

AN ASSESSMENT OF FACTORS RELATED TO
RECIDIVISM AMONG ADULT EX-OFFENDERS
RESIDING IN A COMMUNITY BASED
RESIDENTIAL CENTRE IN ST.
JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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AN ASSESSMENT OF FACTORS RELATED TO RECIDIVISM AMONG
ADULT EX-OFFENDERS RESIDING IN A COMMUNITY-BASED
RESIDENTIAL CENTRE IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work

School of Social Work
Memorial University of Newfoundland

July 1984

St. John's

Newfoundland

Abstract

This quantitative-descriptive study reports data on ex-offenders who resided at a community-based residential centre (CRC) in St. John's, Newfoundland. This study, the first formal research about correctional treatment programs in Newfoundland, describes background characteristics and program factors related to recidivism over a two year follow-up period.

The study sample was composed of 172 males who stayed at Howard House between April, 1977 and May, 1981. Parolees and mandatory supervision cases under the jurisdiction of the Correctional Service of Canada (C.S.C.), and Temporary Absence (T.A.) cases along with probationers referred through the provincial Department of Justice, comprised the sample.

Data were collected from individual Howard House files and Finger Print Service (FPS) records obtained through the Canadian Police Service Information Centre (CPSIC). Four study instruments were developed and used in this study: 1) The Program Participation Scale (PPS), 2) the Alcohol and/or Other Drug Problem Scale, 3) the Employment History Scale, and 4) the Family Support Scale. In regard to the PPS, two independent raters assessed Howard House files and rated program participation according to the criteria of the scale; and there was a 74% degree of congruence between their ratings.

The study sample was composed of men who were primarily young, single, from rural Newfoundland, with generally poor educational backgrounds, and lacking in family support. Almost half had an observed alcohol problem, while more than half had been previously incarcerated.

The large majority were employed (74.1%) or attending an educational institution (6.4%) while residing at Howard House.

Eighty-two percent of those in the study sample successfully completed the Howard House program, which compares with other CRC study findings, while the reconviction rate of 32.6% after two years compares favorably with other Canadian recidivism studies. More specifically, the following variables were found to be significant and related to recidivism: 1) poor program participation, 2) the greater the number of occasions convicted two years prior to Howard House, 3) the greater the number of occasions convicted as an adult, 4) the shorter the period of time "on the street" without a conviction two years prior to Howard House, 5) previous incarcerations, 6) alcohol/drug problems, 7) poor family support, 8) property offender status, and 9) unemployed on the day of departure from Howard House.

Implications of the study are directed toward: 1) understanding how certain factors can predict recidivism, 2) future research and, 3) program planning and treatment recommendations.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Michael Holosko, School of Social Work, Memorial University of Newfoundland, for his trustworthy guidance and constructive criticism throughout this study. His outstanding support, well-timed humor and research expertise helped to make this undertaking a thoroughly enjoyable learning experience.

I would also like to thank Hon. Gerald Ottenheimer, Provincial Minister of Justice and Attorney General, Mr. C.J. Goodyear, the Associate Deputy Attorney General, Chief Superintendent J.B.D. Henry, Commanding Officer, B Division, R.C.M.P. and Inspectors I.E. Furey and G.E. Religa, Assistant Criminal Investigation Branch Officers, R.C.M.P., for enabling me to gain access to the Canadian Police Service Information Centre, and Constable Wayne Collicott, Security Analyst, R.C.M.P., for making the prerequisite security arrangements. I thank Maryin McNutt, Provincial Director of Adult Corrections and Tom Sharpe, District Director of the Correctional Service of Canada, for their active support of this project.

I am grateful to Alex Yetman, Superintendent of Her Majesty's Penitentiary, Don Saunders, Assistant Superintendent, Mike Dunphy, Chief Probation Officer for the province and Reg Ryan, Assistant District Director of the Correctional Service of Canada, for enabling me to obtain and providing me with statistical information from their respective office files. I also thank Dr. Robert Cormier, Senior Research Officer, Corrections Branch, Ministry of the Solicitor General for information and advice at the onset of the study.

I thank those persons who provided me with information necessary for the data collection process: John Harding, Reannie Bratt and Lorraine

Neary of Her Majesty's Penitentiary, Linda Tulk and Lorraine Hynes of the Correctional Service of Canada and Lieutenant Leonard Power of the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary.

I am grateful to Corporal Terry Norman, N.C.O. in charge of B Division, Crime Index Section, R.C.M.P., for providing me with the criminal records necessary for this study.

I am appreciative of the efforts of Eric Chaytor, a biologist and volunteer with the John Howard Society and Keith Durdle, a fifth year social work student on placement to the Society, who carefully rated the study sample according to the Program Participation Scale.

I am indebted to Mrs. Genevieve Johnston, Office Manager of the John Howard Society, who voluntarily typed draft copies of this thesis during lunchtimes and between assignments in a busy work schedule. My gratitude to her goes beyond conventional acknowledgement.

Finally, I thank my wife Sheila, who patiently supported me during the many evening and weekend hours of research and writing that were involved in this study.

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An Assessment of Factors Related to Recidivism Among Adult
Ex-Offenders Residing in a Community-Based Residential
Centre in St. John's, Newfoundland

Crime as a societal problem is perceived as a reflection of more fundamental social problems such as political and structural changes, inequality, poverty, abnormal social behavior and conflicting values and morals. Thus, throughout the years in various civilizations and cultures, definitions of crime have changed, laws adapted to curtail crime have been revised and social problems which have contributed to crime have varied.

There has been substantial research and effort devoted to understanding and reducing crime, including the development of a variety of treatment techniques designed to help rehabilitate criminals. Yet, there are still many unanswerable issues related to the comprehension of this problem.

Estimates have revealed that approximately one out of every 1,000 adult residents in Canada is incarcerated in a penal institution (Canada, Law Reform Commission, 1975). However, while the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics reported that in 1982-1983 there was an average of 27,000 inmates in Canadian federal and provincial correctional facilities, it also revealed that there were three times as many offenders completing their sentences in the community under probation, parole and mandatory supervision. This same report estimated that the total cost of maintaining these custodial and community supervision services was \$1.1 billion (Canada, Statistics Canada, 1984). Although these costs seem alarmingly high, they are probably underestimates, as these figures do not include law enforcement, judicial and various indirect costs to the Canadian taxpayer,

such as the additional costs of providing social services to the inmate's family.

In addition to these formidable economic costs, there are social costs incurred by the victim and the offender, as well as their families and others affected by the offence. The extent of these social costs is beginning to become more fully realized. Recent victimization surveys have provided evidence that statistics under-represent the actual extent of the crime problem, with a large portion of specific categories of crime, particularly various property offences, never being reported (Evans & Leger, 1979). There is also substantial evidence of a perceived increase in the amount of crime being committed, a heightened fear of becoming a victim of crime, and an increasing concern about crime and how it affects our daily lives in both Canada and the United States (Fattah, 1979).

When comparing the national expenditures of crime in Canada to other societal costs, the amount of money spent is quite minimal. For example, when comparing the criminal justice and social welfare expenditures to the gross national product (GNP), they constitute 1% and 16%, respectively (Chan & Ericson, 1981, p. 47). Thus, the related costs of crime to Canadian society are far less than other socio-political priorities.

Crime has been with us since the origins of civilization. People have disobeyed society's customs, mores, and taboos long before formal or written laws were ever established. Various forms of social control have always existed which have attempted to deal with those who have violated social norms. These controls have ranged from the right of personal vengeance given to the victim e.g., "eye for eye ..."

(The Holy Bible, Exodus 21: 24) to full compensation for an injured party. However, as society evolved, crime gradually became a public responsibility. Thus, the laws of the land and the authority of the state became the mechanisms for dealing with criminal behavior.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the most widely known method of coping with criminals has been imprisonment (or incarceration). In 1790, when imprisonment was first introduced in North America by the fundamentalist Quakers, it was considered to be a humane alternative to the existing cruel and corporal punishment practices (e.g., flogging, branding, the pillory, etc.). The assumption made in this regard was that solitary and silent confinement, hard work, Bible reading and quiet reflection, would make a person penitent for his crimes and thus lead to rehabilitation.

The public has always been diversely opinionated in their concerns about the notions of crime and rehabilitation. For example, while the majority of people have historically been unsympathetic toward criminals, there have always been those who have questioned the severity and utility of various types of punishment practices in correctional treatment.

In the eighteenth century, seminal Western thinkers such as Montesquieu (1721/1964), Beccaria (1764/1963) and Bentham (1789/1970) attacked the generally barbarous laws and degrading penalties, and advocated various legal and administrative reforms. These efforts were considered to be the first attempts at a systematic analysis of rehabilitative methods related to the treatment of offenders.

However, it was not until the nineteenth century that the emphasis finally shifted from crime and its subsequent penalties, to understanding

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the criminal personality and trying to assess the causes of criminal behavior. In turn, the twentieth century witnessed the increasing influence and development of the sociology of crime and delinquency. This perspective, among others, related crime and/or criminal behavior to multi-causal environmental and social conditions. Accompanying this widely accepted notion, was an increased emphasis placed on the nature of the rehabilitation of criminals.

Presently, imprisonment is perceived by many correctional theorists and practitioners not only as a punitive measure, but more so as a vehicle for helping to rehabilitate the criminal. The thrust of current prison programming in both Canada and the United States has been directed toward helping the inmate adjust to prison life, cope with his various problems, and prepare himself for re-entry into the community. Various forms of conditional release, such as temporary absence and parole, enable the offender to be absent from the institution in order to gradually reintegrate to the community. This reintegration may be for a specified period of time for employment or educational purposes, or for the completion of his sentence in the community while under supervision.

One recently developed program used to facilitate a person's readjustment to the community is the community-based residential centre (CRC) or halfway house, which provides a residential homelife atmosphere with counselling and support services to its clients or residents. There has been a tremendous increase in the number of such facilities operating in the United States and Canada during the past twenty years. Canadian federal government facilities along with privately-operated CRCs under contract with the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, alone totaled

261 in 1981-82 (Canada, Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1982).

Yet, as with all rehabilitative efforts to date, there still remains the uncertainty over whether CRCs can effectively rehabilitate their clients.

Statement of Purpose

There have been few systematic studies conducted about the effectiveness of community-based residential centres in reducing further criminal involvement of their residents. To date, no known study has attempted to assess the actual degree of CRC client participation and performance with post-CRC outcome in the context of the presence or absence of future criminal involvement.

Most studies of correctional rehabilitation programs have determined the efficacy of correctional treatment by various outcome measures, of which recidivism has been the most popular. Extensive reviews of correctional literature which have concluded that correctional treatment does not work (See Greenberg, 1977; Lipton, Martinson & Wilks, 1975; Martinson, 1974) have been challenged by other researchers who have determined that it is effective (Gendreau & Ross, 1979), or that certain methods of treatment work for certain types of offenders under certain conditions (Palmer, 1978, 1983; Warren, 1977).

While the issue of correctional effectiveness related to rehabilitation has been given much attention in the literature, the relationship between the degree of client program participation and correctional effectiveness has been largely ignored. For example, Petersilia (1979) found that only 40% of the inmates in the United States participated in some form of a treatment program while incarcerated, and only one in five with

identified needs participated in prison treatment programs specifically related to those needs. The degree of program participation as related to post-program success is an area which needs much more exploration in correctional treatment programs, in particular in CRCs.

There have been some studies specifically related to CRCs or half-way houses in the United States, which have dealt with post-release outcome of their residents. However, only a few have utilized experimental designs and many have lacked methodological rigor (Carlson & Seiter, 1977). In Canada, there has been a paucity of CRC-related research of any kind. In fact, a Manitoba study, in addition to three other studies of halfway houses in Ontario, represent the only known published accounts which investigate success or failure of CRCs in Canada.

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship of program participation of residents in a community-based residential centre and its impact on the relative degree of success or failure of these residents in avoiding future conflict with the law. The intent of this quantitative-descriptive study is not to infer a cause and effect relationship. Instead, the emphasis is on identifying the extent and nature of the relationship between these and other variables related to program participation and recidivism.

Rationale for study. There are a number of reasons why this subject is relevant for study. First, this is a timely issue. Since the 1980s, a continuing debate has evolved over whether correctional treatment methods, including community-based programs are effective in rehabilitating offenders. The increasing costs of incarcerating offenders is of concern to researchers, criminologists, politicians, academics and economists, as

they continually search for more cost-effective alternatives in this context.

This study may also evolve meaningful policy implications, in that relative success or failure experienced by residents of the CRC programs may influence the administrators or decision-makers regarding the continued use of such facilities. For example, if community-residential centre programming is considered as failing, then there would be a greater likelihood of cessation of further CRC development and a return to the more traditional practices of imprisonment.

With several hundred federal, provincial and privately operated CRCs in Canada, the findings of this study could also be generalized to wider populations in other community-based residential centre settings. Finally, this study will attempt to contribute to a research void. There is in fact a paucity of literature and empirical investigation about these settings or this subject matter.

The Concepts

Program Participation refers to the degree a CRC resident becomes involved in program activities and progresses toward or achieves personal goals during his stay, in accordance to house rules. This is determined not only by involvement in various aspects of the program, such as employment, recreational and counselling-related activities, but also by other behavioral characteristics. The latter include attitude toward the overall program, relationship toward staff and other residents, use of leisure time, and motivation and commitment toward changing aspects of behavior which have caused difficulties contributing to criminal involve-

ment, e.g. alcohol/drug abuse.

Recidivism refers to the commission of an offense which results in further reconviction with or without reincarceration (Ardron, 1978, p. 3). Consequently, it does not include technical violations of parole or other community supervision conditions.

An ex-offender is a person convicted of a criminal offence, who either currently or in the past has been on probation or in prison (Outerbridge, Benson, Thiffault & Harris, 1973, p. x).

The Task Force on Community-Based Residential Centres (1973) defined a community-based residential centre (CRC) as a facility which stands "between some form of complete institutionalization and complete integration into the community" (p. x). Such facilities provide services to people moving from a dependent status such as an inmate, to a less dependent one, such as a parolee. Also, CRCs may provide alternatives to a more comprehensive level of institutionalization for persons moving from an independent status to a more dependent one. They are funded by sources other than the residents and differ from institutions in that they tend to be smaller, more informal and provide easier access to the community. They differ from boarding houses and hostels in that they offer counselling and other support services related to rehabilitation in addition to room and/or board (Outerbridge et al., 1973). CRCs are also often referred to as half-way houses:

Probation is a community-based correctional alternative that involves a sentence imposed by the court after a finding of guilt or conviction, which permits the offender to remain in the community subject to conditions imposed by the court and in many cases to supervision by a

probation agency (Doeren and Hageman, 1982, p. 52). In Newfoundland, adult probation officers of the Community Corrections Branch of the Adult Corrections Division have authority and responsibility under The Adult Corrections Act (1975) to supervise adult offenders placed on probation.

Temporary Absence (T.A.) in Newfoundland, as it applies to Howard House residents, refers to the authorization for an inmate of a provincial institution to be absent to provide further opportunities for his rehabilitation. This type of provincial T.A. is authorized under The Prisons Act (1970) by the Superintendent of Her Majesty's Penitentiary or by the person in charge of any of the other five provincial correctional facilities, for up to a fifteen day period. T.A. may be extended to the expiration of an inmate's sentence by the authorization of additional fifteen day periods.

Parole means authority granted under the federal Parole Act (1970) to an inmate, to continue serving his sentence in the community under the supervision of a parole officer. The paroled inmate or 'parolee' is under the authority of the National Parole Board, which may revoke his parole if he fails to comply with his various parole release conditions. If a provincial inmate (one serving a sentence of less than two years) is released under parole supervision he is referred to in this study as a provincial parolee. If a federal inmate (one serving a sentence of two years or more) is released under parole supervision, he is considered to be a federal parolee. This term encompasses day parole which occurs prior to obtaining full parole.

Mandatory supervision is a form of conditional release prescribed by law, which enables a federal inmate who is not released on parole to

serve the time accumulated by statutory or earned remission (often referred to as time off for good behavior) under supervision in the community. Up to the final one-third of the federal inmate's sentence can be spent under mandatory supervision. This form of conditional release, while a legal right, comes under the authority of the National Parole Board. The Board may revoke an individual's mandatory supervision if the conditions of the release are violated, or if the person commits a new crime. (Canada, National Parole Board, 1981).

Review of the Literature

Even though there may be a significant relationship existing between the degree of program participation in community-based residential centres and post-CRC performance, the issue has not received any known empirical investigation. Most studies have examined whether residents completed their stay at a CRC or measured post-program outcomes by follow-up, using recidivism data, and concluded from these findings the relative rehabilitative successes or failures of various program interventions.

In order to enhance an understanding of the relationship between CRC program participation and post-CRC outcome, the related literature will be reviewed according to: 1) the concept and measurement of recidivism, 2) the popularity and efficacy of rehabilitation or correctional treatment methods as determined by recidivism-based research and 3) research findings about CRCs.

The Concept and Measurement of Recidivism

While the success of correctional programs may be evaluated in a variety of ways, the most well known measure of rehabilitation in the corrections field is the reduction of recidivism, a term commonly used and often misunderstood in criminology and corrections. In fact, Waldo and Griswold (1979) after reviewing fourteen introductory textbooks in criminology and corrections, concluded that while all texts used the term recidivism, only three made an attempt to define it--all in quite different and unacceptable ways. These authors agreed with the Special Committee on Criminal Offenders for the State of New York (1968) which defined recidivism as "an offense committed by a person who has previously been convicted or

adjudicated for an offense" (p. 287).

