order prior to the offender's release from custody.

10 ADM Directive 98:06, issued on June 8, 1998.

11 Interactive Systems of Louisburg, Kentucky developed VINE. The VINE system was developed following an incident in which an offender on early release shot and killed his victim. This resulted in the development of a notification system to alert victims if an offender was released from custody. It was implemented in a number of American jurisdictions and the province of Ontario.

Filming of Faces of Corrections, Sayers Lake fish rearing facility at Stave Lake Correctional Centre (2001)
Corrections Branch Archives

According to changes in the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*, the Corrections Branch began to issue public notifications when an offender's risk to sexually reoffend could not be safely managed through enforcement of a supervision order. Public notifications involve distribution of a poster to the media, and school districts if the offender has a history of offending against children. Between 1997 and 2001, 32 such notifications were made.

Drug Treatment Court of Vancouver

The Corrections Branch was increasingly called upon to represent the ministry in co-ordinating the development of cross-jurisdictional initiatives. One such initiative is the Drug Treatment Court of Vancouver (DTCV) that

was launched in December 2001 after years of planning. The second such court in Canada, the DTCV was established through an innovative partnership between the criminal justice and health systems to reduce the human, social and economic cost of illicit substance use. This joint federal-provincial demonstration project includes a special court and separate treatment centre.

Most DTCV participants are charged with drug possession for the purpose of trafficking and have an extensive criminal history to support a drug addiction. Instead of resorting to a typical court order of custody or probation, the DTCV program closely supervises participants during weekly sessions of the court. The treatment centre also focuses on the root causes of criminal behaviour and addiction of participants. By helping participants eliminate the need to commit additional drug-related offences, the program encourages harm reduction through self-control of the drug addiction and other lifestyle factors, including stable housing.

As the provincial authority involved in the project, the Corrections Branch administers funding contributions from levels of government. It also oversees contractual arrangements for DTCV services, such as the treatment centre.

Adult Custody Division

Core programs and use of risk/needs assessment

The advent of risk/needs assessment and core programs transformed the role of correctional centre staff. Traditionally known as gatekeepers and guards, correctional officers were trained to assess offenders and help change offender behaviour. Some staff took the opportunity to become core program facilitators. For many of these individuals, the experience as facilitators shifted personal perspectives about a career in corrections.

> "Most staff who are facilitating the programs are doing so because they want to. I see some hard-line staff becoming more effective because they're not sitting at arm's length away from the problem, but working at the solution with the individual."[12]

By fall 1999, most correctional centres had implemented the first three core programs: Breaking Barriers, Violence Prevention and Substance Abuse Management. Within two years, Respectful Relationships (on family violence) was also introduced to two correctional centres.

Recruitment and training

Recruitment of certain groups remained a challenge. For one thing, it was difficult to recruit women to work in prisons. Then, in 1998, there was a sudden influx of Chinese migrants. This created a need for Mandarin-speaking Chinese staff.

12 Fred Leard, T.A./ Parole Co-ordinator/ Case Management Officer, *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Fall 1999, p. 16.

The decision to institute an ERP model for probation officers/family justice counsellors led to concern by Branch managers and the government employees union. The ERP model could create a barrier for institutional employees wishing to move into community corrections. The concern arose from the practice of trainees paying tuition and expenses while in training, and undertaking training on their own time.

The Corrections Academy and Corrections Branch addressed this concern by providing selected in-service applicants[13] with full tuition subsidy and educational leave with full pay. In some locations, the course was offered on a part-time basis to assist individuals who had not received educational leave. A bursary fund was available to assist students requiring financial assistance for courses and living expenses.

Correctional Officer, Dave Michaud, delivers a SAM session at Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre (2000),
Corrections Branch Archives

British Columbia exports corrections training

In the 1990s, the Corrections Branch and Justice Institute of B.C. began to share its expertise through international training. By 2000, Abu Dhabi considered the Justice Institute its primary training institute and staff from B.C. delivered training in adult and youth corrections. International training would continue to spread to other areas of the United Arab Emirates, Asia, Africa and Europe. Paul Pershick, Director of Corrections and Community Justice Division (JIBC), recounts these initial experiences:

> "My experiences in South Africa and Abu Dhabi make me feel extremely proud about our provincial corrections system and the staff who work in it. We are considered world leaders in corrections training. While continuing to refine our system, we have a responsibility to assist countries that seek our help. Emerging partnerships are enabling the Justice Institute to make this important contribution. I foresee that such international co-operation will eventually lead to rewarding opportunities for Corrections Branch instructors."[14]

13 Six in-service employees could receive this subsidy on each course.

14 *CorrTech Quarterly,* Corrections Branch, Fall 2000, p. 8.

Managers in training from Wathem Prison in Abu Dhabi (2000) Photo: Courtesy of Paul Pershick

Review of drug interdiction in correctional centres

The Corrections Branch hired consultant Bob Stewart, former Chief of Police, Vancouver Police Department "to review how to reduce the amount of illicit narcotics entering B.C. Correction Branch adult custodial facilities."[15] The impetus for the review was a series of events at one correctional centre, although the focus of the review was to improve interdiction measures throughout the system. This review resulted in a new approach to drug interdiction that assisted the Corrections Branch in maintaining a safer environment for staff and inmates.

In late 1997, policy was clarified with respect to drug interdiction.[16] This policy included initiatives to prevent the introduction of drugs and other contraband into correctional centres. The program involved development of a consistent approach to gathering intelligence information, including:

- Protocol agreements with local police departments to assist with information sharing and investigation of illegal drug activity; and
- Development of a computer-based program that allowed information exchange between local police and correctional centres.

The Corrections Branch and local police departments developed memoranda of

15 Bob Stewart, "Review of Drug Interdiction Programs in Correctional Centres," British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General, Corrections Branch, 1997.

16 ADM Directive 97:24.

l to r: Staff member from Abu Dhabi Women's Prison, B.C. Corrections District Director Beverly Roest, Captain Seleema, Dubai Women's Prison (2000)
Photo: Courtesy of Paul Pershick

understanding to improve the information flow. Changes were made to visiting areas. New policy restricted visitors in secure custody centres to no physical contact.

In response to this report, a second drug dog was placed on Vancouver Island in early 1997. A third drug-detecting dog and handler became available in June 1999 to work in Lower Mainland correctional centres.

Ion scanners, which detected and identified trace amounts of illegal drugs, were introduced in some centres. Eleven correctional centres had ion scanners to combat illegal drug traffic in correctional centres in 2000.

In addition to Bob Stewart's review of drug interdiction, the Attorney General released a report by the Investigation, Inspection and Standards Office on the Fraser Regional Correctional Centre. As part of its response to issues and recommendations outlined in these reports, the Corrections Branch instituted a Respectful Workplace program at Fraser Regional Correctional Centre (FRCC). The purpose of this program was to resolve long-term conflicts at FRCC through mediated services, and introduce measures to ensure a healthy workplace.

Complementary measures were undertaken by the ministry to enhance supportive and healthy working environments. It established a senior management Supportive Workplace Action Team. As a result, Corrections Branch management decided to link its existing workplace harassment advisors program to this broader ministry initiative.

Placement and management of illegal migrants

In 1999, the sudden arrival and subsequent detainment of more than 100 illegal Chinese migrants presented a significant challenge for the Corrections Branch at a time when it was already burdened by overcrowding. Adult custody management came together quickly to develop a solution.

Migrants were housed at Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre, Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women, Surrey Pretrial, Vancouver Pretrial, and Alouette River Correctional Centre. In addition, a facility at

Prince George Regional Correctional Centre that had been closed was reopened to become the primary centre for Chinese migrants detained by Immigration Canada. The Branch agreed to incarcerate them on a cost-recovery basis.[17]

Ultimately, British Columbia witnessed the largest single influx of illegal migrants in its history. The Corrections Branch responded by providing accommodation for more than 430 detainees.

> *Working with the Chinese migrants has given us an interesting opportunity. I am posted in the women's unit in the annex at Prince George Regional Correctional Centre (PGRCC). We house 32 women awaiting immigration hearings. Every day, an exercise yard is offered and the group chooses to go to the gym or the outside yard. One day, we headed outside for some fresh air, and discovered that winter temperatures were plummeting. The women were delighted and amazed at the layers of ice forming on the many puddles. Some had never experienced a northern climate. It was like an exciting session of "show and tell," watching them gather pieces of ice like they were precious gems. Daily stresses were forgotten, and all too soon, the exercise period was over. Upon return to the unit, routine pat frisks revealed melting bits of ice, trickling from clenched fists. It seemed the yard was stripped clean of it.*[18]

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees—responsible for monitoring the treatment of migrants—praised the Branch for its handling of the detainees. In an interview, UNHCR representative Suzanne Duff expressed appreciation for the actions of Branch staff: "The humane treatment by B.C. Corrections staff has helped to bring more dignity to the circumstances of asylum seekers living in detention."[19]

The Branch was honoured for its culturally responsive services to the Chinese migrant population. In September 2000, Adult Custody Division received an award from the Ministry of Multiculturalism and Immigration.

Anticipating the possibility of another mass influx of migrants, the carpentry shop at Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre (VIRCC) was moved to Nanaimo Correctional Centre. In place of the shop, two large multi-purpose areas were created that could house 250 immigration detainees at VIRCC if needed.

Facilities

The shift to risk-based allocation of Branch resources affected several open custody centres. Given the illustrious history of these centres, this shift in resources was painful. The general hardening of offenders and introduction of conditional sentencing meant that fewer offenders were being placed in open custody.

In 1998, four centres reduced their capacity by 60 beds:

- Rayleigh Camp (60 to 50);
- Bear Creek (60 to 50);
- Hutda Lake (60 to 50);

17 This meant the federal government would reimburse costs associated with the incarceration.

18 Dusty Palmer, Correctional Officer, *CorrTech Quarterly,* Corrections Branch, Winter 1999/2000, p. 4.

19 *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Spring 2000, p. 5.

Overview of Rayleigh Correctional Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

Overview of Bear Creek Correctional Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

Bear Creek Correctional Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

- New Haven (60 to 30), resulting in closure of the farm program.

Resources from bed closures were reallocated to higher-risk offenders. This reallocation was consistent with the policy of public protection and the strategic plan. As a result, the open bed capacity became more difficult to justify.

With the overcrowding that occurred due to remand populations, the Corrections Branch began to rethink the use of medium security centres. High remand counts required off-loading of sentenced populations. At the same time, medium security institutions were more difficult to fill, because many inmates who were traditionally housed at this security level were given community sentences.

When more sentenced inmates were transferred from secure centres, new pressures were placed on medium security centres. This stress was evident through increased escapes from Alouette River Correctional Centre (ARCC) in Maple Ridge.

The security of several medium security centres was upgraded to address the changing face of the inmate population:

- ARCC and Nanaimo Correctional Centre (NCC)

were upgraded through the installation of fences in November 1993 and October 1994 respectively. Motion detection security was installed at NCC in spring 1995.

- Terrace Community Correctional Centre was fenced during the construction of the new facility that opened in July 1993.
- Ford Mountain Correctional Centre (FMCC) converted from an open centre to a medium centre with the opening of a new induction unit[20] in February 2000. The unit provided 28 beds for intake and assessment, increasing the capacity of FMCC to 88.

In August 1999, the opening of the Vancouver Jail expanded the provincial court lockup at 222 Main Street. This opening represented months of extensive planning among staff in corrections, sheriffs, justices of the peace, courts, Crown counsel, duty counsel and the judiciary. Six provincial government agencies, two ministries, two levels of government and four unions were involved in the implementation.

Vancouver Jail was founded on three concepts:

- Integration of jurisdictions and improved procedures for major justice service partners;
- Development of new technology with existing information systems to bring about more efficient procedures; and
- Creation of an oversight model between the Corrections Branch and other justice partners.[21]

In 2000, a multiple occupancy policy was introduced. It indicated that double-bunking would become a regular practice unless there was a dramatic decline in institutional counts. Double-bunking was a departure from Branch practice and United Nations standards,[22] and the policy was initially intended as a temporary measure. The policy established guidelines for the selection and placement of inmates in multiple occupancy cells.[23]

FMCC's Holloway House induction unit (2000)
Corrections Branch Archives

Perimeter fencing surrounding FMCC (2000)
Corrections Branch Archives

20 The building was named Holloway House in recognition of a long-term correctional worker, Pat Holloway.

21 *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Winter 1999/2000, p. 11.

22 *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*, resolution 663 C I (XXIV) of the Economic and Social Council, 31 July 1957, United Nations.

23 ADM Directive 2000:11.

In other jurisdictions across North America, double-bunking occurred in response to increasing numbers of incarcerated offenders. Double-bunking is practised in most provincial jurisdictions across Canada. All eight jurisdictions that provided information reported inmates being housed in double or shared accommodations designed for more than two inmates.[24] The proportion of inmates housed in double or shared accommodations in these jurisdictions ranged from 14% in PEI to 95% in the Northwest Territories.

Entrance to North Fraser Pretrial Centre (2002) Corrections Branch Archives

24 *One-Day Snapshot of Inmates in Canada's Adult Correctional Facilities*, Catalogue # 85-601, Statistics Canada, 1999.

Double-bunking in other jurisdictions

In March 2001, New Haven Correctional Centre closed because of its focus on low-risk offenders. Operational savings and staff resources from this closure were transferred to the new North Fraser Pretrial Centre (NFPC), which housed higher-risk offenders. Located in Port Coquitlam, NFPC opened in April 2001 with a capacity of 300 beds in 10 living units.

NFPC responded to increased remand populations and relieved overcrowding at Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre and Surrey Pretrial Services Centre. It was primarily used for longer-term remanded inmates and detention of individuals pending immigration review or extradition. The Lower Mainland classification unit operated from this centre, assessing and classifying all adult male offenders sentenced by Lower Mainland courts to 30 days or more. Inmates were then transferred to other provincial centres.

According to Ben Stobbe, Provincial Director of Adult Custody Division, this facility gave the Branch immediate stability in terms of the remand population. Removing the need to frequently transfer inmates resulted in significant savings to the Branch.