Attempts to measure recidivism employ a variety of operational definitions. These definitions are drawn from various data sources and have varying parameters for inclusion of offences. As well, they utilize different lengths of time for follow-up periods and in some cases, have used sophisticated scales to determine the seriousness of repeated criminal acts.

The concept of recidivism has been operationalized in a variety of ways based on the level of contact within the criminal justice system. Definitions may range from rearrest to reincarceration (Blumstein & Larson, 1971; Cavior & Cohen, 1975; Gendreau & Leipziger, 1978; Moberg & Ericson, 1972; Waldo & Chiricos, 1977; Waldo & Griswold, 1979). For example, police agencies generally define recidivism as rearrest while correctional agencies usually view it as reincarceration. Therefore, a high rearrest rate may be consistent with a low incarceration rate. Thus, claims by police that recidivism is high and claims by correctional agencies that recidivism is low seem more attributable to differences in definitions rather than differences in facts (Blumstein & Larson, 1971). This also makes valid comparisons of treatment outcomes difficult and non-generalizable to a large extent. In sum, the issue of data sources related to recidivism is one which requires further clarification.

Sources of data. Data from the most common measures of recidivism: rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration are usually derived from primary sources such as police, courts and correctional agency files. However, the use of federal files, such as those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.),

while not ensuring that all offences are detected, cover wider geographical areas than those of local agencies. Because these data are readily available at the national level, they offer a data base to researchers and permit greater comparability among studies in this field (Waldo & Griswold, 1979).

The reliability and validity of official record data as indicators of recidivism have been questioned by some authorities. This questioning has emerged from findings related to the non-comparability of official data from various jurisdictions over time, which suggest that official records generally underestimate the actual amount of illegal activity (Hawkins, Cassidy, Light and Miller, 1977). In fact, as Erickson (1972) noted, data derived from local official records may not reflect actual lawbreaking as much as "patterns of differential law enforcement, methods of gathering and reporting statistics and definitions of criminality" (p. 389). Such reservations about official records at any level have led to the use of self-report studies of criminal activity.

Nettler (1978) provided a review of official and unofficial measures of criminal activity and concluded that self-reports provide "uncertain validity" when compared with the "moderate validity" of official records; and that paradoxically, self-report studies often revert to official records as validations of data gathered from questionnaires or interviews. He also noted that while self-report studies may identify serious and persistent offenders who may have been missed by official records, the fact that self-report studies consistently reveal that almost all respondents admit to having committed some criminal offence, means that for recidivism studies, they are merely a useful supplement to official records.

Measurement problems. There are a wide range of possible infractions included in recidivism studies creating further measurement problems. For example, some studies may include (as recidivism measures) technical violations of parole, or any new offence, however minor. On the other hand, the exact crime for which a person was previously incarcerated may be used as the sole recidivism measure (Waldo & Griswold, 1979).

Technical violations of a person's parole, such as breaching a drinking restriction resulting in parole revocation and a return to prison for non-criminal activities, makes reincarceration (which includes such technical violations) a limited and in some cases defective recidivism measure (Tittle, 1975). Technical violations are also susceptible to differential decision-making (Greenberg, 1975; Lerman, 1975; Takagi, 1969). Consequently, if technical violations are to be included in recidivism studies, they should be separately categorized to account for non-criminal behavior resulting in incarceration. Thus, a distinction should always be made between parole failures and actual recidivists (Waldo & Griswold, 1979).

Reincarceration for the exact offence for which a person was previously incarcerated received limited support as a recidivism measure. For example, it has been argued that just as a patient's appendectomy cannot be viewed as a failure of previous treatment for a broken arm, neither can reincarceration for a dissimilar offence be evidence of prison failure, for the sources of criminal behavior are as varied as health problems (Johnson, 1974, p. 613).

Rearrest is a measure of recidivism, which has the advantage of occurring near the time the offence was allegedly committed, while

identifying the time which the accused normally starts his involvement with the police and court (Waller, 1974). However, "the use of arrests as the data for recidivism is subject to the objection that neither the behavior of the offender nor its significance has been verified by court action" (The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, p. 512). Thus, reconviction would appear to be a more accurate measure of actual criminal behavior.

Another perspective argues that since recidivism is an attempt to measure repeated criminal behavior, its restrictions to exact, and/or isolated offences may ignore the heterogeneity of criminal behavior patterns. For example, Hood and Sparkes (1970) cited a number of studies which clearly showed that recidivism rarely involves the exact same offence. Thus, to only include the same repeated offence as a measurement of recidivism would mask the extent of repeated criminal activity. Further, Soothill and Pope (1973) found in their twenty year cohort study of arson offenders in England and Wales, that a recidivism rate of 4% for those who recommitted further arson offences jumped to a 52% recidivism rate when all standard listed offences were cumulatively included.

Recidivism measures have ranged from those that include the most petty offenses to those that incorporate only the most serious crimes. Waldo & Griswold (1979) recommended that because there is no consensus as to which crimes should be included in a recidivism measure, a separate panel of experts should be established to resolve this issue and to offer guidance for future research.

Another source of methodological ambiguity in some recidivism studies is the length of follow-up time. While almost all recidivism

ranging differences in the dispositions of recidivists was demonstrated (Glaser, 1964), is limiting in that it does not account for the seriousness of offences and the variety of subsequent convictions that offenders receive. For example, it assumes that all individuals who recidivate have equally failed or vice versa (Cavior & Cohen, 1975).

Attempts to measure crime and recidivism are still largely based on these types of "all or none" classifications. For example, the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), an unweighted sum of reported index crimes published annually by the FBI, does not account for the differing seriousness of the crimes in its index (Blumstein, 1974). Thus, the UCR does not distinguish between recidivists who committed auto thefts versus those who committed homicides. Suffice to indicate that both are considered as failures. The Canadian version of the UCR, the Canadian Uniform Crime Reports (CUCR), introduced by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1962, has the same limitations as the UCR (Akman & Normandeau, 1968).

The Sellin-Wolfgang Index (Sellin & Wolfgang, 1964) attempted to provide an assessment procedure for determining "crime-seriousness" by a weighting system. In this index, an attempt was made to measure the seriousness of crime on a ratio scale rather than utilizing a categorical scale. More specifically, each criminal event is categorized by its effects as involving: personal injury to one or more victims; theft of property, property damage, and/or some combination of the three. After this categorization, the event is then scored in terms of severity weightings reflecting the type of bodily harm involved, the amount and value of property theft or damage and the number of offences incorporated into the one event. Finally, the resulting scores represent the weight of seriousness applied to elements

studies commence follow-up periods after treatment intervention is completed, so that intervention measures will have an opportunity to impact, there is considerable variance as to the precise length of the follow-up period. For example, this period may vary from a six month follow-up for residents released from adult halfway houses in Kentucky (Thompson, Sims & Curtin, 1976), to a twenty year follow-up for individuals convicted of arson in England and Wales (Soothill & Pope, 1973). Thus, the longer the follow-up period of study, the greater the likelihood of increased recidivism.

It is generally agreed that the greatest risk of recidivism occurs during the first year or two after release (Waldo & Griswold, 1979). In fact, the vast majority of those who recidivate do so within a two year period (Buikhuisen & Hoekstra, 1974; Carlson, 1973; Mandel, Collins, Moran, Barron, Gelbman, Godbois & Kaminstein, 1965). Furthermore, 80%-100% who recidivated after three post-program years, do so by the end of the second year (Carlson, 1973; Soothill & Pope, 1973; Stephenson & Scarpetti, 1974). Thus, contrary to recommendations for a three year follow-up period (Waldo & Griswold, 1979), a two-year period seems to suffice for most research conducted in this area (Allen, Carlson, Parks & Seiter, 1978). A number of recidivism studies, including in-depth Canadian evaluations (Carlson, 1973; Gendreau & Leipziger, 1978; Waller, 1974) utilized this two year follow-up period. Thus, the two year period is both reasonable, manageable, and also more generalizable.

Measurement instruments. Recidivism has been mainly conceptualized as a dichotomous classification of either success or failure. However, this view of recidivism, a point challenged as early as 1964 when the wide

in various types of delinquent events (Sellin & Wolfgang, 1964, p. 291). The crime index for any jurisdiction is the sum of these seriousness scores for the individual criminal events.

The Sellin-Wolfgang scale (1974) was applied in a replicative Canadian study by Akman and Normandeau (1968). However, Gendreau and Leipziger (1978) reviewed the acknowledged criticisms of this measure. They concluded that the scale was inadequate as a general index of crime, and questioned its overall pragmatic value, noting that it has never been used as an outcome measure to assess correctional programs.

Moberg and Ericson (1972), recognizing the limitations of the UCR and the Sellin-Wolfgang scale, constructed a 'Recidivism Outcome Index' (ROI) in order to evaluate the relative degree(s) of success or failure of a sample of Minnesota parolees. This scale, based on the disposition of offenders often involves a progressive series of minor steps rather than a single, sudden transformation. This study was an expansion of previous attempts to develop a recidivism index by Mandel et al., (1965).

The Recidivism Outcome Index (1972) has eleven categories that range from "No Record" to "Felonies" and is an ordinal scale reflecting a progression of increments of seriousness of offences. Each recidivism rating on the ROI also reflects the seriousness of the offences as they related to each other, and also to the extent that the penalties are a reflection of society's interpretations of their gravity (Moberg & Ericson, 1972).

Similarly, Gendreau and Leipziger (1978) developed a Canadian recidivism index comparable to the ROI, as they translated the American legal dispositions in Canadian terms along a continuum of severity dispositions. These authors reported that the Moberg and Ericson (1972)

ROI fulfilled most of their research objectives, as it avoided the previously noted "all or none" classification notion. The Canadian Recidivism Index (CRI) (Gendreau & Leipziger, 1978) consists of eight categories ranging from "No Illegal Activities" recorded on the Finger Print Service (FPS) records to "Re-imprisoned: Convicted of an offense for which a sentence of two years or more has been imposed" (p. 9).

Recidivism rates generally range from 5%-8% after the first year and less in subsequent years if recidivism is defined as reinvolvement in serious criminal activity (Greenberg, 1975). However, this figure may escalate to 69% after five years for studies which use any reconviction as their criteria (Buikhuisen & Hoekstra, 1974); or 56% after two years in studies that define recidivism as any rearrest for an indictable offence (Waller, 1974). Thus, the different criteria and methodology employed in various studies often contribute to such discrepancies in recidivism rates.

The characteristics of the sample may also contribute to misrepresentation of the true recidivism rate, often leading to over-estimates. For example, the likelihood that incarcerates will return to prison is probably overstated, as the chances of reconviction are greater for those with lengthy criminal backgrounds who are disproportionately represented in an inmate population due to longer sentences, and the fact that they are less likely to be paroled (Tittle, 1975; Waldo & Griswold, 1979).

Hood and Sparkes (1970) noted that research has generally found that the more previous convictions an offender has, the shorter the time since his last conviction, the younger he is and the younger he was when first convicted, the greater his chances of recidivism. Similarly, Pritchard (1979), following a review of 71 studies presenting data on the

relationship of biographical predictors and recidivism, identified a number of additional "stable predictors of recidivism", including stability of employment, history of alcohol and drug abuse and living arrangements. Other studies have also shown varying degrees of relationships between different offender characteristics and recidivism (Buikhuisen & Hoekstra, 1974; Carlson, 1973; Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979; Nuffield, 1982; Rogers, 1981; Simon, 1971; Waller, 1974).

As was previously noted, other additional factors to the different characteristics of the sample under study may contribute to influencing the rate of recidivism. In sum, these include: the operational definition of recidivism, the various sources of data, the diverse range of inclusion of offences and the length of the follow-up period. However, while a better understanding of recidivism rates may be achieved through the utilization of more comprehensive and accurate recidivism indices, it is still difficult to generalize about the precise rates of recidivism. Waldo and Griswold (1979) concluded that the proportion of recidivists in particular studies require specification relating to the definition of recidivism, the characteristics of the sample under study and the follow-up period and that such specifications restrict making generalizations about the conclusion. Based on the previous literature review these conclusions seem warranted.

The Efficacy of Rehabilitation

The issue of whether it is more effective to punish criminals or try to rehabilitate them has been a matter of longstanding debate. The predominant twentieth century view has generally favored rehabilitation. This philosophy is based upon humanitarian ideals, individualized treatment

and the use of discretion as shown by indeterminate sentencing, whereby release depends upon an individual's progress and reform.

In the United States, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) with a mandate to survey and evaluate crime and criminal justice, supported the rehabilitative rather than punitive approach. This Commission recommended both community-oriented treatment of individual offenders and reform of the community's social, political and economic structures which contribute to poverty, social inequity and crime.

Within a decade of the release of the President's Commission, the head of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, an agency known for its frequent support of the rehabilitation model, announced that corrections is discarding the credo that rehabilitation should be the main reason for incarceration (Halleck & Witte, 1977). At approximately the same time, the Ministry of the Solicitor General in Canada abandoned correctional rehabilitation as a major goal in favor of an "opportunities model" with a dual emphasis on opportunity and security. This model was not aimed at attempting to change the inmate, but at providing the environmental context and programs necessary for reintegrating the offender into the community (Farran, 1978). In fact, the discussion paper entitled The Role of Federal Corrections in Canada (1977), suggested that an offender should never be given a prison sentence for the purpose of receiving treatment or rehabilitation.

The gradual move away from rehabilitation started in the 1970's, ending a century dominated by the rehabilitative ideal (Cullen & Gilbert, 1982; Plattner, 1976). Intellectual opposition to rehabilitation theory was generally espoused by liberal thinkers who believed that rehabilitative

Treatment was coercive, making victims out of offenders, whose indeterminate sentences are subject to judicial and parole discretion and whose release is tied to participation in various programs. As the American Friends Service Committee (1971) stated in their book entitled Struggle for Justice, "mixing treatment with coercion in the penal system not only lengthens sentences and increases the suffering and the sense of injustice, it also vitiates the treatment programs that are its justification" (p. 97).

Authors such as Fogel (1975), Jobson (1977), Morris (1974) and von Hirsch (1976) were committed to the establishment of a more liberal, humane and fair system based upon principles of "just deserts" (where the punishment fits the offence and not the offender) and determinate sentencing, where length of stay in prison is predetermined. These authors advocated for: 1) the replacement of the rehabilitation model with a justice model, characterized by flat legislatively-fixed sentences based upon the offence, 2) restriction of judicial discretion, 3) a reduction in the length of prison terms, 4) the abolition of parole, 5) the expansion of voluntary rehabilitation programs and 6) greater protection of the inmates' rights (Cullen & Gilbert, 1982). Others such as van den Haag (1975) and Wilson (1975) emphasized the more conservative and utilitarian aspects of punishment and deterrence achieved through the greater use of incapacitation or custodial confinement.

Ironically, it was a coalition of both liberal and conservative authors in this field that dealt a severe blow to rehabilitation philosophy. For example, reforming liberals believed that the system was based on coercive rehabilitation which victimized the offender, while conservatives viewed the system as permitting intolerable victimization of

the innocent citizen. Both of these groups were determined to replace the principle of rehabilitation and the indeterminate sentence by just deserts and determinancy (Cullen & Gilbert, 1982).

However, the most severe setback to rehabilitation theory came from those researchers whose findings questioned the efficacy of correctional treatment. This group suggested that many programs were not effective in reducing recidivism regardless of their rehabilitative orientation. This led to counter-claims by other researchers in the field (e.g., Cullen & Gilbert, 1982) that correctional treatment does work, and that rehabilitation offers a more humane, caring and hopeful system. In addition, the cost-effectiveness of alternative community-based correctional programs became more apparent about this same time (Chan & Ericson, 1981; Scull, 1977). This factor, as well as the questioning of these views gave rise to the focusing of attention on evaluative research efforts in this field.

Early evaluative research findings. Evaluative research findings prior to the mid-1970's generally questioned the efficacy of correctional treatment, but did not call for its replacement. Instead, some early reviews of evaluative studies, while finding no evidence that programs were effective, discussed traditional problems related to definition and measurement (Cressey, 1958), and advocated for the development of better therapeutic interventions (Wobton, 1959).

The relative ineffectiveness of correctional treatment programs and the general inadequacy of the research methodologies employed were prominent themes in reviews of evaluation studies in the field of corrections. Bailey's (1966) review of 100 evaluative reports from a broad

range of correctional studies conducted between 1940 - 1960 found little evidence to support the efficacy of correctional treatment or the adequacy of the research methodology to assess rehabilitation. Similarly, Logan's (1972) extensive survey of studies published prior to 1970, revealed that not one study (of those 100 reviewed) met all criteria proposed by the author as minimal methodological requirements for an adequate experimental design. Similarly, researchers, after reviewing the results of various correctional and treatment alternatives, concluded that there is little, if any, evidence to support the rehabilitative efficacy of one treatment alternative over another (Robinson & Smith, 1971; Schnur, 1965).

The disappointing findings of early investigations into the effectiveness of correctional treatment generally aroused only the interest of a small number of academic and professional practitioners. In short, there was minimal impact on correctional policy or planning and the predominant rehabilitation philosophy until the appearance of Martinson's (1974) seminal article. This article, containing contradictory results from extensive research on the effects of correctional interventions, stimulated a re-evaluation of correctional philosophy and goals.