Planning of the centre led to a radically new prison design that greatly reduced the capital cost of construction and improved operational efficiency. The centre also caught the attention of the American Institute of Architects, which honoured the North Fraser design with its prestigious justice facilities award.

District Director, John Surridge, at NFPC's opening ceremony (2001) Corrections Branch Archives

North Fraser Pretrial Centre--left: aerial view; top right: living unit; bottom right: correctional officer in control room (2001)
Corrections Branch Archives

NFPC incorporated the latest concepts and best practices identified in B.C. and the United States. The living unit concept and use of high-tech surveillance were not new. Unlike other centres, however, there were high-speed tilt/pan/zoom cameras located on high ceilings to observe each living unit. Previously, cameras were not generally included in living units unless they were under special observation. In addition, an elevated secure control station allowed a good line-of-sight for staff.

In a news release about the opening of the centre, the Attorney General referred to NFPC as "a state-of-the-art centre completed on time and under budget, which uses innovative approaches to staffing efficiencies and inmate requirements."[25]

25 *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Spring 2001, p. 4.

NFPC staff (2003) Photo: Courtesy of Dave Gordon

Inmate health services

Health care for inmates in provincial correctional centres became increasingly standardized in the late 1990s. Procedures for health care services were prescribed by protocols for:

- Emergencies (e.g. shock, trauma, allergy, arrest, drug overdose);
- Standardized emergency medical equipment and mandatory verification;
- Drug and alcohol withdrawal;
- Medication substitution;
- Methadone administration;
- Standardized health care records and charting;
- Standardized mandatory patient monitoring; and
- Dental care.

These protocols ensured minimum standards of practitioner knowledge and uniform care, especially in complicated life-threatening situations that required specialized training.

Throughout this period, the drug formulary—developed by the Branch in 1993—was regularly updated by the Pharmacy and Therapeutics Committee (P&TC). This formulary establishes consistent use of medication among correctional centres and restricts use of non-generic, higher-cost drugs or preparations of unproven benefit. The P&TC was also mandated to oversee the

introduction of medication protocols, prescribing standards and practices, and the containment of drug costs.

By 1997, two significant drug initiatives were undertaken. First, the list of medications for self-administration was expanded. Self-administration encourages greater responsibility for medications in an inmate's possession that have no risk of abuse or overdose. This practice also enables inmates to be less dependent on health care providers for drugs with complex administration times (e.g. medication for AIDS) or that need to be taken at meals.

In addition to the self-administration policy, the Branch instituted a list of over-the-counter medications—compiled by the P&TC—for purchase by inmates from the canteen. This practice not only promoted responsible self-care, it also reduced the need for inmates to consult with doctors before accessing these common preparations. The same result was achieved in more recent years with the introduction of Nicoderm, which can be purchased by inmates. Nicoderm helps inmates to gain independence and control over a nicotine addiction and quit smoking. By expanding the list of available drugs in the canteen, the Branch kept pace with the growing demand for non-prescription medications.

During this period, annual health care conferences brought together individuals from adult and youth correctional centres. Participants included correctional officers, and staff in health care services, administration, and occupational health and safety. Other attendees represented provincial ministries involved in the corrections system, Correctional Service of Canada, hospitals, professional health associations and non-governmental organizations.

Conference topics covered occupational health and safety, security and enforcement, migrant health, drug overdose prevention, fetal alcohol syndrome, mental illness and methadone treatment. Administrative, ethical and political subjects were also considered. For health care workers involved in the Continuing Medical Education program, conference participation was accredited by the Canadian College of Family Practice.

Organizational improvements enabled better management of health services. In 1996, the Nursing Consultant Group was established. The group assists the Director of Health Services and the Branch with nursing standards and bilateral communication on nursing and critical care issues. A compendium of policies, procedures, protocols, P&TC reports, nursing standards and ADM directives was also distributed and periodically updated. In addition, a formal peer-review process was instituted under the supervision of Dr. Diane Rothon, Director of Health Services. Based on these reviews, Dr. Rothon forwards recommendations to District Directors about needed changes to health care.

In 1997-98, Dr. James Ogloff reviewed delivery of mental health services in the Corrections Branch and reported that it lacked "an overarching plan or focus." He also observed no consistency in the identification of mentally ill inmates, or delivery of mental health services in correctional centres. Despite the lack of a central plan, many individual programs and projects worked well.

Dr. Diane Rothon (Director of Health Services), Dr. James Ogloff (Director of Mental Health Services) and Joye Morris (Senior Nursing Consultant) (2000)
Corrections Branch Archives

Following Dr. Ogloff's report,[26] changes were made to provide a minimal level of mental health services in all correctional centres. In 1999, Dr. Ogloff was appointed Director of Mental Health Services to improve services to mentally disordered offenders (MDOs). Mental health screening was introduced for offenders being admitted to custody. Separate units for MDOs was also a major development.

WCB regulations—no smoking

In 1999, the B.C. Workers' Compensation Board (WCB) introduced revised occupational health and safety regulations that included provisions to eliminate staff exposure to smoking in the workplace. A cessation policy was approved for all correctional centres. For the Branch's six secure male correctional centres, a total ban on smoking was applied. The WCB, however, made proposals that would allow smoking in cells and during lockdowns.

Worker complaints followed implementation of the changes, and WCB inspected Surrey Pretrial Services Centre (SPSC) and Fraser Regional Correctional Centre (FRCC). As a result, a complete smoking ban was introduced at FRCC on March 1, 2000. The Supreme Court later determined that WCB failed to provide adequate public consultation for certain operations, including prisons. The Branch again allowed inmates to smoke in their cells during lockdowns, and a prohibition on smoking was phased in over a lengthier period.

On a matter related to smoking cessation in bars and restaurants, the B.C. Supreme Court ruled that the applicable section of the environmental tobacco smoke regulations was null and void. As a result, there was no requirement for the Branch to change its restricted smoking policy.

Inmate call control system

Technology at the turn of the millennium enabled the Branch to develop a new way for inmates to communicate by telephone with contacts on the outside. Some high profile abuses—threatening witnesses or contacting victims—resulted in bans on telephone use, officer dialled calls, and other responses. To

26 J.R.P. Ogloff, *A Review of Mental Health Services in the British Columbia Corrections Branch: Planning for Essential Services.* Report prepared for the Corrections Branch, Ministry of Attorney General, British Columbia, 1998.

monitor and control abuse of telephone privileges, the Branch and a telecommunications supplier developed the inmate call control system (ICCS).

The system uses a smart card to charge inmates for calls, and is capable of blocking inmate calls to specific numbers. The smart card also provides an "electronic wallet" for inmates to purchase items from vending machines, rather than through a canteen. First implemented in North Fraser Pretrial Centre in 2001, ICCS was incorporated by all districts by the next year.

Community Corrections Division

By 1998, a major shift in policy enabled the Community Corrections Division to change the way it managed its heavy probation caseload. By decreasing workload associated with lower risk offenders, probation officers directed resources to offenders with greater needs and higher risk levels. Despite these changes to supervision standards, it was still challenging to manage staff caseloads.

Divisional administration included an active Community Management Committee that met weekly by teleconference. Clarifying the role of staff and work expectations was central to the committee's mission. As a result, community policy and job descriptions were revised and specialized training continued to evolve. Commitment to organizational development was also shown in October 2000 when approximately 300 community staff gathered together near Kamloops for a provincial training workshop on managing risk and offender change. This was the first such community corrections event in more than 25 years.

Agents of change

Given the introduction of case management principles in the 1970s, correctional interventions were funnelled primarily through contracted staff and existing community programs. Instead of delivering rehabilitative services, probation officers were responsible for administering service delivery contracts.

By the late 1990s, however, the application of risk-based offender management and core programs dramatically shifted the job emphasis of probation officers. Focused on managing medium and high-risk clients, the role of probation officers changed from broker-of-service to agent-of-change. As agents of change, they facilitated programs and provided one-to-one support and intervention. As supervisors, they directed offenders to enrol in core programs and other treatment programs.[27]

Many probation officers embraced their new role with enthusiasm. Others had difficulty viewing themselves as service providers.

By early 2000, there were 31 core community pilot programs being implemented across the province.[28] More than 100 offenders completed

27 *Building a Safer Future-The Role of Corrections in the Community*, Corrections Branch pamphlet, May 2000.
28 *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Spring 2000, p. 14.

the violence prevention and substance management programs, and early indicators suggested that these programs were motivating positive changes in participants.

> Core programs are receiving endorsements from individuals other than participants and Branch staff. In a recent case, a judge reinforced the need for an offender to complete a core program or face the consequences of a jail sentence.[29]

Gladue Decision

In 1999, a Supreme Court decision[30] required probation officers to produce specialized reports regarding aboriginal offenders. The decision provided interpretation of the *Criminal Code*.[31] During sentencing, judges were required to consider alternatives to imprisonment "with particular attention to the circumstances of aboriginal offenders."

As a result, probation officers were obliged to provide more information to the court when preparing pre-sentence reports. This information related to the background and case management plans of aboriginal offenders.[32] Community Corrections Division later developed online training in response to the Gladue decision.

Introduction of the conditional sentence

Public concerns regarding corrections most often related to the release and monitoring of offenders in the community. During the 1990s, law reform and initiatives affected how offenders were placed into the community. Among these legislative changes, conditional sentences had a major impact on corrections, especially in the community.

Conditional sentences were created in September 1996 (Bill C-41[33]) as an alternative to imprisonment, to reduce the number of offenders serving their sentences in custody. A conditional sentence was considered a jail sentence, which was served in the community. By imposing compulsory conditions that restricted an offender's liberty, conditional sentences were intended to be more stringent than probation orders. For example, a judge could meet treatment objectives by requiring an offender to attend a program.

While institutional counts for sentenced offenders started to decline in British Columbia, Corrections Branch assessed that an increasing number of conditional sentences were being imposed on offenders who would have traditionally received probation orders. In other parts of Canada, conditional sentences had no effect on reducing the rate of imprisonment.

29 *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Spring 2000, p. 14.

30 *R. v. Gladue*, [1999] 1 S.C.R. 688.

31 *Criminal Code*, R.S.C. 1985, c. C-46, ss. 718.2(*e*).

32 K. Roach and J. Rudin, "Gladue: The Judicial and Political Reception of a Promising Decision," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 42(3), 2000, pp. 355-388.

33 Bill C-41 introduced major changes to sentencing provisions of the *Criminal Code*.

> The data suggests that the use of conditional sentences has affected the proportion of probation orders more than admissions to custody. This suggests that conditional sentencing legislation may not be having the desired impact of reducing reliance on incarceration in sentencing.[34]

Initial application of this sentencing option by the courts primarily affected community corrections and had a minimum impact on jail counts. In January 2000, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled on five conditional sentencing cases. In response to *R. v. Proulx*, the Supreme Court established guidelines for interpreting the legal provisions of conditional sentence.[35] A year later, the Corrections Branch made electronic monitoring an option in the supervision of conditional sentences.

Traditionally, lower-risk offenders were placed on electronic monitoring to support the temporary absence program. The introduction of risk-based supervision standards revealed that these offenders were more intensively supervised than higher risk offenders (i.e. one staff member per six offenders on electronic monitoring compared to one staff member per 90 offenders on other forms of community supervision).

With the adoption of supervision standards, it no longer made sense to supervise low-risk offenders with electronic monitoring.[36] By the end of the year 2000, electronic monitoring was eliminated for temporary absences. Beginning in January 2001, sentenced offenders were only eligible for electronic monitoring if the court ordered its application as part of a conditional sentence.[37] The B.C. Parole Board also used it as a condition of day and full parole.

In British Columbia, a rapid increase in conditional sentences and reduction of jail sentences followed the Proulx decision and redirected use of electronic monitoring. By December 2001, the number of offenders serving a conditional sentence exceeded 2,000. At the time of the court ruling on *R. v. Proulx*, this caseload was less than 1,300.

Branch policy directed probation officers to give more attention to conditional sentence orders than to probation orders. However, additional resources to supervise conditional sentences were not forthcoming. In addition, offenders on conditional sentence had higher levels of risk to reoffend than offenders on probation. Without more treatment and rehabilitative support, these offenders were also more likely to breach conditions and be sentenced to jail.

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34 Management Report No. 2000:02, Corrections Branch, p. 2.

35 "The Proulx decision affirms that the purpose of conditional sentencing is to reduce reliance on incarceration and increase the use of restorative justice principles. It was also stated that conditional sentences can provide significant denunciation and deterrence. This sentencing option is preferable to incarceration when punitive and rehabilitative objectives can be achieved." (Excerpt from Conditional Sentencing Pre and Post R. v. Proulx Decision, Management Report No. 2000:02, November 2000, Corrections Branch.)

36 As an intensive supervision strategy, electronic monitoring was viewed as more effective for higher-risk offenders under community supervision. Research shows that there is no difference in rates of reoffending when low-risk offenders are placed under community supervision with electronic monitoring, compared to community supervision without electronic monitoring.

37 ADM Directives 2000:10 and 2000:10a.

While the Branch continued research and evaluation on breach and incarceration rates associated with conditional sentences,[38] the Community Corrections Division restructured existing staffing and program resources. Changes in electronic monitoring, for example, enabled the Branch to apply this resource to higher-risk offenders.

A new client supervisor position (probation officer 14) was created to focus on the supervision of low-risk and bail cases. For medium and high-risk offenders, probation officers remained the primary case managers and client supervisors provided secondary case management. The introduction of this position ensured that probation officers supervised smaller caseloads, which consisted solely of high and medium-risk cases.

New technology was proposed to address issues related to workload and operational efficiency. For bail clients, the Branch initiated an automated reporting system (ARS) pilot project for low-risk offenders in 1996.

Concurrently, a manual check-in system (MCI) was piloted. As part of a Northern Region case management pilot, voice verification technology was also tested as a supervision strategy.[39] Neither ARS nor voice recognition proved cost-effective.