Evaluative research findings: Martinson and beyond. The Martinson article (1974) was based exclusively on the findings from the portion of a then forthcoming review of 231 treatment studies published between 1945 and 1967 (Lipton, Martinson & Wilks, 1975) which used some measure of recidivism as a criterion. Martinson (1974) concluded from a comprehensive review of these 138 studies that "with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" (p. 25). This conclusion had a major effect on rehabilitation and

its prominence in correctional policy. In fact, Martinson's findings started an unresolved debate over the efficacy of correctional treatment.

Martinson's (1974) conclusion was soon challenged by academics and practitioners alike. Klockars (1975) noted the absence of a similar conclusion in The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment (Lipton, Martinson & Wilks, 1975) and observed a number of discrepancies between Martinson's conclusions and those reached in the book itself. Palmer (1975) used Martinson's (1974) own findings to refute the conclusion, as Palmer tabulated the outcomes of 82 studies cited by Martinson and showed that 48% yielded favorable results. Similarly, Adams (1976) suggested that Martinson's success rate of correctional treatment was actually quite favorable when compared to data from other sources.

Other literature reviews pertaining to the effectiveness of correctional treatment generally arrived at conclusions similar to those of Martinson (1974). Wright and Dixon's (1977) survey of the literature on juvenile delinquency prevention efforts between 1965 and 1974 concluded that "no delinquency prevention strategies can be definitely recommended" (p. 60). Similar conclusions were reached by Brody (1976) after reviewing rehabilitative institutional treatment programs for delinquent offenders in both Britain and the United States, and by Berkowitz, Englander, Rubin & Worrall (1975), who reviewed 19 studies of programs variously intended to rehabilitate criminal and delinquent offenders. Greenberg (1977) reviewed over 100 evaluative studies of correctional treatment programs conducted in the United States to 1975 and concluded that these interventions, ranging from early diversion to post-release programs, had generally failed to reduce recidivism. He revealed that the few favorable, but modest results

obtained through evaluations seriously lacking in rigor, made the blanket assertion that "nothing works" only a slight exaggeration (pp. 140-141).

Much more favorable results were reported by Gendreau and Ross (1979). These authors analyzed 95 treatment studies conducted between 1973 and 1978 that employed at least a quasi-experimental design, contained a statistical analyses of data, and reported a follow-up period of at least six months. They reported that a number of treatment interventions have proven effective with offender populations, with some achieving considerable success in reducing recidivism.

Similarly, a study which examined groups of chronic delinquents who had been non-randomly assigned to correctional programs ranging from incarceration to less custodial, community-based programs also reported positive results (Murray, Thompson and Isreal, 1978). This study revealed that the frequency of rearrest during the average 17 month follow-up period, decreased by 50% to 75% according to the program, with fewer post-release offences for youth who were incarcerated or removed from the community. The findings suggested that the more restrictive the degree of supervision, the greater the reduction of post-release arrests.

Another group of researchers (McCleary, Gordon, McDowall & Maltz, 1979) indicated that high pre-treatment delinquency rates, suggested that the post-intervention results might be accounted for by a regression artifact, which is essentially a natural drop (or increase) from a high (or low) rate. For example, if delinquents are arrested at extremely high frequency during the year prior to observations of correctional intervention, they would likely be arrested fewer times following treatment, according to probability theory.

Murray and Cox (1979a, 1979b) after an exhaustive series of analyses designed to control for the effects of regression and other possible explanations, contradicted this notion. They concluded that the delinquents in the sample did not conform to the requirements of the regression artifact. In fact, these delinquents had rates of arrest which were increasing steadily over time, rather than fluctuating around a constant average. Support for their findings came from Empey (1979), who was an advocate of rehabilitation philosophy, and Wilson (1980) a supporter of deterrence philosophy, who suggested that the study of rehabilitation and the study of deterrence be merged.

Other findings have shown considerable promise in specific areas. These include behavior modification programs in community correctional settings (Ross & McKay, 1978), work release (Witte, 1977), financial assistance to released offenders (Mallar & Thornton, 1978), educational programs in penal institutions (Ayers, Duguid, Montague & Wolowindyk, 1980) and community reintegration programs such as furloughs and halfway houses (LeClair, 1983).

Such issues and confusion surrounding the debate over the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs led the National Academy of Sciences, in 1977, to create a Panel on Research on Rehabilitation Techniques in order to assess the state of knowledge about the effectiveness of rehabilitation. In its first volume by Sechrest, White and Brown (1979) the Panel concluded that Lipton, Martinson and Wilks (1975) were essentially correct in their appraisal of the rehabilitation literature, as there was no evidence for any intervention with criminal offenders that could reliably produce a decrease in recidivism. However, the Panel cautioned that

Martinson's conclusion that "nothing works" should be qualified. More specifically, the fact that potential interventions had not yet been tried and existing research had been unsatisfactorily conducted may simply mean that nothing tried to date had been demonstrated to work. Suggestions of successful rehabilitative efforts throughout the literature and that some treatment programs are effective for certain subgroups of offenders, contributed to the Panel's strongest recommendation - that research on offender rehabilitation be "pursued more vigorously, more systematically, more imaginatively and more rigorously" (p. 10). In a second publication by Martin, Sechrest and Redner (1981) the Panel continued to promote efforts to find more effective rehabilitation strategies.

Gendreau and Ross (1979) suggested that labelling the offender as "untreatable" encourages the correctional system to escape its own responsibility regarding rehabilitation. These authors continued to reaffirm positive findings of reviews of the correctional literature in more recent publications (Gendreau & Ross, 1981a, 1981b; Ross & Gendreau, 1980). Further, Haley (1982) criticized the inadequate attention that reviews have given to numerous favorable results of correctional programs, particularly those involving definable sub-populations of offenders who have been subject to differential programming.

Gendreau and Ross (1981b) reported that programs successful in reducing recidivism encompassed a range of modalities from employment skills training to family therapy. However, these authors also cautioned that a prescription for effective intervention should employ differential treatment, as not all programs work for all types of offenders or in all settings. Similarly, Warren (1977) found that the impact of treatment is

not as much ineffective as it is complex. She concluded that it is important to recognize differences among offenders along with identifying programs according to their differential appropriateness for different kinds of offenders.

The differential intervention approach to treatment, that is, that some offenders will respond positively to certain approaches under particular conditions, has been strongly advocated by Palmer (1974, 1975, 1978, 1983). For example, Palmer noted that a review of experimental studies revealed that while 20-25% of experimental programs have reduced recidivism for their total target groups, an additional 10-15% of these programs have reduced recidivism for one or more subgroups only (Palmer, 1983).

Differential intervention is similar to basic treatment amenability (BTA), which asserts that particular types of offenders are amenable to a number of treatment approaches, while others respond to few, if any interventions. Adams (1961), Glasser (1975) and Wilson (1980) supported this BTA viewpoint, which suggested that correctional treatment can be effective for amenable offenders (e.g., the young, verbal and neurotic) who are not committed to a career in crime, but ineffective and possibly counterproductive for those not amenable to treatment (e.g., "power-oriented," manipulative individuals, who lack an internalized set of standards).

While different perspectives about this notion exist, the gap concerning the efficacy of correctional treatment seems to be getting narrower as revealed in articles representing positions on "the effectiveness issue" published in the 1981 edition of Canadian Psychology. For example, Annis (1981), while suggesting that Martinson (1974) was correct,

stated that Martinson did not claim that "nothing works", but that research involving particular treatment strategies had failed to provide scientifically sound and replicable knowledge. Gendreau (1981), a proponent of rehabilitation, argued that the alternative of deterrence (the inhibiting effect that penalties on criminal activity have on people other than the punished offender) represents a panacea for the "nothing works" proponents. Yet Gendreau claimed that research reveals the deterrence doctrine was inferior to correctional treatment in terms of effectiveness, cost efficiency and methodological rigor. Coons (1981), representing the "skeptical middle", suggested that more scientific research is needed to overcome the ambiguity of available data.

Martinson's (1979) later completion of a broader range of research included 555 studies, and led him to reject his original conclusion (Martinson, 1974) that "nothing works". In this regard, he noted that under certain circumstances rehabilitation programs are effective in lowering recidivism. It is interesting to note that this is essentially a differential intervention position, similar to that of Palmer's (1975), who engaged Martinson in this effectiveness debate. Recently, Palmer (1983) stated that the correctional debate now takes place between two moderate camps that do not express the optimism of the 1960s, nor the pessimism of the 1970s.

Differential intervention and basic treatment amenability supporters compose what Palmer (1983) terms a "sanguine camp" which believes that successful programs often reduce recidivism by substantial amounts, that various approaches can now be recommended and that the success of various programs can be increased through program/offender matching. Adherents of

the "skeptical camp" believe that few rehabilitation programs work, that successful programs reduce recidivism by only small amounts and that poor methodology leaves research studies without evidence as to what successful correctional treatment is. Consequently, referrals to rehabilitation programs become problematic. However, both sides concur that due to complex and interrelated problems, "multiple modality" approaches should be used, and program/offender matching according to needs, interests and limitations of the offender subgroup should be employed.

The Origins and Effectiveness of CRCs

The development of community-based residential centres or halfway houses as a means of treating juvenile and adult offenders is relatively recent. Centuries of cruel, harsh treatment of offenders followed by a rehabilitation philosophy which promoted imprisonment and isolation for those who came into conflict with the law, meant that in North America, the movement toward halfway houses did not take place until thirty years ago.

However, halfway houses may be traced to the middle of the sixth century when St. Leonard founded a monastery near Limoges, in France. He accepted ex-offenders into this monastery, whose release he secured by using his influence with the King of the Franks. St. Leonard, since venerated as the patron saint of prisoners, has been the inspiration for religious communities which accept offenders for varying periods of residence and the formation of associations to provide residential care to ex-offenders (Bolton, 1982).

Halfway houses for youthful offenders originated in England in the late eighteenth century (Keller & Alper, 1970). During the 1850's, Sir

Walter Crofton developed the "intermediate stage" or Irish system which enabled inmates to avail themselves of the transitional experience into the community consisting of three stages. After spending a term in maximum security, a second stage permitted an offender to work outside the institution during the day and return to the "intermediate institution" at night. In the final stage, an offender was granted a "ticket of leave," essentially the forerunner of modern parole. However, it has been only in recent years that the second stage, or the use of the halfway house, has become reintroduced into release programs (James, 1968).

The earliest documentation of the acceptance of halfway houses in North America appeared in 1817, when the Massachusetts Prison Commission recommended a temporary residence for discharged, and/or destitute offenders, who were often forced to commit new offences out of necessity. However, the Massachusetts Legislature let the matter remain dormant and when it was revived a decade later, it was rejected out of a fear of "contamination"--a fear which had led to the adoption of the solitary and silent system of prison discipline in use at the time (Powers, 1959). It was not until 1845, that the first American halfway house was opened by a group of Quakers in New York City, and despite public opposition, this house has survived as the Issac T. Hooper Home. Nineteen years later, the first halfway house in Massachusetts finally opened in Boston. This facility was designed for women released from institutions and operated for about twenty years (Keller & Alper, 1970).

At the close of the nineteenth century, the halfway house movement in the United States began to accelerate. The first "Hope Hall" was established in 1896; and by the early twentieth century there were Hope

Halls operating in seven states. However, most of these houses soon closed and eventually all ceased operation. Ironically, as Keller and Alper (1970) pointed out, parole authorities played a part in the discontinuance of these houses, as they agreed that regulations did not permit former prisoners to associate with one another. Thus, halfway houses were virtually non-existent from the 1930s to the 1950s. By the 1950s, growing dissatisfaction with prison's relative ineffectiveness and the belief that a transitional home was needed to facilitate the offender's reintegration back into the community, led to the proliferation of halfway houses. (Carlson & Seiter, 1977).

The International Halfway House Association (I.H.H.A.) was organized in 1963 by staff and others involved in the operation of halfway houses. Five years later it was accepted as an affiliate of the American Correctional Association. Among other responsibilities, the I.H.H.A. publishes a current directory which lists several hundred residential facilities which provide programs and services to ex-offenders (U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1972). It has also developed comprehensive recommendations for guidelines and standards for halfway houses aimed at the development of effective programs and the promotion of an accreditation process for halfway houses (Allen et al., 1979).

In Canada, the first CRC or halfway house primarily for ex-offenders was the Beverly Lodge which opened in Toronto in 1954 (Outebribe et al., 1972). Since that time, the number of CRCs have increased to such an extent that they now total well over two hundred (Directory of Community-Based Residential Centres, 1981-82), and must meet minimum standards established by the Ministry of the Solicitor General, in

consultation with a cross section of CRCs if they wish to be approved to accept federal referrals (Zeitoun, 1978). Newfoundland's first CRC for adult ex-offenders, known as Howard House, was established on Garrison Hill in St. John's by the John Howard Society in 1977 ("Halfway House Approved", 1977).

In the 1960s, the move toward CRCs or halfway houses held the promise of a realistic alternative to institutionalization. CRCs provided a much needed support to help the ex-inmate become reintegrated into the community, and/or a supplement to various forms of conditional release. In fact, it was suggested by James (1968) that analytical studies on halfway houses were needed to replace the descriptive studies to "validate scientifically the seemingly verified hypothesis that the halfway house is playing a vital role in the rehabilitation of offenders" (p. 573).

The research on CRCs have generally not supported the optimistic claims that their programs effectively reduce recidivism. Keller and Alper (1970) concluded that on the basis of available research, halfway house programs cannot be rated in comparison to each other. Similarly, Lipton et al. (1975) reported that of the five studies they reviewed on halfway houses that met the criteria for inclusion in their survey, three reported no significant differences in failure rates between experimental and control groups. One study showed greater success for the control group, while the only study that reported positive effects for a halfway house program, reported differential effects on different categories of residents. Greenberg (1977) cited six studies of halfway houses, none of which revealed a significant reduction in recidivism. Sullivan, Siegel and Clear (1974) reviewed ten evaluative studies on CRCs and suggested that while CRCs might

alleviate some human suffering, they generally have not been shown to reduce recidivism.

The most comprehensive review of research findings on CRCs was conducted by Carlson and Seiter (1977). These authors reviewed 55 evaluative studies of adult halfway houses in the United States, 35 of which included post-release outcome data about the residents. Of these studies, only two had experimental designs, while seventeen utilized quasi-experimental designs and sixteen were non-experimental. The studies which utilized experimental and quasi-experimental designs did not find a statistically significant reduction in recidivism. Nevertheless, based upon some encouraging findings in the quasi-experimental and non-experimental halfway house programs, these authors concluded that such CRCs are effective in reintegrating inmates returning to the community. Similarly, Beck (1979, 1981) found that federal halfway houses have a limited effect on recidivism, but that they do provide a useful service in finding employment, which has helped some types of offenders avoid further criminal involvement.

In Canada, very little research has been conducted on the efficacy of CRCs. A study of provincial CRCs located in Winnipeg, merely examined the percentage of residents who successfully completed their stay at the CRC and the characteristics and factors associated with success and failure (McIvor, Horner & Boittiaux, 1979).

A much more extensive study was undertaken by Ardron (1978) who completed a follow-up of a study conducted by Sone (1976). This study compared men referred to ten CRCs with a group of men participating in a temporary absence program. It correlated one year recidivism data with

previous information obtained from a Background and Characteristics form, a Discharge form and the follow-up interviews employed in the Sone (1976) study. Ardron (1980) conducted another study which compared one year recidivism data for three distinct temporary absence programs, one of which utilized referrals to community release centres. He concluded that the outcome, which showed a higher rate of recidivism for referrals to Ministry-directed work projects compared with CRCs and institutional temporary absences, was a reflection of the observed differences of the types of inmates accepted into each program.

While the characteristics of offenders seem to be more related to recidivism than the actual CRC program, it appears that a CRC may help re-integrate inmates into the community. However, much more research needs to be done concerning CRCs, before more definite conclusions can be made as to their efficacy in reducing criminal behavior.

Summary

The previous literature review examined: 1) the concept and measurement of recidivism, 2) the popularity and efficacy of rehabilitation or correctional treatment methods as determined by recidivism-based research and 3) the origins and effectiveness of CRCs.

A review of the concept and measurement of recidivism revealed that the rate of recidivism may be influenced to varying degrees depending upon how recidivism is operationally defined, the sources of data which are employed, the inclusion or exclusion of various offences and the length of follow-up time. The review also noted that a broader and more accurate perspective on recidivism may be achieved by: an examination of the degrees

of recidivism through the utilization of comprehensive recidivism indices; an account of other factors such as the characteristics of the sample under study; and a recognition of the restrictive effect that some of the above recommended specifications have in making generalizations about the findings.

An examination of rehabilitation philosophy revealed that this approach received its most severe setback through the results of evaluative research studies, starting with Martinson's (1974) findings. Many of the studies questioned the efficacy of correctional treatment. However, a review of these research findings, revealed that while the results to date have not been encouraging, treatment approaches such as differential intervention have achieved varying degrees of success. More specifically, research findings about CRCs have revealed that while these programs may have advantages such as a humane community corrections approach or an alternative to institutionalization, the reduction of recidivism has not been clearly established. Consequently, due to the paucity of literature about CRCs, particularly in relation to program participation, much more research needs to be done in this area.