Online training

The development of distance education and online training increased flexibility in training new recruits as well as providing advanced training. A new training model was developed by Senior Management Committee to improve recruitment and save money.

To apply for probation officer and probation officer 14 positions, candidates were required to complete four online prerequisite courses. Once an individual was hired, the Branch funded the remaining training, which occurred in the hiring office. The training curriculum for the probation officer 14 position was accredited and recognized when a candidate applied to be a probation officer.

Family Justice Services Division

An alternative dispute resolution policy was introduced in May 1995, followed in 1996 by the premier's announcement of the government's focus on alternate dispute resolution. The objective of the policy was to provide dispute resolution options[40] throughout the justice system.

Several changes followed this policy decision:

- In 1996, the Ministry of Attorney General opened the Dispute Resolution Office;
- In 1997, family justice services were directed towards resolving family disputes outside the traditional court system;

38 Management Report No. 2000:02, Corrections Branch, p. 11.

39 Technology that enables enforcement of court ordered monitoring conditions without face-to-face contact between client and supervisor. Refer to ADM Directive 2000:05, July 19, 2000.

40 Including mediation, arbitration, neutral evaluations, mini-trials and litigation.

- In 1997, the organizational structure of the Family Justice Services Division with the Corrections Branch was established;
- Resources allocated to producing custody and access reports were transferred to family mediation and other dispute resolution services;
- Approximately 90% of family justice services resources were focused on alternative dispute resolution; and
- The remaining 10% were devoted to custody and access report preparation.

Given the emphasis on dispute resolution, family justice counsellors were required to complete 80 hours of mediation/conflict resolution training. A two-day course—through the Justice Institute's Centre for Conflict Resolution—was added to prepare family justice counsellors for certification by Family Mediation Canada.

At the end of 1998, certification was completed for almost all practising family justice counsellors. Newly hired family justice counsellors were also required to obtain certification to successfully complete training.

Focusing resources on lower income families

Guidelines came into effect that assisted family justice counsellors and ensured lower income persons would be given service priority.[41] Family Justice Services Division also prioritized services to low-income clients, particularly if the Legal Services Society (LSS) referred them.[42]

The Ministry of Attorney General and LSS established two initiatives to focus dispute resolution resources on family legal aid referrals. First, a pilot project made LSS responsible for one year of all custody and access reports ordered in Kelowna and Nanaimo. In exchange, LSS increased referrals to family justice counsellors for dispute resolution regarding custody, access and maintenance issues.

Second, the availability of parent education programs and dispute resolution services for legal aid referrals was increased. This was intended to increase opportunities to resolve matters of custody, access and maintenance.

In another development following amendments to the *B.C. Benefits Act*,[43] individuals on income assistance could no longer access family justice counsellor dispute resolution services for family maintenance.

Family justice reform

In 1998, two complementary events led to sweeping changes in family justice in British Columbia.

First, the chief judge of the B.C. Provincial Court produced a report[44] that recommended an integrated approach to resolve family disputes. This approach used non-adversarial and adversarial dispute resolution methods.

41 ADM Directive 99:04, April 1999.

42 Family cases contributed significantly to the overall legal aid costs. This was supported by a document released by the Ministry of the Attorney General entitled *Strategic Reforms of British Columbia's Justice System (1998).*

43 Amendments were introduced on Sept. 15, 1997.

44 Metzger, 1998.

A proposal was developed, with the following key features:

- Amalgamate the Ministry of Attorney General's initiatives in mediation, family justice centres, *Child Support Guidelines* and parent education;
- Make these initiatives available and accessible to parents engaged in litigation before the court; and
- Produce court-ordered custody and access reports[45] only when a trial was imminent and other dispute resolution options failed.

Second, more provincial court options for resolving family disputes and new *Provincial Court (Family) Rules* came into effect. These developments occurred as a result of the chief judge's report, and collaboration involving the Dispute Resolution Office, Family Justice Services Division and Office of the Chief Justice of the Provincial Court.

The objective of the new rules was to improve the flow and reduce the cost of *Family Relations Act* cases in provincial court. These rules supported an integrated model that incorporated alternative dispute resolution, child support clerks, parent education, judicial mediation and case management.

Under the new court rules, judges could mediate disputes and make referrals to community-based resources. While the family justice reform project focused on getting family disputes out of the court process, the rules integrated mediation and other alternative dispute resolution options with the courts. As a result, dispute resolution was made available throughout the family court process.

Family justice registry project (Rule 5)

In response to the chief judge's report, a pilot project was established in consultation with provincial court judges, the Dispute Resolution Office, and other partners with the Ministry of Attorney General.

In six provincial court registries, litigants were informed of their options for settlement in an attempt to resolve family disputes prior to courts setting a trial date. Because it was interested in exploring options to make family justice services more accessible and affordable, the federal government provided funding.[46]

The purpose of the pilot project was to test Rule 5 of the *Provincial Court (Family) Rules*. Rule 5 required parties in non-urgent cases, who had a dispute in custody, access or maintenance, to meet with a family justice counsellor. The family justice counsellor provided information on available services,[47] such as parenting after separation programs, mediation, and assistance from child support clerks. Referrals could be made to any of these services or to a provincial court judge. The family justice counsellor could also provide ADR services or refer parents to a private mediator.

The pilot offered early intervention by a family justice counsellor, dispute resolution options and parenting after separation workshops. Trials were set only for cases that were unsuitable for alternative dispute resolution, or when alternative methods did not achieve settlement.

When referred to a provincial court judge, the parties could be directed to a family case

45 Section 15, *Family Relations Act*.

46 *CorrTech Quarterly*, Corrections Branch, Fall 2001, pp. 4-6.

47 Information was provided on both court-based and community-based programs and services.

conference and judge for mediation. The judge could also make referrals to community services. Custody and access reports were only prepared after mediation attempts failed and the case was referred for trial.

An evaluation of the pilot project revealed that fewer cases went before a judge in Rule 5 sites. Those that did go ahead made fewer appearances before a judge.

Child Support Guidelines and federal contribution funding

In 1997, amendments were made to the *Divorce Act* and its regulations to introduce a new scheme for child support payments, and to the *Income Tax Act*. The new federal *Child Support Guidelines* changed how child support amounts were determined under the *Divorce Act*.

These new guidelines established rules and tables to calculate the amount of child support a parent should contribute. The intention of the new guidelines was to help parents avoid long and costly litigation. Under the old system, litigation created emotional strain on parents and their children.

Three main factors were considered in determining the payment amount:

- Parent's income;
- Number of children; and
- Province or territory of residence.

These guidelines made it easier to arrive at a child support amount and reduce conflict between spouses when making child support calculations. British Columbia introduced *Child Support Guidelines* in 1998[48] and family justice counsellors assisted parents in processing child support applications in provincial court. Eventually, child support clerks were located in 22 family justice centres to help with the initial introduction of the guidelines. By the summer of 1999, only three child support clerk positions were funded.

Parent education program and Parenting After Separation (PAS)

Parent education programs, along with mediation and conciliation services, contributed to reduced demand for litigation and lower court costs. More families settled their separation and divorce issues outside of court. Following positive feedback, the Ministry of Attorney General decided to expand parent education programs to 50 communities across the province.

With federal funds through the child support initiative, the program curriculum was updated in 1997. This program became known as the parenting after separation (PAS) program.

The Branch, in partnership with the Law Courts Education Society, produced a parenting after separation handbook that the judiciary supported as an important parental resource.[49] Smaller, rural communities could obtain a PAS workbook and home video study package through local libraries instead of attending a PAS session.

48 The child support guidelines were introduced through an amendment to the *Family Relations Act* (B.C.) and *Regulations*.

49 *Parenting After Separation: A Handbook for Parents*, Law Courts Education Society of B.C. Vancouver, B.C., March 1999.

The Branch initiated a pilot project in 1999 to test mandatory participation in parenting after separation programs (MPAS). Separating parents, and parents who were changing existing orders for child custody, access, guardianship or child support, were required to participate in a parenting after separation program prior to their first court appearance.

An evaluation of the program in 2000 indicated positive results. There were fewer court cases and a smoother passage to court in the pilot locations.

Expansion of PAS program to different ethnic backgrounds

PAS programs were initially only available in English. The eventual development of programs in the first language of different ethnic groups allowed information to be tailored to the needs of a particular community.

The South Asian community actively supported the PAS program and participated in its development and delivery. Parenting after separation workshops were first offered in Punjabi and Hindi, and later in Mandarin and Cantonese.

In recognition of these multicultural programs, the Ministry of Attorney General, together with the Law Courts Education Society, was awarded the 1999 Erwin Cantor Award "for innovative programs" by the international Association of Family Conciliation Courts.

Family justice services evolve into a separate entity

Reorganization of the Branch in April 1997 resulted in the creation of the Family Justice Services Division. Under this specialized organizational structure and the first full-time dedicated family justice manager, 31 family justice centres were established throughout the province.

Divisional Management Committee: Doug Johnson, Ron Crawford, Wendy Hacking, Laurie Morgan, Kathyrn Platt, Brenda Miller, Barry Sadler, Bev Porter, Donna Carlson (1997) Corrections Branch Archives

Initially, there was overlap with the Community Corrections Division because probation officers continued to provide family justice services in some rural areas of the province. Family Justice Services Division and Community Corrections Division also continued to share management structures.

Due to geography, community size and resource limitations, it was not possible to establish full-time family justice counsellor[50] specialists in every community. Instead, staff were employed half-time as family justice counsellors and half-time as probation officers. By the end of 1999, family and probation functions were separated by phasing out positions that delivered both functions. Training was also separated and online prerequisite training for new recruits flourished. For family justice counsellor positions, a person needed 80 hours of dispute resolution training and two prerequisite courses before applying to the hiring process.

Although co-located offices still existed, Family Justice Services was administratively separated from the Community Corrections Division by 2000. The following year, the Family Justice Services Division transferred to the newly created Justice Services Branch in the Ministry of Attorney General.

Family Justice Services Division staff at the division's provincial workshop (April 2001)
Corrections Branch Archives

50 In 1997, the Ministry of Attorney General released the policy framework, "*Strategic Reforms of British Columbia's Justice System*," which emphasized the specialized role of family court counsellors in providing dispute resolution alternatives to court in family matters. This emphasis and the creation of the Family Justice Services Division led to a new title for these employees and trained mediators—family justice counsellor.

Conclusion

The decade that led to the new millennium posed many challenges to the Corrections Branch and its divisions. The Branch responded by training its staff and modernizing its facilities. Although the Branch maintained an organizational structure based on geography and cross-functional responsibilities for many years, it could no longer respond effectively. Following restructuring into a provincial organization, it was revitalized through strategic initiatives specific to the functions of adult corrections.

At the same time, high-quality family justice services expanded throughout B.C. The departure of family justice services from the Corrections Branch took time and patience, and reflected the maturation and expertise of the Family Justice Services Division.

The development of youth justice services within the new Ministry for Children and Families fostered the creation of separate philosophies, directions and programs to better fit young offenders.

The Branch became a leader in correctional practice. Through its diverse portfolio of services, offenders were no longer simply managed. Instead, staff became involved in the delivery of programming based on cutting-edge research. Specialized and online training also ensured the professional development of its staff.

Risk/needs assessment enabled Branch staff to make sound risk management decisions and enhance public safety. It also helped the Branch adjust to the continued growth of conditional sentences and record levels of offenders sentenced to community supervision. The integrated offender management system, CORNET, and other emerging information technology supported these service priorities.

Core programs led to the delivery of consistent offender programming across the province. While four core programs were implemented during this time, development started on four new programs.

Temporary absences were limited to short-term releases, and justice system partners were steered by the Branch to use electronic monitoring for conditional sentences. The role of the Parole Board was strengthened through a new protocol agreement with the Branch.

The 1990s brought significant changes and challenges, which were met by a reorganized and flexible Corrections Branch. Guided by credible research and strategic planning, it navigated through the turbulence of budget cuts and changing political priorities. It had become a respected collaborator in criminal and family justice.

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Organization of materials

This bibliography is organized according to historical policy periods. The title of each period represents the general approach taken by the government in terms of administration and treatment of offenders in the corrections system. These materials include:

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- Lists of interviewed Corrections Branch management personnel.

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References may not refer directly to corrections in British Columbia. However, they contribute to understanding its development. Some references are incomplete and access to archival materials might be restricted.

The abbreviation "n.d." is inserted when the source date is unknown.

The following abbreviations identify the location of sources:

BCCA British Columbia Corrections Archives

BCLL British Columbia Legislative Library

BCPB British Columbia Parole Board Office

JIL Justice Institute Library

KMA Kamloops Museum and Archives

NWHC Northwest History Collection—Vancouver Public Library

PABC Provincial Archives of British Columbia

SFUI Simon Fraser University Institute for Studies in Criminal Justice Policy

VCA Vancouver City Archives

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Appendix

Milestones

More than 150 years of Corrections Branch history

First 100 years

1849-1870	Beginning of colonial era
1859	Chain gang system
1871-1949	Beginning of punishment era
1890	Separate incarceration for juvenile offenders
1910	Juvenile probation
1912	First prison farm (Oakalla) opens
1937	New Haven (Borstal) opens
1942	Provincial probation system for adults

1950-1969 Era of rehabilitation

1951	Corrections removed from police administration
1950s	First forestry camps established, including the Oakalla camps
1955	Staff training school

1970-1978 Era of reintegration

1970	Gaols renamed as correctional centres
1971	Creation of work release unit
1972	B.C. Task Force on Corrections
1972	Family court counsellor position established
1974	First bail supervision project (Vancouver)
1976	Regional administration (six regions established)
1978	Youth containment program
1978	Provincial standards issued on correctional practices

1980-1989 Era of reparation

Late 1970s	Increased use of temporary absences
1980s	Specialized family court counsellor offices established
1980	B.C. Board of Parole established
1983	Computerized records system
1985	National standards in corrections
1987	Electronic monitoring pilot project initiated
1987	Specialized training for supervision of sex offenders and Stave Lake program established