Research Questions

The previous literature review revealed that minimal research has been undertaken related to evaluating the effectiveness of CRC programs. In fact, due to the inconclusive American research findings on CRCs and the paucity of Canadian literature on this subject, no specific conclusions may be drawn as to the efficacy of various CRC programs.

This quantitative-descriptive study represents the first known formal research effort directed at assessing the effectiveness of any correctional rehabilitation program in Newfoundland. In addition, while other American and Canadian studies have examined CRC effectiveness, this is the first known attempt to relate the degree of resident program participation to post-program outcome, as determined by specific recidivism data. However, as there are a number of other variables which will be examined in relation to in-program and post-program outcome, a number of research questions are posed in lieu of formal hypotheses. These questions, therefore, provide the framework for the ensuing method and data analyses. They also attempt to integrate relevant issues derived from the previous literature review.

This study will seek to answer the following questions:

- 1) Is there a general reduction in the frequency and seriousness of criminal convictions following participation in the Howard House program?
- 2) What are the background differences of former Howard House residents who have avoided criminal convictions during a two-year follow-up period vs. those who have recidivated?

- 3) Are residents who had positive program participation more or less likely to avoid further criminal convictions than those who participated less, or poorly in the program?
- 4) Are residents who have favorable employment records more or less likely to become convicted of criminal offences?
- 5) Is family support an important consideration in predicting program participation or the likelihood of committing further offences?
- 6) Are alcohol and/or drug problems associated with program participation or recidivism?

Thus, the above questions provide the framework for the ensuing study.

Method

The John Howard Society of Newfoundland was established in 1951 in St. John's, Newfoundland to provide services to inmates and ex-offenders. This non-governmental agency, which derives its name from the eighteenth century penal reformer, is guided by a volunteer board of directors, and is funded by federal and provincial grants supplemented by private donations and per diem fees for specialized services. It currently has offices in St. John's and Stephenville, (the latter being a community located on the West Coast of Newfoundland). It is a member of the John Howard Society of Canada, an organization which represents all provincial societies at the national level.

The John Howard Society's main efforts are directed toward the reduction of crime through providing opportunities which assist in the rehabilitation of clients. In keeping with this goal, it operates a wide variety of programs, ranging from counselling of prison inmates, to the establishment of the province's only community-based residential centre for ex-offenders. The Society also advocates for reform in an effort to improve the effectiveness of the criminal justice system. It also provides public education programs and as a crime prevention measure, operates two group homes, located in St. John's and Corner Brook; for socially disadvantaged children.

The Setting

Howard House, the John Howard Society's community-based residential centre (CRC) for adult, male ex-offenders, provided the setting for this study. Howard House was established on Garrison Hill, in the inner-city

of St. John's, in 1977. It is a large, centrally located, 15-bed facility which was built as a Victorian mansion in 1893. It offers a variety of programs including individual counselling, recreation, and life skills counselling. As well, educational upgrading and group counselling programs have also been periodically offered. Residents may also avail themselves of other John Howard Society services, such as specialized employment counselling, as the Society's offices are located in a separate section of the facility. Residents with special problems beyond the capacity of Howard House or the John Howard Society are referred to other appropriate agencies or individuals.

Prior to admission, all Howard House applicants must be accepted by the Howard House Admissions Committee. During the period of this study (April, 1977-May, 1981), the five-member Admissions Committee (which meets weekly) was composed of: the Howard House Director, a board member of the John Howard Society, the Society's Executive Director, a representative from the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary and a community neighbourhood representative.

Applicants to Howard House apply through different channels. For example, parole and mandatory supervision applicants who wish to stay at Howard House, have their cases presented to the Admissions Committee by a parole officer representing the federal Correctional Service of Canada (C.S.C.). Temporary absence (T.A.) applicants from various provincial institutions have their cases presented to the Admissions Committee by a Classification officer from Her Majesty's Penitentiary in St. John's (the local medium security provincial institution). Adult probation cases are presented by a probation officer from the Community Corrections Branch of

the Adult Corrections Division, provincial Department of Justice.

Offenders under the jurisdiction of the C.S.C. e.g., parole and mandatory supervision cases, along with provincial T.A. applicants and adult probationers are eligible to apply for admission, unless they have a previous conviction of a dangerous sexual offence or murder. Criteria such as the applicant's need for the Howard House program (e.g., whether or not the applicant has sufficient community support systems), the capability of the program to meet the applicant's needs (e.g., whether the applicant requires a more specialized program for specific problem areas), and other factors as determined by information from the applicant's file, are scrutinized by the Admissions Committee. In general, approximately 60-65% of the applicants to Howard House are accepted by the Committee.

During the time of study, the Howard House staff consisted of a house director, a full-time counsellor, one part-time counsellor and two night supervisors. In 1981, a full-time cook was hired to prepare meals for house residents. Prior to this time residents were paid for cooking meals.

The small Howard House staff cannot adequately provide services along with 24-hour supervision to house residents. Consequently, other John Howard Society staff and programs contribute support services to the overall operation of the facility. For example, administrative consultation along with some individual counselling are provided by the Executive Director of the John Howard Society. Bookkeeping, typing and other secretarial services are provided to Howard House by the Society's Office Manager, while employment and vocational counselling are provided by the Society's Employment Counsellor, operating through an Outreach Program, funded by the Canada

Employment and Immigration Commission. In addition to the services provided to residents by professional staff, several workers from various John Howard Society projects, volunteers (some from the Society's board of directors, and social work students on field placement to the Society) provide further supplementary and support services.

The Howard House program operates within a basic framework which adheres to rules and regulations. For example, residents are expected to comply both to the conditions of their release or probation (e.g., all inmates released on T.A. are not permitted to drink alcohol), and also to prescribed household chores, curfews and other rules. Observed technical violations of parole, T.A. or probation conditions are reported to the respective referral agency. Minor breaches of house rules usually result in internal disciplinary action, such as "grounding". More serious violations of house rules, such as the use of alcohol and/or nonprescription drugs on the premises, may result in dismissal from the program. The Howard House program is designed to enable a resident to earn greater privileges and independence through adherence to house rules and satisfactory program participation. For example, a resident may obtain one of the three private rooms at Howard House, be granted extended curfews, and in consultation with the appropriate referral agency, be awarded overnight leaves to stay with family or friends.

The Sample

From April, 1977 to May, 1981, 255 residents stayed at Howard House for periods of time ranging from one day to 311 days. One-half of these residents were referred by the Correctional Service of Canada, while

amount of total staff time and resources). Also excluded were five former residents, all deceased prior to completion of a two year follow-up period. The majority of these residents (45 cases) successfully completed their brief stay at Howard House (a number were short-term emergency placements). However, 31 had to be terminated from the program due to: technical violations (17 cases), house rule violations (10); and the commission of property offenses (4). (See Appendix A)

The study sample represented a yearly average of 43 men who resided at Howard House from April, 1977 - May, 1981. Almost all of these men who were on various forms of conditional release were completing sentences of at least six months in the community. During this time, the Correctional Service of Canada had jurisdiction over an annual average of 312 men on parole and mandatory supervision in Newfoundland (Sharpe, Note 1), while there was a yearly average of over 400 men on supervised probation (Dunphy, Note 2). Meanwhile, there was an annual average of 241 provincial male inmates serving sentences from six months to two years less a day (Her Majesty's Penitentiary Annual Reports 1977/78 - 1980/81) and 126 Newfoundland federal inmates incarcerated in the mainland institutions of Dorchester (maximum security) and Westmorland (minimum security) in Dorchester, New Brunswick and Springhill Institution (medium security), Nova Scotia (Harding, Note 3).

It should be noted that the Howard House statistics included those based on residents who started and completed their stay at the ORC between April 1977 and May 1981. However other statistics include those men who were continuing their sentences in April 1977 and continuing or beginning their sentences in May 1981. Thus, these statistics would

45% were T.A. referrals and only 5% were adult probationers. However, due to the much longer average length of stay, (2.75 months for C.S.C. referrals versus 1.2 months for T.A. cases), 68% of total resident days were taken up by C.S.C. clients. Residents on T.A. release, along with the small number of probationers accounted for 27% and 5% respectively, of the average resident population.

Residents of Howard House are typically: 1) young, between 17-25 years old; 2) from rural Newfoundland communities; 3) lacking in community supports; 4) not married; 5) poorly educated, with only a small number having completed high school; 6) lacking work experience; and 7) having a lifestyle characterized by excessive use of alcohol and/or drugs.

The original sample numbered 179 residents, broken down as follows: 98 C.S.C. cases, 71 T.A.'s and 10 probationers. The sample comprised all those who finished at least a 30 day period of residency at Howard House from April, 1977 to May, 1981. This represented 70% of the total number of residents who resided at Howard House during this time. The average length of stay at Howard House for the study sample was: 3.4 months for C.S.C. referrals; 1.6 months for T.A. cases; and 2.5 months for probationers. The sample of 179 was subsequently reduced to 172 subjects ($n = 172$), as the Canadian Police Service Information Centre (CPSIC), a major data source, did not have any recorded information on seven individuals.

It was determined that a stay of less than 30 days was insufficient for a resident to adequately avail himself of program opportunities provided by Howard House; and therefore, would be difficult to be evaluated. Thus, the study excluded 71 of these residents (who represented a minimal

be inflated when compared to those of Howard House.

The Procedure

A resident Program Participation Scale (PPS) with specific criteria for each category of participation in the Howard House program was developed. Due to his own personal involvement with the program, the author withdrew from rating residents on the PPS. Instead two volunteers read and rated the files of the study sample ($n = 172$), according to the guidelines of the PPS.

The volunteers were both previously unaffiliated with the John Howard Society and unfamiliar with any former Howard House residents. They met for two orientation meetings during which the PPS and its use was reviewed. The raters also signed human subject consent forms safeguarding the confidentiality of the sample and the study. Following a pre-testing of the PPS, the volunteers independently (one before the other) reviewed the files during eight sessions (each lasting approximately two hours), and rated each resident's program participation on the five-point ordinal scale which ranged from "Very Poor = 1," to "Excellent = 5," with specific criteria operationalized for each category (see Appendix B).

In order to assess the relationship of the resident's program participation and other variables to resident post-program performance, for two years following departure from Howard House, it was necessary to access the subject's criminal records. In this regard, the author was granted permission by the provincial Department of Justice and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) to obtain the records of all former

residents included in the sample through the Canadian Police Service Information Centre (CPSIC). In return, the author agreed to comply with specific conditions related to the confidentiality, security and return of the records.

Instruments of Study

The Program Participation Scale (see Appendix B) was developed in order to assess resident participation in the Howard House program from information contained in resident files. The Family Support, Employment, and Alcohol and/or other Drug Problem Scales were also developed to determine how these factors impacted on in-program performance and post-program outcome (see Appendix B). The Canadian Recidivism Index, an instrument developed by Gendreau and Leipziger (1978) was used to determine degree of criminal activity both prior to, and for two years following completion of the Howard House program.

The residents' files were used as the main source of data. A typical file included an Admissions Committee form, an Initial Interview form, interview recordings, miscellaneous correspondence and a copy of a Resident Assessment. Such assessments were normally completed by the resident's counselor and submitted to the file shortly after a resident departed from the premises. A typical Resident Assessment consists of three general sections which may be categorized as follows: "Background Information," "General Performance," and a "Synopsis." For a more complete breakdown of these categories see Appendix C.

Seventy-eight percent of the files in the sample contained typed resident assessments. An additional seven percent included "Special

Reports," which provided a brief synopsis of a terminated resident's performance and specific circumstances (e.g. typically a drinking violation), surrounding his departure. The remaining 15% of the files were generally quite comprehensive, including written summaries of a resident's performance along with various completed forms and interview recordings.

The other data source was the former resident's criminal record as shown on his current R.C.M.P. Finger Print Services (FPS) form, obtained from the Canadian Police Service Information Centre (CPSIC). From these national crime records, as shown by FPS entries, up to a two year period following departure from Howard House, reconviction, and/or reincarceration were assessed to determine: 1) the number of previous convictions in a two year period prior to admission to Howard House, 2) the most serious conviction two years prior to Howard House, 3) the length of time spent "on the street" two years prior to Howard House, 4) the longest period of time without a conviction two years prior to Howard House, 5) the number of previous adult convictions, 6) the most serious adult conviction, 7) the primary type of adult offence(s), 8) the total number of months sentenced to prison as an adult, 9) the length of time prior to first conviction (if any) to two years following departure from Howard House, 10) the number of convictions (if any) within two years following departure and 11) the most serious offence (if any) committed within two years after leaving Howard House.

The Program Participation Scale. Information from the files enabled two volunteers to rate program participation for each resident in the sample ($n = 172$) on the five point PPS. The scale included the categories "Very Poor = 1", "Poor = 2", "Fair = 3", "Good = 4," and

"Excellent = 5," with specific criteria operationalized for each category. For example, a resident who was terminated from the House program without making any progress during his stay was categorized as "Very Poor = 1" on the scale, while at the other extreme, a resident whose performance, and/or progress while staying at Howard House had been exceptionally good would be "Excellent = 5". Thus, the greater the former resident's program participation score, the higher his degree of program participation (See Appendix B).

While the PPS was the main instrument used, three other sub-scales from which file data could be assessed were also utilized. The three point Family Support Scale (FSS) ranged from "Poor = 1" (a negative family environment) to "Good = 3" (a supportive family). The Employment History Scale (EHS) revealed the type of employment record of the resident ranging from "Very Poor = 1", to a very stable work record, or "Excellent = 4." The seven point Alcohol and/or Other Drug Problem Scale (ADS) ranked serious problems with alcohol and/or other drugs e.g., "1 = No problems" to "7 = Extensive alcohol and drug problems." The author ranked each resident on these three sub-scales.

The Canadian Recidivism Index. Resident post-program outcomes were determined according to the eight point CRI developed by Gendreau and Leipziger (1978). This index has eight categories: "1 = Reimprisoned: Convicted of an offence for which a (federal) sentence of two years or more has been imposed"; "2 = Reimprisoned: Convicted of an offence for which a (provincial) sentence of two years less a day or less, but more than 90 days has been imposed;" "3 = Reimprisoned: Convicted of an offence for which a sentence of 90 days or less with or without a fine has been

imposed"; "4 = Reimprisoned: Technical parole violation accompanied by further charges which carried no conviction - i.e., returned to serve balance of parole, or with no allegation of future law violations"; "5 = Absconder: Arrested for one or more law violations with no conviction and no disposition as a result of absconding, i.e., wanted"; "6 = Offender: Convicted of an offence and sentenced to probation and/or a suspended sentence with or without a fine or to a fine of \$100 or more"; "7 = Offender: Convicted of an offence for which a fine of \$25-100 has been imposed"; "8 = No illegal activities of any kind on any available (FPS) records." The author used the CRI to assess recidivism and related information (previously indicated) for a two year period before the individual came to Howard House and then 2 years after leaving Howard House.

The pre-testing of the instruments. The five-point Program Participation Scale (FPS), was pre-tested at the John Howard Society offices in February 1984. Two trained volunteers independently rated the program participation of 10 randomly selected former Howard House residents not included in the study sample, according to the specific guideline criteria accompanying the scale. Their degree of congruence was 70%; in that they unanimously agreed on 7 of the 10 cases selected. There were only minor discrepancies (as represented* by a one point difference) in the rating of each of the three remaining files. For example, one volunteer rated the program participation of one ex-resident as "Poor = 2", while the other rated it "Very Poor = 1". In cases such as this, the score for program participation of such discrepancy could be the average, or in this case 1.5. Thus, the results of the pre-test demonstrated that the instrument was generally reliable in gauging the

degree of individual program participation at Howard House. Further scrutiny of the reliability of this instrument will be presented in the "Results and Discussion" of this study.

Results and Discussion

The results and discussion of the data are presented in the following sections: 1) Demographic Data, 2) Pre-Howard House History, 3) In-Program Resident Data, 4) After Howard House, and 5) Variable Relationships.

I. Demographic Data

The 172 males who comprised the study sample ranged in age from 17 - 50 years with 136 (or 79.1%) being under 25 years of age. The mean age was 22.1 and the mode, or most frequently reported age, was 18 years. Of the sample, 151 (or 87.8%) were single. Of the remaining 21 (or 12.2%), nine (or 5.2%) were married, three (or 1.7%) were living common law, seven (or 4.1%) were separated and two (or 1.2%) were divorced.

Upon admission to Howard House, 143 (or 83.1%) of the sample indicated that their permanent address was in a Newfoundland community other than St. John's. A cohort of 25 residents (or 14.5%) were from St. John's, while the remaining four (or 2.3%) indicated that they were from another Canadian province.

In terms of educational status, 134 (or 78.8%) of the sample had not achieved beyond the grade 10 level. The most frequently completed grade was grade 8. Of the remaining 36 (or 21.2%), 16 (or 9.4%) had achieved at least a grade 11 education. Fifteen (or 8.8%) had either

¹Analyses of all data were programmed through Memorial University Computing Services. All analyses utilized the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences by Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent (1975). All data were keypunched on Globe 5081 column IBM computer cards and were analyzed on the VAX 360 system. Missing data were excluded from the analyses by item.

started or completed a trade, while four (or 2.4%) had started university. Only one person indicated that he had obtained a university degree prior to admission to Howard House.