1990-1997 Era of risk management

1992	Province-wide expansion of electronic monitoring program
Mid-1990s	Promotion of family mediation
1995	"What works" in corrections
1996	Staff training in offender risk/needs assessment
1996	Separated duties of family justice counsellors and probation officers
1997	Corrections Branch reorganization replaces regional management structure
1997	Youth corrections transferred to new Ministry for Children and Families

1998-2001 Era of directing change

1998	*Directing Change*: Branch strategic plan embraces risk-based, integrated offender management, and just resolution of family disputes
	Victim Notification Unit established
	First of eight core programs implemented
	Family information system introduced
1999	CORNET implemented
1999	Provincial Releasing Authority closed
2001	Corrections Branch becomes part of the newly created Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General
2001	Family Justice Services Division is transferred to the Justice Services Branch, Ministry of Attorney General

Construction of major jails and correctional centres

First 100 years

1852	Hudson's Bay Company barracks
1858	Bastion Square Gaol (Victoria)—closed in 1885
1860	New Westminster Gaol—closed in 1886
1870	Kamloops Gaol—replaced in 1878
1886	Hillside Gaol (Victoria)
1891	Juvenile Reformatory for Boys (Victoria)
1894	Nanaimo Gaol
1898	Nelson Gaol
1905	Industrial School for Boys (Jericho Beach, Vancouver)
1912	Oakalla Prison Farm (Burnaby)
1913	Saanich Prison Farm
1914	Industrial School for Girls (Vancouver)
1916	Women's section opened at Oakalla Prison Farm
1923	Prince George Gaol—replaced in 1955
1937	B.C. Training School—later renamed New Haven
1942	Oakalla Women's Unit
1947	New Haven Correctional Centre—re-opened

1950s-1970s

1957	Haney Correctional Institution—closed 1975
1960	Twin Maples Correctional Facility for Women—closed 1991
1964	Alouette River Unit
1964	Chilliwack Security Unit
1971	Stave Lake Correctional Centre—closed 2002
1974	Chilliwack Community Correctional Centre—closed 2002
1974	Marpole Community Correctional Centre
1975	Burnaby Community Correctional Centre
1977	Lynda Williams Community Correctional Centre—closed 1984
1978	Lakeside Correctional Centre for Women

1980s-1990s

1982	Renovation of Willingdon and Victoria Youth Detention Centres
1983	Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre
1983	Nanaimo Correctional Centre
Mid-1980s	Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre—rebuilt
1986	Burnaby Youth Custody Centre

1987	High Valley Youth Custody Centre
1989	Kamloops Regional Correctional Centre
1989	Prince George Youth Custody Centre
1990	Fraser Regional Correctional Centre
1991	Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women
1991	Surrey Pretrial Services Centre
1993	Terrace Community Correctional Centre—closed 2002
1996	Prince George Regional Correctional Centre
1999	Vancouver Jail
2001	North Fraser Pretrial Centre (Port Coquitlam)

Correctional camps

1950s:

Centre Creek, Clearwater, Gold Creek, Haney, Mount Thurston, Pine Ridge, Tamihi Creek

1960s:

Alouette River, Blue Mountain, Boulder Bay, Ford Mountain, Hutda Lake, Lakeview Youth Camp, Marpole Probation Hostel, Metchosin Ranch, Pierce Creek, Porteau Cove, Rayleigh, Ruskin, Snowdon, Search and Leadership Training Course (SALT)

1970s:

Bear Creek, Cedar Lake, High Valley Youth Correctional Centre, Jordan River, Stave Lake

Note: In 2002, all operating correctional camps and community correctional centres were closed.

Probation offices

Began in 1942, with the Vancouver office.

1940s:

Abbotsford, Vernon, Victoria Adult

1950s:

Burnaby, Chilliwack, Courtenay, Cranbrook, Kamloops, Nanaimo, Nelson, New Westminster, North Vancouver, Penticton, Port Alberni, Prince George (Youth & Family, Adult), Prince Rupert, Trail, Victoria Youth Court, Williams Lake

1960s:

Campbell River, Dawson Creek, Duncan, Fort St. John, Haney, Kamloops #2, Kelowna, Kitimat, Merritt, Oliver, Revelstoke, Richmond, Salmon Arm, Sechelt, Smithers, Terrace, Ullooet

1970s

100 Mile House, Ashcroft, Bella Coola, Burns Lake, Castlegar, Clearwater, Colwood, Coquitlam, Creston, Delta, Fernie, Golden, Kimberley, Lake Cowichan, Langley, MacKenzie, Maple Ridge, Mission, Oakalla Work Release Unit, Oliver, Parksville, Port Alberni, Port Hardy, Port McNeill, Quesnel, Trail #2, Sidney, Vanderhoof

1980s:

100 Mile House #2, Golden #2, Esquimalt, Hope, Maple Ridge, North Vancouver #2, Powell River, Queen Charlotte Islands, Porteau Cove Camp, Port Coquitlam, Saanich, Sooke, Squamish, Surrey North, Surrey Central, Vancouver Southeast, Vancouver Southwest, Vancouver West End, West Vancouver, White Rock, Yale Street

Note: By 2000, administration of community corrections was consolidated from 74 to 53 local offices.

First Known Directors of Correctional Programs

Institution	Initiation date	Warden/Director
Bastion Square Gaol (Victoria)	1858	
New Westminster Gaol	1860	Captain John Pritchard
Kamloops Gaol	1870	George Tunstall
Hillside Gaol (Victoria)	1886	Henry B. Roycraft (Superintendent of Police and Warden)
Juvenile Reformatory for Boys	1891	J. Finlayson
Nanaimo Gaol	1894	
Nelson Gaol	1898	R.E. Lemon
Industrial School for Boys	1905	D. Donaldson (Superintendent)
Oakalla Prison Farm	1912	W.G. McMynn
Saanich Prison Farm	1913	J. Munro
Industrial School for Girls	1914	J.H. Collier (Superintendent) I. Collier (Matron)
Prince George Gaol	1923	W. Trant
B.C. Training School	1937	A. McLead
Oakalla Women's Unit (also known as Lakeside)	1940	I.L. Garrick (Matron)
New Haven	1947	S. Rocksborough-Smith
Haney Correctional Institution	1957	E.K. Nelson
Twin Maples Correctional Facility for Women	1960	L. Williams (Matron)
Alouette River Unit	1964	
Chilliwack Security Unit	1964	Hugh MacDonald?
Lakeview Youth Containment Centre	1977	Bill Pogson
Vancouver Pretrial Services Centre	1982	Bob Hagman
Nanaimo Correctional Centre	1983	
Burnaby Youth Custody Centre	1986 May	
High Valley Youth Custody Centre	1987	Dennis Hrycun
Prince George Youth Custody Centre	1989 June	Brij Madhock
Kamloops Regional Correctional Centre	1989	
Fraser Regional Correctional Centre	1990	
Surrey Pretrial Services Centre	1991	
Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women	1991	
Terrace Community Correctional Centre	1993	Arno Brenner
Prince George Regional Correctional Centre	1996	
Vancouver Jail	1999	
North Fraser Pretrial Centre	2001	John Surridge
Victoria Youth Detention Centre		Dell Phillips
Willingdon Youth Detention Centre		

Forest camp	Opening date	Officer-in-charge
Rehabilitation Camp No. 1	1951 Summer	R.M. Deildal
Rehabilitation Camp No. 2	1952 Summer	
Haney Camp	1954 September	
High Valley Camp		
Gold Creek Camp	1957	
Mount Thurston Camp	1957	
Tamihi Creek Camp	1957	Tom Tyson
Clearwater Camp	1957 September	John Proudfoot
Centre Creek Camp	1959	
Pine Ridge Camp	1959	
Snowdon Camp	1962 November	
Stave Lake Camp		
Lakeview Youth Camp	1962/63	Ernie Noel
Pierce Creek	1962/63	
Rayleigh Camp	1963 September	Tory Pink
Search and Leadership Training Course (SALT)	1964 (June 27—Aug. 9: pilot project)	
Alouette River Unit	1964 July	
Marpole Probation Hostel	1965	
Ford Mountain	1966	
Ruskin Camp	1966	
Hutda Lake Camp	1967	
Porteau Cove	1967	
Metchosin Ranch	1967 November	
Boulder Bay Camp	1968 June	J. Sabourin
Cedar Lake Camp		
Bear Creek Camp	1979 November	Neil McCuish

Probation offices	Opening date	Probation Officer
Vancouver	1942	E.G.B. Stevens
Abbotsford	1947 November	J.M. Putnam
Victoria Adult	1948 October	C.D. Davidson
Vernon	1948 September	E. MacGougan
Nanaimo	1950 August	E.H.B. McGougan
Penticton	1951 July	D.L. Clark
Nelson	1951 July	H. W. Jackson
Cranbrook	1953 August	L. D. Howarth
North Vancouver	1954	G.G. Woodhams
New Westminster	1954 July	J.M. Putnam
Prince Rupert	1955 February	A. C. Hare
Prince George	1955 November	R.G. McKellar
Burnaby	1956	R.J. Clark

Probation offices	Opening date	Probation Officer
Kamloops	1956 November	J. Sabourin
Courtenay	1958	L.E. Penegar
Chilliwack	1958 October	H. Ziegler
Victoria Youth Court	1959	Brian Wharf
Trail	1959 April	L. Pisapio
Port Alberni	1959 April	K. Richardson
Williams Lake	1959 May	P. Bone
Kelowna	1960	L. Pisapio
Dawson Creek	1960	John Hogarth
Dawson Creek	1960 May	J. Hogarth
Haney	1960 November	B. McLean
Sechelt	1962	J. Konrad
Duncan	1962 December	A.K.B. Sheridan
Richmond (second office)	1963 October	P. Bone
Campbell River	1964	P. Zanachelli ?
Revelstoke	1965 November	Larry Larson
Fort St. John	1966 December	Aly Khan
Lillooet	1966 February	Arthur McBride?
Smithers	1966 February	
Terrace	1967 September	
Salmon Arm	1969	Bill Phillips
Quesnel	1970	Dennis Hartman
Oliver	1970	Stan Page
Oakalla Work Release Unit	1971	Stan Mounsey/P.J. "Tim" Thimsen
Vanderhoof	1971 Fall	Bob Kissinger
Sidney	1971 May	Brian Malin
Fernie	1973	Paul Pershick
Golden	1973	Paul Wiltse
Haney Correctional Centre (PO office)	1973	Bill Foster
Langley	1973 August	Dave Gilding
Port Hardy	1973 /74	Bud Blacklock
Ashcroft	1974	Dale Ginther
Kimberley	1974	Mike Carey
Castlegar	1974	Pat Rogers
MacKenzie	1974 July	Ron Muir
Creston	1975	Jack Carriou
100 Mile House	1975 October	Trevor Barnes
Queen Charlotte Islands (Tlell)	1976	Jim Fulton
Parksville	1977	
Prince George Youth & Family	1977 March	Bob Plewes
Prince George Adult	1977 March	Rudy Lynch
Port McNeill	1979	Alex Rhodes
Clearwater	1979	Bob Moore

Probation offices	Opening date	Probation Officer
Colwood	1979	Al Jones
Esquimalt	1981 September	Earl Wadden
Sooke	1983 February	Al Gunnarson
100 Mile House (second office)	1984 September	Brian Malin
Port Alberni		
North Vancouver (second office)		
Porteau Cove Camp		
Squamish		
Vancouver Southeast		
Vancouver Southwest		
Vancouver West End		
West Vancouver		
Merritt/ Kamloops (second office)		
Burns Lake		
Kitimat		
Smithers		
Terrace		
Bella Coola		
Coquitlam		
Delta		
Lake Cowichan		
Maple Ridge		
Mission		
Hope		
Port Coquitlam		
Powell River		
Saanich		
Surrey Central		
Surrey North		
West End		
White Rock		
Yale Street		

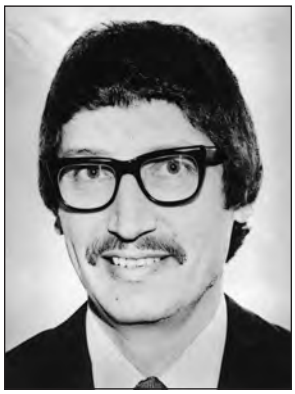
Legislative milestones

Pre-Confed.	*Imperial Act*
1857	*Act for the Establishment of Prisons for Young Offenders*
1871	B.C. joins Confederation; federal/provincial jurisdictions created
1886	*Act Respecting Public and Reformatory Prisons* (federal)
1890	*Reformatory Act*
1908	*Juvenile Delinquents Act* (federal)
1946	*B.C. Probation Act*
1950	*Prison and Reformatories Act*
1963	*Family and Children's Courts Act*
1969	*Provincial Court Act*
1970	*B.C. Correction Act*
1974	*Unified Family Court Act*
1974	*Administration of Justice Act*
1977	*Corrections Amendment Act*
1978	Amended *Parole Act* (federal) enabling creation of B.C. Parole Board
1978	*Family Relations Act* (federal)
1984	*Young Offenders Act* (federal)
1992	*Correctional and Conditional Release Act* (federal)
1996	*Victims of Crime Act* (federal)

Heads of Corrections for B.C. Corrections Branch

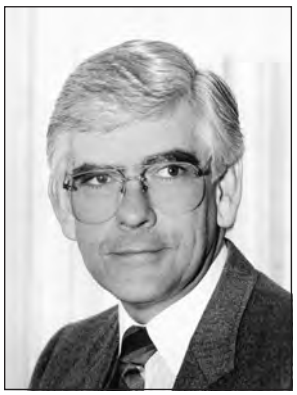
E.G.B. Stevens
1957-62

Selwyn Rocksborough-Smith
1962-73



Edgar W. Epp
1973-75

John W. Ekstedt
1975-78



Bernard G. Robinson
1978-88

James B. Graham
1988-95

D.J. Demers
1995-2003

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