II. Pre-Howard House History

In terms of employment, 104 (or 60.8%) of the sample were deemed as having a "poor" employment history according to the ratings on the Employment History Scale (see Appendix B). An additional 21 (or 12.3%) had a "very poor" employment history, while only seven (or 4.1%) had an "excellent" employment history.

Seventy-three (or 45.9%) of those rated ($n = 159$) on the Family Support Scale (see Appendix B) were assessed as having "poor family support" according to the scale criteria. The remainder were rated as having either "fair" (27.7%) or "good" (26.4%) family support.

As revealed in Table 1, almost half of the study sample (43.6%) had an observed alcohol and/or other drug problem, as recorded and rated on the Alcohol/Drug Problem Scale (see Appendix B). The remaining 56.4% of the sample had no alcohol or other drug problems as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1

Alcohol/Drug Problem as Rated on the Alcohol
and/or Other Drug Problem Scale (ADPS)
(n = 172)

Categories	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. "No Problems"	97	56.4
2. "Yes, Alcohol"	46	26.7
3. "Yes, Alcohol (Serious)"	24	14
4. "Yes, Alcohol & Drugs"	4	2.3
5. "Yes, Drugs (Serious)"	1	0.6
6. "Yes, Drugs"	0	0.0
7. "Yes, Both (Serious)"	0	0.0
Totals	172	100.0

Criminal History. Data related to the criminal history for two years prior to admission to Howard House were derived from criminal records (Finger Print Service entries) obtained from the Canadian Police Service Information Centre (CPSIC).

In order to determine the types of previous criminal activity that characterized the study sample, the nature of the primary offence(s) prior to entering Howard House were determined. These results are indicated in Table 2.

Table 2

Primary Offence Prior to Admission to Howard House as
Indicated on the Finger Print Service (FPS)
Record Source ($n = 172$)

Primary Offence*	Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. Crimes against property	120	69.8
2. Drug offences	41	23.8
3. Driving offences (alcohol related)	4	2.3
4. Fraud	3	1.7
5. Crimes against public order and peace	2	1.2
6. Crimes against the person	2	1.2
7. Other	0	0.0
Totals	172	100.0

Note. (*) These indicated only primary offences, thus the categories are mutually exclusive of one another.

The number of convictions two years prior to admission to Howard House ranged from one to 26 for the study sample. The \bar{x} number of convictions was 3.7 and the mode was 2 convictions. The number of occasions in which these convictions took place ranged from one to six with the \bar{x} number of occasions being 1.7 and the mode, one occasion. Thus, there was on the average a 2.2:1 conviction to occasion ratio. In other words, for this sample, each time they were tried in court, they were convicted on the average 2.2 times.

When the number of adult convictions is taken into consideration,

the range extends from one to 43 convictions, with the average number increasing to 5.6 convictions (S.D. = 5.1, mode = 2). The range for the number of occasions convicted is from one to 12 with the average being 2.8 (S.D. = 2.0, mode = 2). Interestingly, the conviction to occasion ratio in this context drops to 2:1, i.e., for every one trial occasion, there are an average of two convictions.

The average time spent in prison two years prior to admission to Howard House was seven months, S.D. = 5.2. Conversely, 17 months represented the average time spent "on the street" during this period by those that had reached adult age two years earlier S.D. = 5.5, mode = 20 months. When the longest time spent in the community without any adult conviction is calculated, the average for the 134 valid cases drops to 14.8 months and the mode to 17 months.

Of the total sample, 144 (or 83.7%) had received one or more provincial prison terms ranging from 90 days to two years less a day for their most serious offence(s), in the two years prior to Howard House admission. Of the remainder, 25 (or 14.5%) had been sentenced to a federal term of two years or more, while only two individuals had received a sentence of probation for their most serious offence during this pre-Howard House time.

Twenty percent of the sample had not reached the adult age of 17 years for two full years prior to this study date. Thus, these individuals were excluded from the adult group of offenders prior to admission to Howard House. Of those in the sample who had reached adult age two years prior to being admitted to Howard House ($n = 137$), 85 (or 62%) had been involved in criminal activities before this two year time frame. Sixty-four (or 75%)

of these former offenders had been previously incarcerated, of whom eight percent had received federal terms.

Table 3 provides more detailed data on the most serious adult offences committed prior to the two year admission to Howard House. This group included only those who had reached their nineteenth birthday upon admission to Howard House.

Table 3

Most Serious Adult Criminal Disposition Before
Two Years Prior to Admission to Howard House
($n = 137$)

Status	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. No illegal activities	52	38.0
2. Imprisoned - 90 days to 2 years less a day	28	20.4
3. Imprisoned - 90 days or less	25	18.2
4. Offender - Convicted of an offence and sentenced to probation and/or a suspended sentence with or without a fine or to a fine of \$100 or more	15	11.0
5. Imprisoned - Federal term	11	8.0
6. Offender - Fined \$25-\$100	6	4.4
Totals	137	100.0

In regard to previous incarcerations, 97 (or 56.5%) of the sample had been previously incarcerated as an adult, while 73 (or 42.4%) served their first period of incarceration and the remaining two (or 1.2%) had never served a period of imprisonment. The latter were probationers who had not previously been sentenced to prison. Of the 98.8% of the sample who had been sentenced to prison as an adult, the total time sentenced to imprisonment, not including those sentences which ran concurrently or those which may have taken place in lieu of fines, ranged from three to 174 months. The \bar{x} total time sentenced to prison was 21.7 months, S.D. = 23.8. The mode was six months incarceration in these total sentences.

III. In-Program Resident Data

The sample of 172 males stayed at Howard House from April, 1977 to May, 1981. The type of community supervision and the jurisdiction to which the resident is accountable are provided in Table 4.

Table 4

Status of Howard House Residents Comprising
the Study Sample (n = 172)

Actual Status	Jurisdiction*	Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. Provincial Parole	C.S.C.	72	41.9
2. Temporary Absence	Provincial Justice	67	39.0
3. Federal Parole	C.S.C.	19	11.0
4. Probation	Provincial Justice	9	5.2
5. Mandatory Supervision	C.S.C.	5	2.9
Totals		172	100.0

Note. (*) "C.S.C" refers to the Correctional Service of Canada while "Provincial Justice" refers to the provincial Department of Justice.

The 172 residents in the sample stayed at Howard House for a period of time ranging from 30 to 311 days (\bar{x} = 79.1 days, S.D. = 51, mode = 45 days). The average length of stay under the jurisdiction of C.S.C. was 102 days (The average length of stay for provincial parole 101 days; federal parole 116 days; and mandatory supervision 68 days). The length of stay for probation was 86 days, while provincial T.A. cases stayed an average of 46 days.

The results of two independent ratings of resident program participation according to the Program Participation Scale (PPS) are indicated in Table 5.

Table 5

Two Independent Ratings of Program Participation of
the Sample on the Program Participation Scale (PPS)
($n = 172$)

Category	Rater I		Rater II	
	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. Very Poor	5	2.9	8	4.7
2. Poor	31	18.0	33	19.2
3. Fair	74	43.0	49	28.5
4. Good	58	33.7	76	44.2
5. Excellent	4	2.3	6	3.5
Totals	172	100.0	172	100.0

Employment/educational status. One hundred and twenty-one (or 70%) of the sample were employed. Eleven (or 6.4%) upgraded their educational or vocational skills. Five (or 2.9%) had been both employed and involved in educational/vocational upgrading at some point while residing at Howard House. A more detailed breakdown of these data are provided in Table 6.

Table 6

Employment/Educational Status of the Study
Sample While Residing at Howard House
(n = 171)

Employment/Educational Status	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. Employed on a federal project	52	30.4
2. Employed - Full time	39	22.8
3. Employed - More than one job, including a federal project	24	14.0
4. Unemployed	18	10.5
5. Unemployed - receiving unemployment insurance benefits	16	9.4
6. Attending school, university or trade/technical college	11	6.4
7. Temporary or part-time employment	6	3.5
8. Employed, plus upgrading education	5	3.0
Totals	171	100.0

Two-thirds of the sample (91 residents) completed their employment prior to or upon their departure from Howard House. Sixty-four of this group had been employed for more than three weeks, while 27 had been employed from one to three weeks. The remaining third of those employed or attending school were continuing with almost all (43 of 45) having been employed for more than three weeks while at Howard House.

Seventy-seven percent of those whose employment or training had,

been terminated ($n = 91$) had their job end because they: 1) were laid off (29.7%), 2) quit for a personal reason such as to return home to their families (26.5%), or to move elsewhere (6.6%); 3) accepted another job, (3.3%); 4) had completed their course of study (4.3%); or 5) cited "other" valid reasons (6.6%). Ten (or 11%) percent lost their jobs when they were returned to the institution. Six individuals (or 6.6%) were fired, two (or 2.2%) quit without reason, and one person failed a course of study.

Outcome of stay. The outcome of a resident's stay was determined in order to assess whether or not he successfully completed the program and if not, the reasons for his termination were noted. Table 7 describes his status at departure from the program.

Table 7

Status at Departure and Outcome of Howard House
Stay for the Study Sample
(n = 172)

Status at Departure	Outcome	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. Successful Completion		141	82.0
2. Technical violation drinking/drugs	Returned to Institution	15	8.7
3. Technical violation of House Rules	Returned to Institution	7	4.1
4. Dismissed - Violation of House Rules	Parole/probation not revoked	4	2.3
5. Committed crime	Returned to Institution	3	1.7
6. Committed crime	At large	1	.6
7. Dismissed - drinking or problem caused by drinking	Parole/probation not revoked	1	.6
Totals		172	100.0

IV. After Howard House

Of the total sample, the employment or educational status of 169 could only be assessed on their day of departure. Ninety-one (or 53.8%) were neither employed or in school and did not have an income. Eighty-one (or 46.2%) were employed, attending school or were eligible for unemployment insurance benefits. Table 8 provides data on the employment/educational

status of the residents on this day.

Table 8
 Employment/Educational Status
 on Day of Departure from Howard House
 (n = 169)

Employment/Educational Status	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. Unemployed/Not in School	91	53.8
2. Full-time employment continuing	31	18.3
3. U.I.C. eligibility	23	13.6
4. Federal project continuing	8	4.4
5. Full-time new employment confirmed	7	4.1
6. Continuing education	6	3.6
7. Accepted into educational program	3	1.8
8. Temporary or part-time employment continuing	0	0.0
9. School plus part-time employment	0	0.0
10. Federal project - new	0	0.0
Totals	169	100.0

Criminal activity. Recidivism data, utilizing the categories of the Canadian Recidivism Index (Gendreau & Leipziger, 1978) ranked in descending order of frequency appear in Table 9. As indicated in this Table, 62.2% of the sample avoided illegal activities two years following their departure from Howard House. 29.1% were imprisoned following conviction, while 5.2% were imprisoned due to various technical violations of

parole or T.A. conditions. The remaining 3.5% were convicted of minor offences for which probation and/or a fine had been imposed.

In regard to the one-third of the sample who were convicted of further criminal activities two years following departure from Howard House, the average length of time spent "on the street" prior to conviction was eight months, and the mode was four months. The total number of convictions ranged from one to nine and the average number of convictions were 2.8. The average number of occasions in which convictions took place were 1.7. The ratio of convictions to occasions for this group was 1.6:1. Thus, for every 1.6 convictions there was one trial occasion.

Six of the 72 residents, who avoided illegal activities after two years and who were enabled to be followed up on for an additional year, were reconvicted. Thus, the reconviction rate rises from 32.6% after two years to 40.9%, for a three year follow-up.

Table 9

Two Year Follow-up Recidivism Status of the
Study Sample Using the Canadian Recidivism Index
(n = 172)*

Index Number	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. No illegal activities	107	62.2
2. Re-imprisoned - provincial term	26	15.1
3. Re-imprisoned - 90 days or less	13	7.6
4. Re-imprisoned - Federal term	11	6.4
5. Re-imprisoned - technical parole/T.A. violation which carried no conviction	6	3.5
6. Offender - convicted of an offence and sentenced to probation and/or suspended sentence with or without a fine or to a fine of \$100 or more	5	2.9
7. Re-imprisoned - temporary absence violation which carried no conviction	3	1.7
8. Offender - convicted of an offence for which a fine of \$25-\$100 had been imposed	1	0.6
9. Absconder - arrested for one or more law violations with no disposition as a result of absconding i.e., wanted	0	0.0
Totals	172	100.0

Note. (*) F.P.S. records were not available through CPSIC for 7 of the original sample of 179. These cases were thus excluded from this analyses.

Discussion of Descriptive Data

The findings were previously presented in four sub-sections: demographic data, pre-Howard House history, in-program resident data and ~~post-Howard House~~ criminal activity. The ensuing discussion of these data correspond to that organizing format.

Demographic data. The study describes a male population that was primarily young, single, from rural Newfoundland, with generally poor educational backgrounds. Recent Canadian recidivism studies, and official provincial and federal government statistics, provide comparisons for these data.

In terms of age, the sample's average age of 22.1 years is slightly higher than the average of 20 years reported by Gendreau and Leipziger (1978) in their study of post-release performance of adult male first incarcerates. However, it is lower than the average age of 25.1 years for a follow-up study of residents from several community resource centres in Ontario by Ardron (1978). Similarly, the majority of the 79.1% of adult males under 25 years of age is slightly lower than the proportion (82.3%) within this age group in Carlaon's (1973) study of male first incarcerates, and much greater than the 41.2% below age 25 in Waller's (1974) study of men released from federal penitentiaries.

The finding that the subjects are slightly older than the study population of first incarcerates, but younger than those in community resource centres in Ontario, and much younger than men released from federal penitentiaries is not surprising. For example, the age of first incarcerates is generally expected to be lower than that of federal penitentiary inmates who have often served prior sentences before receiving federal

terms. Also, as can be determined from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (Statistics Canada, 1982), the average age of inmates upon admission to Ontario penal institutions is 28 years compared to 26 in Newfoundland. The heterogeneous mix of the sample provided by referrals from various jurisdictions accounts for discrepancies in age between this group and other correctional samples. However, with regard to age, the present study is more similar than dissimilar to other recidivism studies.

The residents of Howard House were also, on the average, several years younger than males sentenced to Newfoundland penal facilities (22.1 vs. 26 years). Both groups were considerably younger than the average age of 39 for the entire Newfoundland adult population (Statistics Canada, 1982).

The younger age of the sample as compared to those admitted to provincial institutions might be partly accounted for by the fact that older, chronic offenders who have been incarcerated on previous occasions have usually not applied to Howard House. Also, for each year of this study, approximately 66%-75% of provincial inmates were serving sentences of less than six months for minor offences. These offences ranged from non-payment of fines to violations of local statutes such as the Social Assistance Act, the Welfare of Children's Act and various municipal regulations (Her Majesty's Penitentiary Annual Reports, 1977/78-1980/81). Due to the nature of these offences, it is probable that this group had a higher percentage of older inmates, who, due to their short prison terms and unlikelihood of receiving a parole or temporary absence, did not apply to Howard House.

Consistent with the young profile of Howard House residents was the fact that their marital status was predominantly single. One hundred and fifty-one (or 87.8%) were single compared to a rate of 69% of single males being admitted to provincial institutions during approximately the same time period as the present study (Her Majesty's Penitentiary Annual Reports, 1977/78 - 1980/81). This study's high percentage of single men is much greater than the 52.4% of single men in Waller's (1974) study of federal releases. Once again, a higher percentage of single men is to be expected when a young group is compared with samples of older males.

The apparent disproportion of the sample residing in Newfoundland communities outside of St. John's seems to be an accurate reflection of the rural composition of the provincial population. In fact, the 25 (or 14.5%) of the St. John's residents who stayed at Howard House is almost identical to the percentage of the city's population in relation to the total population of Newfoundland (Statistics Canada, 1981 Census). A further examination of the judicial districts and regions from which people were sentenced to provincial institutions, reveals that only approximately 60% of the Newfoundland federal and provincial inmates were sentenced from communities outside of St. John's (Her Majesty's Penitentiary Annual Reports, 1977/78 - 1980/81). However, this may be explained by noting that each year during the study period, up to 2500 prisoners serving short sentences in rural R.C.M.P. detachment jails (exclusive of the St. John's jail) were not transferred to provincial penal institutions, often because they were operating at full capacity (McNutt, Note 4).

The low educational level of the sample is comparable to the

educational level of inmates admitted to local provincial institutions (Her Majesty's Penitentiary Annual Reports, 1977/78 - 1980/81), and generally to that of other recidivism study populations. For example, the sample was slightly better educated than some study groups (Annis, 1979; Carlson, 1973) and slightly less educated than others (Ardrén, 1978; Waller, 1974). Once again, the sample seems more similar than dissimilar to other samples investigated in this regard.

Pre-Howard House History. The typical individual in the sample is characterized by a poor employment history. Approximately half of the individuals had "poor family support," and/or alcohol problems. More than two-thirds had been convicted primarily of property offences. The typical subject was convicted of 5.6 offences on 2.8 occasions for an average of 2:1 conviction to occasion ratio. Thus, for every trial occasion, there were an average of two convictions. He had also been sentenced to a total of 22 months in prison as an adult prior to coming to Howard House.

Similar to the finding about the low educational levels of the sample, their poor employment history is generally characteristic of other offender samples. A large percentage of the sample had a "poor employment record" in 61% of the cases, characterized by brief, sporadic work and a "very poor employment record" in 13% of the cases, where the person had little, if any, employment history.

These findings seem less than favorable when compared to another Canadian recidivism study which also rated employment history upon admission. More specifically, Waller's (1974) study of federal ex-inmates found that only 43% held their longest job for less than one year and that one-quarter held their longest job for at least three years. However, it

should be noted that Waller's sample were slightly better educated and older. These factors, along with better employment opportunities in Ontario, where the unemployment rate was approximately half that of Newfoundland (Statistics Canada, 1984), may account for these differences in employment history (For a further elaboration of a five year trend, see Appendix C).

The finding that almost half of those rated on the Family Support Scale had "poor family support" is again not surprising when examining the findings of other recidivism studies. For example, Waller (1974) reported that almost half of the federal ex-inmates surveyed indicated that they had left home at age 15 or earlier, and had a member of their family charged with an offence at some time. Also, Rogers (1981) found that 60% of her sample of Ontario probationers experienced at least one of a dozen negative family factors ranging from the delinquent record of siblings to the prolonged absence of a parent. In the current study, "poor family support" was interpreted as a negative family environment including factors such as: a lack of intimacy with family members, poor support and guidance in the past, and open conflict with family members, some of who may have been involved in criminal activity.

As revealed in Table 1 (page 54), the number who had an alcohol problem according to the Alcohol/Drug Problem Scale is 43%. This finding is similar to that of Waller (1974), who reported that 41.1% of his sample had alcohol problems upon admission to penitentiary.

The finding that only five of the residents had a drug problem with the finding in Table 2 that almost one-quarter of the sample had committed primarily drug offences prior to arriving at Howard House is

surprising and seemingly contradictory. It is plausible to assume, therefore, that this cohort of 41 drug offenders were almost all involved in the trafficking of narcotics and engaged in this illegal activity for financial reward as opposed to contributing to a drug habit. While there may have been others in the sample who suffered from alcohol and/or other drug problems, the ratings were based on file information obtained from other agencies, e.g. parole drinking restrictions, observations by staff and admissions by residents of such problems. Therefore, it is possible that the alcohol and drug problems of some individuals in the sample may not have been detected and/or recorded, making the actual percentage of those having such problems higher.

In terms of types of offences committed prior to admission to Howard House, the study sample falls clearly into two categories: 1) crimes against property (69.8%), and 2) drug offences (23.8%) as indicated in Table 2. This is not surprising, as approximately two-thirds of the offenders in both the Annis (1979) and Carlson (1973) samples had been convicted of property offences, while two out of three men re-arrested after release in Waller's (1974) study were convicted of property offences.

The 23.8% of the sample who had past convictions of primarily drug offences represents a higher than normal perceived distribution of drug offenders. In fact, for each year during the study period, less than ten percent of admissions to Her Majesty's Penitentiary were for drug offences (Her Majesty's Penitentiary Annual Reports, 1977/78-1980/81). This may be partially accounted for by a number of facts. First, a number of offenders had been convicted during several large drug arrests in the province just prior to or during the period covered by this study. A large group

of these offenders were accepted to Howard House on day parole, an earlier release, but a more intensive form of supervision, than full parole. Second, drug offenders tend to be better educated and more likely to be aware of the Howard House program and thus, applied more frequently than others. Third, drug offenders are more co-operative in rehabilitation programming, and being less problematic and disruptive, are probably less visible in the general population.

An examination of previous criminal convictions revealed that the average resident was convicted of six offences on three different occasions as an adult. This compares with an average of 6.2 prior offences for C.R.C. residents in the Ardron (1978) study and 5 prior offences for their comparison group, participants in the temporary absence program (TAP). As well, for 97 (or 56.5%) of the sample, their criminal activities resulted in at least one previous incarceration prior to the current sentence. In fact, on the average, the sample had been sentenced to a total of 22 months in prison, with 17% having served federal terms prior to Howard House admission. Consequently, on the basis of these data, one may assume that the typical Howard House offender is neither a chronic, professional criminal, nor one who has had only isolated, minor involvements with the criminal justice system.

In-program resident data. With the exception of a CRC study involving both a restitution program and TAP referrals (Bonta et al., 1983), this study is different from other known recidivism studies in that it has individuals participating in the same rehabilitation program under different jurisdictions and release conditions. The various C.S.C. parole and mandatory supervision release conditions along with the provincial

Department of Justice, T.A. and probation referrals provide interesting data comparisons. This is particularly true when determining whether factors such as the average length of stay of each respective category is or is not related to recidivism. These analyses will be presented in a subsequent section of this study.

The program participation ratings of the residents by two independent raters indicated in Table 5 (page 60) revealed a fairly normal distribution of residents within the five category scale by both raters. While there was general agreement, the first appeared to be more cautious than the second, as revealed by the greater number of "fair" or neutral assessments. Thus, as indicated by their general agreement, there seemed to be a high degree of congruency in their ratings of program participation.

The finding that 73.7% of the sample obtained employment while residing at Howard House is surprising when the resident's poor education and work experience previously noted, and Newfoundland's abnormally high unemployment rate is considered. This figure compares favorably to the 69% of the sample of residents who stayed at community resource centres in Ontario, almost half of whom were maintaining the same job that was arranged prior to incarceration (Ardron, 1978). Thus, the rate at which employment was obtained by the sample while residing at Howard House was high, when compared to the employment rate of CRCs in Ontario, where job opportunities are greater and unemployment is lower.

One factor which may be related to this is that 41% of those working were employed exclusively on federal projects, almost all of which were sponsored by the John Howard Society. Thus, the short-term nature of these federal projects is one of the main reasons why two-thirds of the sample

completed their employment prior to or upon departure from Howard House as indicated in Table 8.

The 82% of successful program completers in the Howard House study sample is identical to the successful completion rate found in a study of Ontario CRCs (Ardron, 1978). The 141 successful completers of the Howard House program resided for an average of 2 1/2 months in the community under the supervision of the CRC. This was without having their stay terminated due to technical violations of their conditional release, problematic violations of house rules, or because they committed new crimes. In fact, of the total sample, only four residents committed crimes during their stay.

Other CRCs usually determine the program completion rates based on all admissions. Consequently, the total number of Howard House admissions, excluding seven special placements, neither of who had to be terminated, appear in Table 10 with comparative CRC data.

Table 10

A Comparison of Successful Completion of CRC Programs
Based on the Total Number of Program Admissions in
Winnipeg (n = 211), Ontario (n = 200) and Howard House (n = 255)

	Winnipeg CRC (<u>n</u> = 211) Actual No. and %	Ontario CRCs (<u>n</u> = 200) Actual No. and %	Howard House (<u>n</u> = 255)* Actual No. and %
Successful Completions	144 (68.2%)	164 (82.0%)	186 (75.0%)
Terminations	67 (31.8%)	36 (18.0%)	62 (25.5%)

Note: (*) This number includes all those residents admitted to the Howard House program, with the exception of six temporary placements for special purposes and one other who died while a resident.

In general, the success and failure rates of Howard House, in terms of program completions is quite similar to that of other CRCs. The success rate is higher than that found in the McIvor et al. (1979) study of CRCs in Winnipeg, but lower than that of the Ardron (1978) study of Ontario CRCs, which excluded those who had a planned length of stay of less than five days. Thus, it appears that seven or eight out of ten people arriving at a CRC will successfully complete their stay.

The present study, like the McIvor et al. (1979) and Ardron (1978) studies, found that those that do not complete the program are usually dismissed, not because they committed crimes, but because they technically violated release conditions.

Post-program data. One-third of the sample were employed or attending school on the day of their departure from Howard House. This represents a substantial decrease from the 80% of residents previously noted, who were either employed or attending school during their stay at Howard House. However, three-quarters of those employed had secured full-time permanent employment, while the remainder were employed on federal projects. An additional 13.6% were eligible for U.I.C. benefits. Thus, over 40% of the sample had some financial security upon leaving Howard House, while an additional 5.4% were enrolled in educational programs.

In regard to recidivism, as noted in Table 11, the reconviction rate for former residents two years following departure from Howard House is 32.6% (categories 1-3, 5-7). The failure rate increases to 37.8% when technical violations of parole and T.A. conditions are included. However, as recommended by Waldo and Griswold (1979), technical violations are

separately categorized to account for non-criminal behavior resulting in incarceration and are not included as recidivism figures in any of the studies.

The one-third recidivism rate of Howard House residents compares favorably with two other Canadian studies which used the Canadian Recidivism Index for a two year follow-up period. In fact, the Gendreau and Leipziger (1978) study of first incarcerates reported a reconviction rate of 46.3% (categories 1-3, 5-7), while Cormier's (1981) study of men released from a federal medium security institution found their reconviction rate to be 52.1% (see Table 11, categories 1-3, 5-7).

Another two year study of male first incarcerates (Carlson 1973) found a reconviction rate of 46.7%. Renner's (1981) two year study of adult probationers in Ontario revealed that males in the sample had a reconviction rate of 39.8%. The only known Canadian recidivism study of CRCs (Ardron, 1978) was a one year follow-up of CRC and TAP releases in which reconviction rates of 30% and 38%, respectively, were found. The one year follow-up reconviction rate for Howard House was 26.2%. Thus, in terms of reconviction rates, Howard House compares favorably with other known Canadian recidivism studies and the generalizability of the data seem apparent at this level of analysis.

Table 11

A Comparison of Two Year Follow-up Recidivism Rates for First Incarcerates in Ontario (Gendreau & Leipziger, 1978), Ex-inmates of a Federal Medium Security Institution (Cormier, 1981), and the Study Sample

Canadian Recidivism Index No.	First Incarcerates Gendreau & Leipziger (1978) (n = 802) Relative Frequency (%)	Federal Institution (Cormier, 1981) (n = 259) Relative Frequency (%)	The Present Study (n = 172) Relative Frequency (%)
1 - 2 years or more.	6.7	15.8	6.4
2 - 90 days - 2 years less a day	22.5	17.4	15.1
3 - 90 days or less	7.4	15.8	7.6
4 - Technical parole/T.A.* violation which carried no conviction	2.5	3.5	5.2
5 - Wanted/ Absconder	.3	3.1	0.0
6 - Probation/ SS/Fine	6.7	0.0	2.9
7 - Fine up to \$100	2.7	0.0	0.6
8 - No illegal activities	51.2	44.0	62.2

Note: (*) T.A. violations apply only to Howard House

V. Variable Relationships

The analyses used to test variable relationships were: 1) correlational analyses and 2) tests of independence (χ^2). Selected variables from the previous descriptive analyses were tested as they related primarily to the main dependent variable which was recidivism. Due to the fact that a number of variables were assessed by different measurement scales, e.g. nominal, ordinal, interval, different tests and assumptions related to the measurement properties were used. In some instances the sample sizes varied in the test relationships.

Two correlational tests were used in these analyses: 1) the Pearson Product-Moment (PPM) correlational coefficient (r) was used with interval level data when assumptions of normality were made and 2) the Spearman-Brown (r_s) rank-order correlational test was used in the non-parametric sense when assumptions of normality were inappropriate and measurement scales were nominal or ordinal level.

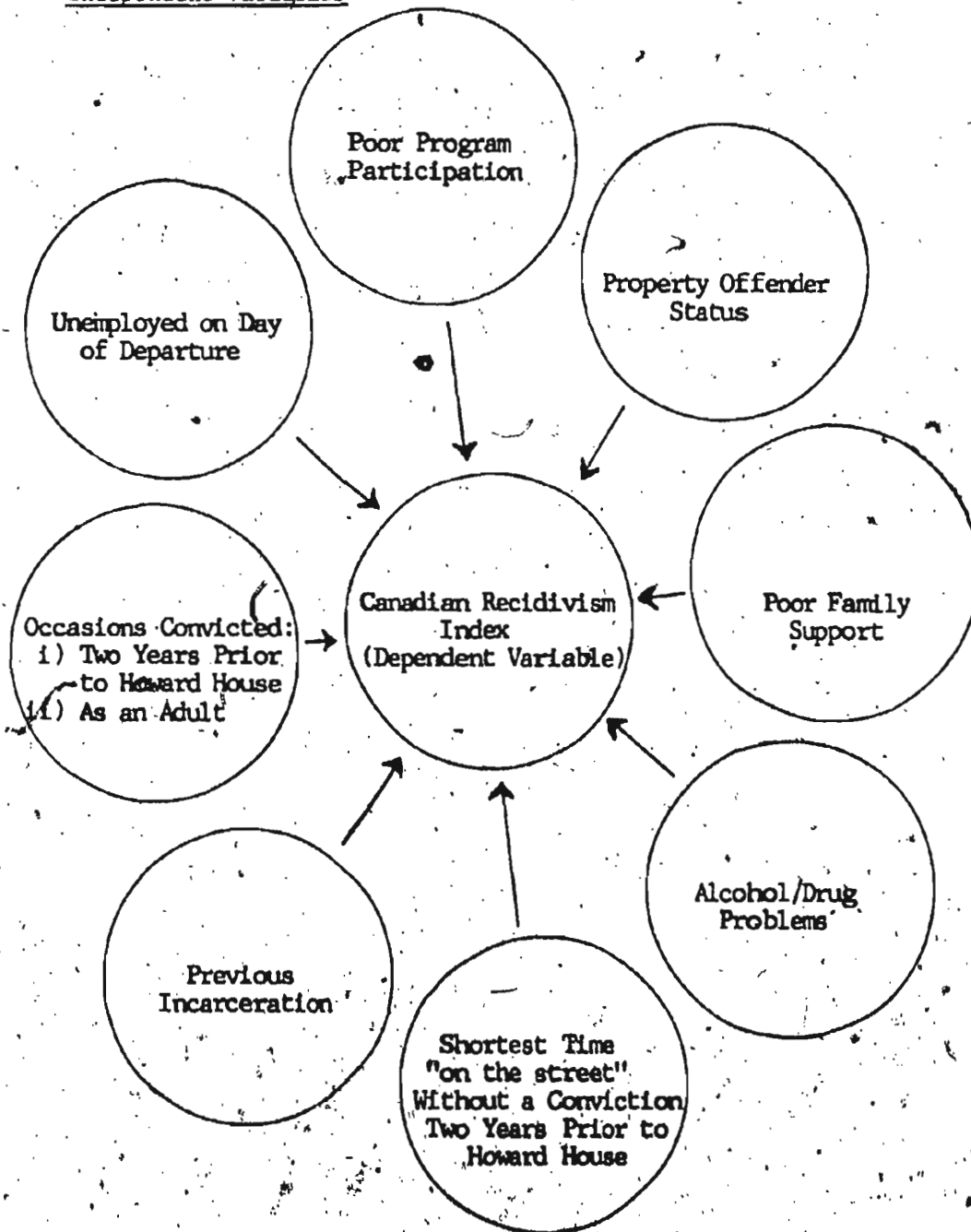
Chi-square tests (χ^2) were used to determine if variables were related and their association was not due to chance variation. Cross-tabulations of existing and newly created variables by the Canadian Recidivism Index were determined in order to assess whether or not there were significant associations between these variables and recidivism.

The relationships between the major variables which were found to relate to recidivism are schematically presented in Figure 1.

Figure I

Major Factors Effecting Recidivism (Canadian Recidivism Index)

Independent Variables



The results indicated the following major findings: 1) a portion of characteristics of one's adult criminal history provide a profile of the typical individual in the study sample, 2) an individual was more likely to recidivate the greater the number of occasions convicted two years prior to Howard House, and as an adult, the shorter the period of time "on the street" without a conviction, if he had previous incarcerations, if he had a problem with alcohol and/or drugs, had little family support, was a property offender and was unemployed on the day of his departure, than if none of these were apparent, 3) a poor rating on the Program Participation Scale (PPS) indicated a greater likelihood of recidivism and more serious subsequent criminal involvement than a good rating on the same scale. These results will be more specifically broken down according to: 1) adult criminal history, 2) recidivism and selected variables, and 3) program participation and recidivism.

Adult criminal history. The previous descriptive analyses indicated that the average individual in the study sample was convicted of six offences on three different occasions as an adult. Further analysis revealed that the number of convictions two years prior to admission to Howard House correlated to the number of trial occasions in which a person had been convicted during this time ($r = .41$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$). Age was also related to the number of months sentenced to prison as an adult ($r = .49$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$), or more simply, older individuals spent more time in prison as adults.

A profile indicating the type of significant indicators of adult criminal history is provided in Table 12. This table reveals that factors such as the total number of adult convictions, the number

of occasions convicted as an adult, and the number of months sentenced to prison as an adult, correlated positively with the number of convictions, occasions and time incarcerated two years prior to Howard House. These same factors also negatively correlated with the length of time spent "on the street" and the longest time spent without a conviction two years prior to Howard House.

The previous descriptive data (see page 58) revealed that over half of the sample (or 56.5%) had been previously incarcerated. A comparison of first time and previous incarcerates in Table 13 indicates that the two groups have distinct criminal histories, in fact, almost opposite in a number of selected variables. More specifically, previous incarcerates were more likely to have been convicted of a higher number of adult crimes for a greater number of occasions, and spent a longer time in prison as an adult. Conversely, they spent less time "on the street" without being incarcerated or having a conviction two years prior to Howard House. First time incarcerates were just the opposite when considered with these variables.

Table 12

Correlation Coefficients of Relationships Between Indicators
and Descriptors of Adult Criminal History for the Study Sample

Selected Indicators	Total Number of Adult Convictions	Total Number of Occasions Convicted	Total Months Sentenced to Prison as an Adult
1. Total Number Con- victions Two Years Prior to Howard House	.71 (n = 172)	-	-
2. Total Number Occasions Con- victed Two Years Prior to Howard House	-	.48 (n = 172)	-
3. Time Incarcerated Two Years Prior to Howard House	.45 (n = 170)	.41 (n = 169)	.69 (n = 169)
4. "Time on Street" Two Years Prior to Howard House	-	-	-.69 (n = 169)
5. Longest Time on Street Without Conviction Two Years Prior to Howard House	-.42 (n = 134)	-.43 (n = 134)	-.51 (n = 134)
6. Total Months Sentenced to Prison as an Adult	.45 (n = 170)	.48 (n = 170)	-
7. Total Number Occasions Convicted as an Adult	.58 (n = 172)	-	-

Note. (*) Denotes $p < .001$ for all r 's $> \pm .40$.

Table 13

A Comparison of First-Time and Previous Incarcerates
by Selected Background Variables ($n = 134-172$)

Selected Background Variables	Correlation Coefficients (r_s)*	
	First Incarcerates	More than one Incarceration
1. Total Number of Adult Convictions	-.48	.48 ($n = 172$)
2. Total Number of Occasions Convicted	-.61	.61 ($n = 172$)
3. Total Number of Months Sentenced to Prison as an Adult	-.47	.47 ($n = 170$)
4. Time Incarcerated Two Years Prior to Howard House	-.43	.43 ($n = 169$)
5. "Time on Street" Two Years Prior to Howard House	.40	-.40 ($n = 137$)
6. Longest "Time on Street" Without Convictions Two Years Prior to Howard House	.45	-.45 ($n = 134$)

Note: (*) Denotes $p < .001$.

Recidivism and selected variables. Relationships of selected variables with the Canadian Recidivism Index are indicated in Table 14. Categories of high risk for recidivism were: 1) the greater the number of occasions convicted two years prior to Howard House and as an adult, 2) those with previous incarcerations, 3) those who survived a shorter period of time "on the street" without a conviction two years prior to Howard House, 4) those who experienced alcohol and/or drug problems, 5) those who had little or no family support, 6) those whose participation in the Howard House program was judged by raters to be low on the Program

Participation Scale and 7) jurisdictional status, that is the type of community release plan (e.g., parole, T.A.) for members of the study sample. However, upon closer scrutiny of this latter factor, it appeared generally that all types of jurisdictional status categories did well with the exception of probationers.

Table 14

Crosstabulation of Selected Independent Variables
with the Canadian Recidivism Index (CRI)
($n = 159-172$)

Selected Independent Variables	Canadian Recidivism Index Chi-Square χ^2	Degrees of Freedom (d.f.)	Sample Size
1. Number of Occasions Convicted Two Years Prior to Howard House	49.6	35*	($n = 172$)
2. Number of Occasions Convicted as an Adult	171.3	77*	($n = 172$)
3. First-time Incarcerate	29.8	14*	($n = 172$)
4. Longest Time "on Street" without a conviction 2 years prior to Howard House	184.3	154*	($n = 134$)
5. Alcohol/Drug Problems	52.4	28*	($n = 172$)
6. Family Support	27.2	14*	($n = 159$)
7. Rater I	61.3	28**	($n = 172$)
8. Rater II	81.3	28**	($n = 172$)
9. Jurisdictional Status	55.8	28**	($n = 172$)

Note. (*) Denotes $p < .05$, (**) Denotes $p < .001$.

As noted in Table 14, the longer the time spent "on the street"

without a conviction, the greater the probability of avoiding further illegal activities. For example, of those who spent less than a year "on the street" without being convicted during their two years prior to coming to Howard House ($n = 46$) their recidivism rate was 37.0%. This compares to a recidivism rate of 27.7% for those who remained "on the street" for longer than one year without a conviction ($n = 88$).

A more detailed examination of the recidivism rate for those who had been convicted on one trial occasion as compared with those convicted on more than one occasion: 1) two years before coming to Howard House and 2) as an adult, is presented in Table 15. It shows that those convicted on only one occasion both two years prior to coming to Howard House and as an adult were less likely to recidivate and to receive a federal prison term than those convicted on more than one trial occasion.

Table 15

Recidivism Rates for Men Convicted on One Trial Occasion as Compared with Those
 — Convicted on Multiple Trial Occasions for the Period Two Years Prior to Coming to Howard House
 and as an Adult
 (n = 172)

Selected Categories	Total	Recidivism Rate		Selected Components of the Canadian Recidivism Index			
		Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)	Provincial Term		Federal Term	
				Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)	Actual Number	Relative Frequency (%)
1. One Trial Occasion Two Years Prior to Howard House	85	26	30.6%	11	12.9%	3	3.5%
2. Multiple Trial Occurrences Two Years Prior to Howard House	87	39	44.8%	3	17.2%	8	9.1%
3. One Trial Occasion as an Adult	46	12	26.1%	7	15.2%	1	2.2%
4. Multiple Trial Occurrences as an Adult	126	53	42.1%	19	15.1%	10	7.9%

Table 16

Crosstabulation of Selected Variables with "No Illegal Activities" and Provincial and Federal Terms as Indicated by the Canadian Recidivism Index Two Years Following Departure from Howard House
(n = 172)

Selected Independent Variables	Components of Canadian Recidivism Index		
	No Illegal Activities Relative Frequency (%)	Provincial Term Relative Frequency (%)	Federal Term Relative Frequency (%)
1. Problems with Alcohol/Drugs	46.7	24.0	9.3
2. No Problems with Alcohol/Drugs	74.2	8.2	4.1
3. Primarily Property Offender	55.8	19.2	9.2
4. Primarily Non-Property Offender (Mainly Drugs)	76.9	5.8	0.0
5. Unemployed on Day of Departure	52.6	18.4	8.8
6. Employed on Day of Departure	81.0	8.6	1.7

The greater likelihood of recidivism by those with alcohol and drug problems is further suggested in the results of the crosstabulations of the CRI by other selected variables as revealed in Table 16. For example, when those with alcohol/drug problems were treated as a cohort and compared with those with no alcohol/drug problems, the former group had recidivated at a statistically significant degree.

according to the CRI ($\chi^2 = 17.2$, 7 d.f., $p < .01$). More specifically, less than half of those with alcohol and drug problems avoided criminal activities as compared with three-quarters of those who did not experience such problems according to the Alcohol/Drug Problem Scale. Also, a much larger percentage of those with alcohol and drug problems received provincial terms from 90 days to two years less a day or federal terms of two years or more. In both categories there were a much higher proportion of provincial than federal prison terms.

A higher recidivism rate by property offenders when compared with non-property offenders was also found to be significant ($\chi^2 = 14.1$, 7 d.f., $p < .05$). The recidivism rate of those unemployed upon their day of departure was also higher than those who were employed ($\chi^2 = 15.9$, 7 d.f., $p < .05$). Property offenders and those unemployed also received a significantly higher percentage of provincial and federal terms than those who were non-property offenders and employed upon their day of departure from Howard House. Not surprisingly, the percentage of provincial terms was again higher than that of federal terms in all categories of the CRI.

It was previously noted that 82% of the sample (or 141 of 172) successfully completed their stay at Howard House (see page 62). A crosstabulation of program outcome by the Canadian Recidivism Index showed that those who successfully completed the program were more likely to avoid future criminal activities than those who did not complete the program ($\chi^2 = 137$ d.f. = 42, $p < .001$). Although the numbers are not equal in both groups, Table 17 indicates that less than one quarter (24.8%) of the men who successfully completed the program recidivated

within a two year follow-up period. However, of the 27 terminated due to breaches of release conditions (22 of whom had been returned to prison for parole or T.A. violations), 17 (or 63%) were convicted of further crimes within two years. Those terminated from the program were also more likely to be involved in serious offences as represented by a higher percentage of federal and provincial prison terms.

Table 17

A Comparison of Recidivism Rates as Determined by Selected Components of the Canadian Recidivism Index for Howard House Program Completers and Those Non-Completers Dismissed for Violation of Release Conditions
(n = 168)*

Status Upon Departure	Total	Overall	Recidivism	No-Illegal	Relative	Provincial Term		Federal Term	
		Actual Number	Relative Frequency %	Activities Actual Number	Frequency %	Actual Number	Relative Frequency %	Actual Number	Relative Frequency %
Successful Program Completion	141	35	24.8%	106	75.2%	12	8.5%	6	4.2%
Dismissed from Program for Violation of Release Conditions	27	17	63.0%	10	37.0%	12	44.4%	3	11.1%

Note. (*) Four men who were dismissed from Howard House for the commission of crimes for which they were convicted are not included in the Table.

Recidivism was also significantly correlated with the total number of convictions two years after individuals left Howard House ($r_s = .91$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$) and the total number of occasions convicted during this post-Howard House period ($r_s = .90$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$). Conversely, recidivism had a strong negative correlation with post-Howard House time "on the street" during the two year follow-up period ($r_s = .91$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$), that is those who did not recidivate spent a longer time "on the street."

Program participation and recidivism. The two independent raters had a high degree of congruence in rating the sample according to the Program Participation Scale ($r_s = .74$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$). Significant relationships as assessed on the PPS were tested against the Canadian Recidivism Index. Statistically significant correlations existed for the PPS ratings of Rater I and the CRI ($\chi^2 = 61.3$, $d.f. = 28$, $p < .001$) and Rater II and the CRI ($\chi^2 = 81.3$, $d.f. = 28$, $p < .001$).

As revealed in Table 18, poorer ratings on the PPS related to higher incidents (or actual percentages) of recidivism and the greater likelihood of provincial and/or federal prison terms. Conversely, the better the program participation rating, the lower the degree of recidivism and the lower the number of provincial and federal sentences as indicated on the Canadian Recidivism Index. Thus, program participation, in addition to a number of other indicators, is statistically related to recidivism in this study.

Table 18

Percentages of Ratings on the Program Participation Scale (PPS) by
Selected Categories of the Canadian Recidivism Index
(n = 172).

PPS Rating	Total Number		No Illegal Activities Relative Frequency (%)		Provincial Term Relative Frequency (%)		Federal Term Relative Frequency (%)	
	Rater I	Rater II	Rater I	Rater II	Rater I	Rater II	Rater I	Rater II
1. Very Poor	5	8	0.0	0.0	60.0	37.5	20.0	25.0
2. Poor	31	33	29.0	27.3	25.8	36.4	12.9	12.1
3. Fair	74	49	63.5	99.4	17.6	12.2	6.8	10.2
4. Good	58	76	82.8	77.6	3.4	6.6	1.7	0.0
5. Excellent	4	6	75.0	83.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Discussion of Variable Relationships

The noted relationship existing between certain indicators of adult criminal history (see Table 12), revealed the extent of the individual's criminal involvement, both within a two year period prior to coming to Howard House, and then as an adult. Closer examination revealed that two types of criminal offenders, each with varying degrees of adult criminal history were apparent in the sample, 1) first-time incarcerates and 2) those incarcerated on previous occasions, and they were in fact, distinct groups.

The finding that first-time incarcerates when compared with previous incarcerates, had fewer prior adult convictions and occasions convicted, spent a shorter period of time in prison and a longer time "on the street" two years prior to Howard House, was not surprising. The establishment of an adult probation service in the province in 1975, has made probation a viable option to incarceration for many judges. Also, the availability of legal aid services, which enable individuals to have the assistance of counsel in regard to sentencing has also promoted community alternatives to imprisonment. Thus, the least restrictive sentence, largely based on the extent of a criminal record, enables judges to use incarceration usually as a last resort.

The difference in the extent of criminal records in the study sample, is possibly reflective of a broad admissions policy (at Howard House) toward individual needs, which generally excludes people convicted of dangerous sexual offences and/or murder. It may also reflect the different conditional release jurisdictions under which an applicant is referred to Howard House e.g., probation, mandatory supervision.

Previous incarcerations, along with the greater number of occasions in which one was convicted two years prior to Howard House and then as an adult, were indicators of criminal behavior as indicated on the criminal record, and were found to be related to a greater likelihood of recidivism. This finding is consistent with studies which have shown that the previous criminal record is a predictor of future criminal activity (Ardron, 1978; Carlson, 1973; Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979; Hood and Sparkes, 1970; Nuffield, 1982; Rogers, 1981). Similarly, the finding that the shorter the period of time "on the street" without a conviction two years prior to Howard House, the greater the degree of recidivism, is consistent with Nuffield's (1982) finding that the shorter the interim period before the current conviction, the greater the probability of arrest after release.

While some other studies have shown relationships between age and recidivism (Gendreau, Madden, Leipziger, 1979; Nuffield, 1982) and education and recidivism (Ardron, 1980; Nuffield, 1982; Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979; Rogers, 1981), the current study did not find significant relationships between these variables. This may be partially accounted for by the homogeneity of the sample, with 79.1% being under 25 years and 78.8% having completed a grade 10 education or less.

A cohort of 75 offenders (or 43.6% of the sample) who had alcohol and/or drug problems, recidivated at a higher rate and committed more serious offences than those without such problems. This is similar to findings of other Canadian recidivism studies. For example, drinking at an early age (Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979) and drinking regularly

(Waller, 1974) were both found to be related to recidivism, as was having a drug or alcohol problem at the time of discharge from a CRC (Ardron, 1978).

The high incidence of alcohol problems experienced by the sample and its relationship to recidivism may suggest that accepting applicants with serious alcohol problems to a CRC should be made with caution. For example, under normal circumstances acceptance into the program should occur only after a period of demonstrated progress at an alcohol treatment centre such as the Harbour Light, a facility in St. John's operated by The Salvation Army. Ongoing efforts should be made to address the individual's alcohol and/or drug problems through closer liaison with other community resources specializing in alcohol and/or drug treatment programs. For example, arrangements should be made to encourage more Howard House residents to join self-help groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous, and to seek services of counselling agencies such as the Newfoundland and Labrador Alcohol and Drug Dependency Commission.

The finding that poor family support was related to a higher degree of recidivism has been supported by other studies. These studies have showed that a variety of family situational variables which reflected inadequate socialization were in fact, associated with recidivism (Buikhuisen & Hoekstra, 1974; Gendreau, Madden & Leipeiger, 1979; Rogers, 1981; Waller, 1974). Where appropriate, continuing efforts should be made to help the individual to re-establish in an area away from poor family influences and excessive familial pressures.

The higher recidivism rate noted for primarily property offenders

(44.2%) when compared with others, especially drug offenders (19.5%), is consistent with the Gendreau, Madden and Leipziger (1978) finding that property offenders were most likely among offence categories to recidivate and drug offenders least likely to recidivate. This was not surprising in this study, as drug offenders were generally better educated, had fewer prior convictions and better employment histories. More simply, this cohort was better prepared to reintegrate into the community.

Since drug offenders have been found to be generally amenable to counselling and support services at Howard House, the continued acceptance of a high percentage of drug offenders into the program may help to provide a positive influence on other residents and foster a positive atmosphere for the program. However, property offenders appeared to have a greater need for community-based program intervention. Newfoundland's only CRC for adult offenders should, therefore, continue to accept a variety of offenders to meet a wide spectrum of individual needs.

Residents unemployed on the day of their departure from Howard House recidivated to a significantly greater extent than those who were employed or attending school (see Table 16). This finding is consistent with that of other studies which indicated that recidivism was lower for persons who were employed after their probation order was terminated (Rogers, 1981) and after their release from a CRC (Ardron, 1978). Consequently, it seems that the ongoing policy with regard to its emphasis on employment be maintained.

Program outcome was also found to be an indicator of recidivism.

In other words, those who were terminated from the program were reconvicted more than successful completers. This result differed from other Canadian studies of CRCs (Ardrøn, 1978, 1980), which found that program outcome did not effect recidivism, but was similar to findings which revealed that poor institutional behavior and performance were related to higher incidents of recidivism (Gendreau, Madden, Leipziger, 1979; Mandel et al. 1965).

The seemingly homogenous cohort of men dismissed from the program for technical violations (see Table 17), although small in number, would seem to warrant further attention. Future research should examine issues and concerns of CRC non-completers e.g. motivational levels, etc. to determine if they are as different from program completers as they appear in this study.

In regard to program participation, the similar congruence of rater assessments of individual performance according to the Program Participation Scale and the likelihood of the PPS in suggesting further criminal involvement, indicates the efficacy of the scale as a seemingly valid instrument for understanding recidivism. It appears that the original narrative assessments were accurate, as file information, particularly final assessments were the basis of the ratings on the PPS.

In this regard, the Program Participation Scale may have potential for two purposes among others. Narratives could be easily adapted to correspond to scale ratings, thus providing a useful tool for agency workers, and also referral agencies in writing and understanding progress reports. Classifications according to this scale may help to identify

high risk recidivators and cause awareness for the need for subsequent intervention, supervision, or support in specific areas.

The PPS was developed for use in this study. It has no tested reliability or validity norms. Thus, further research should be directed in determining the psychometric properties of this scale. While the PPS seemed to be appropriate as an instrument in this study, its generalizability to other settings and samples remains uncertain and should be tested.

What was clearly indicated, was that in addition to poor program participation, the following variables were found to be significant and related to recidivism: 1) the greater the number of occasions convicted two years prior to Howard House, 2) the greater the number of occasions convicted as an adult, 3) the shorter the period of time "on the street" without a conviction two years prior to Howard House, 4) previous incarceration, 5) alcohol/drug problems, 6) poor family support, 7) property offender status and 8) unemployed on day of departure from Howard House.

The above factors were constructed as independent variables tested against recidivism. Further study and research should be directed toward ascertaining which factors, when combined with others may best predict recidivism.

Conclusions

The conclusions of this study will be organized according to:
1) Conclusions related to the literature review, 2) background and descriptive findings, 3) limitations and 4) recommendations.

Conclusions Related to the Literature Review

This study is the first formal research into correctional treatment in Newfoundland. It examined some previously unexplored factors as they related to the effectiveness of community-based residential centres (CRCs), an area which to date has undergone limited research not only in Newfoundland, but nationally. In fact, with the exception of the Canadian Recidivism Index (CRI), the instruments used in this study were developed to examine specific variables and how they effected recidivism. Access to the criminal records of each member of the study sample was essential and conducted through the co-operation of the R.C.M.P. and the provincial Department of Justice under specific conditions regarding confidentiality and security. Official Finger Print Service (FPS) records of the study sample were provided by the Canadian Police Service Information Centre (CPSIC).

The study reviewed the arguments related to the ongoing debate between proponents of rehabilitation theory and the justice model. This inevitably led to an examination of evaluative research findings (See pages 23 to 31). A review of early investigations in this regard revealed that while the effectiveness of correctional treatment had been questioned prior to the mid-1970s, it was Martinson's (1974) seminal article which caused the most severe setback to correctional treatment. In fact,

its conclusion that "with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitation efforts so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" (p. 25), prompted a re-evaluation of correctional philosophy and goals. However, while other studies also questioned the efficacy of correctional treatment, there have been some promising recommendations, e.g., differential intervention, which have achieved some degree of success. More specifically, a review of research findings about CRCs have revealed that the efficacy of such programs with regard to recidivism reduction has not been clearly established.

This study embraced recommendations pertaining to recidivism research cited in the literature review. More specifically, recidivism was defined and operationalized as "reconviction," a more accurate term than "rearrest," which has not verified the alleged criminal act nor its significance (The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973); and "reincarceration", which may include non-criminal technical violations (Tittle, 1975). By using official CPSIC records, as shown on FPS forms, information was available at the national level, which is an important consideration according to Waldo & Griswold (1979). Also, as revealed in the literature, official records have "moderate validity" when compared with the "uncertain validity" of unofficial records such as self-reports (Nettler, 1978). Thus recidivism, operationalized as reconviction and using official FPS records, provided a valid indicator of post-program success or failure.

Seemingly, the Canadian Recidivism Index provided an appropriate instrument to gauge the degree of post-program involvement in criminal

activities. This ordinal scale reflected the seriousness of offences by a variety of subsequent convictions along a continuum of severity of dispositions. It enabled technical violations to be categorized separately to account for non-criminal behavior, a recommendation suggested by Waldo and Griswold (1979). It also enabled comparisons of recidivism rates with two other Canadian studies which used the CRI for a follow-up period of two years (Cormier, 1981; Gendreau & Liepciger, 1978).

The two year follow-up period was also used in other Canadian research studies conducted on recidivism (Carlson, 1973; Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979; Rogers, 1981; Waller, 1974). Thus, it was found to be particularly useful as it readily permitted comparisons of recidivism rates for similar time frames. The two year follow-up period is also consistent with findings which indicate that the vast majority of those who recidivate, do so within this time frame (Buikhuisen & Hoekstra, 1974; Carlson, 1973; Mandel et al., 1965; Soothill & Pope, 1973). As well, this same time frame has also been indicated for studying those in halfway houses (Allen et al., 1978).

Study Findings

The study findings are presented according to: i) Pre-Howard House history, ii) In-program findings, iii) Post-program findings and iv) Major indicators of recidivism.

i) Pre-Howard House History. The study sample was a male population who were primarily young, single, from rural Newfoundland, with generally poor educational backgrounds, poor employment records and lacking in family support. Almost half had an observed alcohol

problem, while more than half had been previously incarcerated. The individuals in the sample were convicted of an average of six offences on three different occasions, for a 2:1 conviction to trial occasion ratio. They had been sentenced to an average of 22 months in prison with 17% having served at least one federal prison term.

The average age of 22 years for the sample was slightly younger than the correctional population in Newfoundland (Her Majesty's Penitentiary Annual Reports, 1977/78-1980/81), and younger than those in comparable studies (Ardron, 1978; Waller, 1974) with the exception of a study of first-time incarcerates (Gendreau & Leipziger, 1978). This finding was not surprising when considering the fact that older, chronic offenders found in provincial and federal institutions have rarely applied to Howard House. Overall, the finding related to the young age was more similar than dissimilar to other study populations reviewed in the literature.

Consistent with the finding about young age was that the sample was predominantly single. As well, a large percentage resided outside St. John's and this proportion was consistent with the rural/urban composition of the provincial population in general.

In regard to educational status, eight out of ten residents had not achieved beyond the grade 10 level. However, this finding was similar to other recidivism study populations with the sample being slightly better educated than some study groups (Annis, 1979; Carlson, 1973) and slightly less educated than others (Ardron, 1978; Waller, 1974).

A poor employment history was noted in the sample. In fact, almost three-quarters had either a "poor employment record" characterized

by brief, sporadic work (in 61% of the cases) or a "very-poor employment record" with little, if any, work experience (in 13% of the cases). These findings are not as favorable as those in the Waller (1974) study, which rated the employment history of federal inmates upon their admission to penitentiaries in Ontario. The poor employment record of the present study sample was not surprising considering its low educational levels and Newfoundland's high unemployment rate, particularly when compared to provinces such as Ontario or Saskatchewan (Statistics Canada, 1984).

Almost one-half of the sample (45%) had poor family support when rated on the Family Support Scale. The remainder were rated as having "fair" support (27.7%) or "good" support (26.4%). These findings are similar to those of other Canadian studies which indicated that a number of negative family situational variables characterized correctional samples (Waller, 1974; Rogers, 1981).

As well, almost half of the sample (or 43%) had observed alcohol problems. This finding was almost identical to the proportion of Waller's (1974) sample who had observed alcohol problems upon admission to a penitentiary. The finding about the number with alcohol problems is disproportionate to those in the sample with observed drug problems (5 or 3%). This is surprising when it was noted that a cohort of 41 offenders (or 24% of the sample) had committed primarily drug offences. However, it should be noted that this group were primarily engaged in the trafficking of narcotics for financial reward.

Seventy percent of the study sample had committed primarily property offences. This finding is consistent with the high proportion of property offenders in other Canadian studies (Annis, 1979; Carlson,

1973).

The average individual in the study sample was convicted of six offences on three different occasions as an adult for a 2:1 conviction to occasion ratio. This compares with the number of convictions in another CRC study by Ardron (1978). However, no other published study presented the number of trial occasions on which a person had been convicted or the conviction to occasion ratio, an interesting concept which may warrant further study.

Over half (or 57%) of the sample were incarcerated on at least one occasion prior to the current disposition. On the average, the sample had been sentenced to a total of 22 months in prison with 17% having served federal prison terms. These findings were expected and not out of the ordinary.

ii) In-program findings. This study is generally different from other known recidivism studies in that it had individuals participating in the program who had been referred from different jurisdictions under different release conditions. Most of the other studies have examined one particular group of offenders under one specific jurisdiction. The various referral routes included provincial parole, federal parole and mandatory supervision releases under the jurisdiction of the Correctional Service of Canada (C.S.C.), temporary absence (T.A.) release and probation supervision under the jurisdiction of the provincial Department of Justice.

The 172 individuals in the study sample stayed at Howard House for a period of time ranging from 30 to 311 days. The average length of stay for C.S.C. referrals, which represented 56% of the sample, was 102 days. T.A. cases, which composed 39% of the sample stayed on the

average 46 days, while the remaining five percent of the sample, represented by adult probation referrals, stayed on average of 86 days.

The program participation ratings by two independent raters according to the Program Participation Scale revealed a fairly normal distribution for the sample. It was also apparent that there was a high degree of congruency (74% of the time) in their ratings of program participation.

The finding that the large majority of the sample was employed (74.1%) or attending an educational institution (6.4%) while residing at Howard House was more favorable than anticipated. The sample's poor education and employment records and Newfoundland's abnormally high unemployment rate make this even more surprising. From the employment perspective, this finding compared favorably to that of a study in Ontario about CRCs by Ardron (1978). However it must be noted that 41% of those working were employed exclusively on short-term federal projects and not engaged in long-term employment.

Eighty-two percent of those in the study sample successfully completed the Howard House program. This finding is quite similar to that of other CRC programs (Ardron, 1978; McIvor et al., 1979). In fact, it was concluded from these sources and confirmed by this study, that generally seven or eight out of ten people arriving at a CRC will successfully complete their stay. The large majority of those who failed to complete the program were dismissed for technical violations, not for the commission of crimes. This finding is similar to that of the Ardron (1978) and McIvor et al. (1979) studies.

iii) Post-program findings. On the day of departure from

Howard House, one-third of the sample were employed or attending school. In fact, approximately two-thirds of those who had been working completed their employment prior to or upon their departure from Howard House. Most of those whose work had terminated had been employed on short-term federal projects and were laid off or quit to return home for some personal reason. Nevertheless, most of those employed upon leaving Howard House had secured full-time permanent employment while an additional 13.6% were eligible for U.I.C. benefits. Thus, almost half had some degree of financial security upon leaving Howard House.

The sample's reconviction rate of 32.6% compares favorably to the two other studies which used the Canadian Recidivism Index and utilized a two year follow-up period (see Table 11, page 77). Gendreau and Leipziger (1978) found a reconviction rate of 46.8% in their study of first incarcerates, while Cormier (1981) found a 52.1% reconviction rate in his study of men released from a federal-medium security institution. The failure rate for all three studies using the CRI (including this one), increases marginally when technical violations, which are separately categorized in the CRI, are included.

Further comparative analysis of studies which did not employ the CRI, revealed that the recidivism rate for the current study also compared favorably to other Canadian recidivism studies which used the two year follow up period (Carlson, 1973, Renner, 1981). When only a one year follow-up time frame is examined for the present study, a 26.2% reconviction rate is found, which is similar to the 30% who were reconvicted within a year in Ardron's (1978) study of CRCs in Ontario.

iv) Major indicators of recidivism. When a number of variables were tested against recidivism the following, construed as independent variables, were found to be significant and related to recidivism: 1) the greater the number of occasions convicted two years prior to Howard House, 2) the greater the number of occasions convicted as an adult, 3) the shorter the period of time "on the street" without a conviction two years prior to Howard House, 4) previous incarcerations, 5) alcohol/drug problems, 6) poor family support, 7) property offender status, 8) unemployment on the day of departure from Howard House, and 9) poor program participation.

As noted earlier in the discussion of the variable relationships (see pages 80 to 82), the greater the number of occasions in which one was convicted two years prior to Howard House and as an adult, and previous incarcerations were found to be indicators of criminal activity. Each of these factors were related to recidivism. The findings of other studies have also shown that previous criminal record is a predictor of future criminal involvement (Ardron, 1978; Carlson, 1973; Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979; Hood & Sparkes, 1970; Nuffield, 1982; Rogers, 1981).

Another indicator of criminal behavior and recidivism was the length of time spent "on the street" without a conviction. This was examined for the period of two years prior to Howard House. Similar to Nuffield's (1982) finding, it was discovered that the shorter the period of time one remained without a conviction, the greater the probability of recidivism.

Those who had an identified alcohol problem were found to

have a significantly greater rate of recidivism than those who did not. This finding was consistent with findings of other Canadian studies (Ardron, 1978; Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979).

Poor family support was shown to be associated with recidivism. This finding is strongly supported by other Canadian studies which related negative family factors to recidivism (Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979; Rogers, 1981; Waller, 1974).

Property offenders were also found to recidivate at a higher degree than others, while drug offenders had the lowest degree of recidivism. This is supported by another Canadian study (Gendreau, Madden & Leipziger, 1979), which found that property offenders were most likely to recidivate and drug offenders least likely to become involved in further criminal activities.

Being unemployed upon leaving Howard House was also found to be related to recidivism. This finding is supported by the results of other Canadian studies which demonstrated a relationship between unemployment and recidivism (Ardron, 1978; Rogers, 1981).

Finally, those rated as "very poor" or "poor" in regard to program participation recidivated to a significantly higher degree than those who had more favorable program participation ratings. With the exception of Petersilia's (1979) findings concerning the lack of inmate participation in treatment programs in United States prisons, the concept of program participation has not been operationalized and/or related to recidivism.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations in this research. One relates

to the instruments developed for use in this study. The Program Participation Scale (PPS), the Alcohol and/or Other Drug Problem Scale (ADPS), the Employment History Scale (EHS), and the Family Support Scale (FSS) have not been empirically tested for reliability or validity. These instruments (see Appendix B) seemed to be acceptable in this study, but need further scrutiny in the future.

Another methodological concern relates to the reliability of secondary data sources of information which were the basis for this study. For example, individual counsellors (who wrote the file information) with different orientations may have perceived aspects of an individual's problems and/or progress in different ways. What one counsellor may regard as "good progress" may be viewed as a mediocre performance by another. Also, key variables such as drinking problems, may not have been recorded in an individual's file and, therefore, not noted in the subsequent research.

The ratings on the Program Participation Scale were also somewhat limited in that individuals tend to traditionally present themselves in favorable ways. Thus, it is uncertain whether those with favorable ratings on the PPS are merely complying with program conditions as a viable alternative to imprisonment, or whether their behavior is indicative of beneficial results from the program.

The use of the Canadian Recidivism Index (CRI) as the main dependent variable of recidivism is the best known and available Canadian scale to ascertain the seriousness and degree of criminal activities. However, the CRI is not without limitations in that it does not indicate the nature of the offence and the seriousness of the criminal act,

e.g., whether it was a property offence or a crime of violence and the extent of the damage, theft or personal injury caused.

As well, official criminal records may not include all criminal activity. For example, people commit crimes for which they are not caught, and sometimes when convicted, information is not recorded on the Finger Print Services (FPS) forms and thus is not available through the Canadian Police Service Information Centre (CPSIC). In this context, when criminal records were cross-referenced with Howard House files, there were instances where known previous criminal convictions did not appear on official FPS files. Thus, an individual's criminal activity may be underestimated by the official record sources.

The sample size was another limitation in this study. Small sub-groups, such as those dismissed from the program, while indicating interesting findings, were not large enough to be statistically significant or to warrant follow-up.

The fact that the study sample was also time-framed indicated that a disproportionate number of individuals could have specific characteristics and/or problems at a particular time of the year. This appeared to be the situation with regard to the greater than expected number of drug offenders in this study. A future study sample may include different types of offenders displaying different types of problems over different times of the year.

Also, the time frame of a follow-up period has some limitations. While a two year follow-up period has been suggested by a number of studies and was used as a benchmark in this study, some individuals were enabled to be tracked for three years following departure from

Howard House. Not surprisingly, there was an increase in the number of recidivists from the second to third year. While predictions of increases in recidivism rates for increased follow-up periods may be used, there is no guarantee that a parallel increase may occur due to peculiarities of the sample.

The lack of a comparison group along with the limited number of recidivism studies pertaining to CRCs provided other limitations. A comparison group may have facilitated inferences from the data, while additional studies may have enabled meaningful comparisons to be made and data to be more generalizable.

Recommendations

Additional research should be undertaken in this area. More specifically, further scrutiny of the study instruments, a further examination of the independent and outcome variables and further sub-group analyses require attention e.g. drug offenders.

For future research and/or program planning purposes, efforts should be made to collect more first hand data. For example, if it is desirable to ascertain the nature of family supports, where practical, interviews may be conducted with a family member as the individual's perception of family support may be quite different than that of another family member.

A more rigorous assessment utilizing standardized, easily administered scales to corroborate or supplement information from referral sources is suggested upon intake into Howard House or similar programs.

This was the first research undertaken related to the effectiveness of a correctional treatment program in Newfoundland. As with any pioneering effort, it was not without problems or limitations. For example, the author was extremely sensitive to the fact that his own personal affiliation with the program of study may have biased aspects of the research. Thus, certain safeguards, e.g. using secondary data, having independent raters scrutinize and rate the files, and consciously downplaying the significance of the research findings, were used throughout this endeavour. As well, the study's primary goal was to systematically investigate a phenomena in the most scientifically appropriate way. If any readers of this document choose to attribute more to the goals of the study than this, then they may have missed the point of this undertaking and/or have misjudged the author.

It is hoped that this study may be the start of future research activities in this area; and that individuals who read and interpret this report may themselves contribute to correctional treatment and services in this province.

This could be particularly useful in determining the seriousness of particular problems such as alcohol abuse and in systematically tracking individuals over time for research or evaluation purposes.

Applicants to Howard House with serious alcohol problems should cautiously be accepted into the program and referred for treatment as early as possible. In this regard emphasis should continue to be placed on referring individuals with alcohol problems to appropriate community resources.

The Howard House program should continue to place an emphasis on helping clients to obtain employment. The study findings showed a significant relationship between unemployment and recidivism.

The format of file records and narratives should be adapted to more closely conform to data access. For example, the Program Participation Scale and other instruments used in this study could be part of file information. This may help to systematize and/or organize data in a more meaningful form enabling counsellors to provide a clearer picture of the individual's status to referral agencies, while also facilitating further research.

Within the limitations of the present Howard House admissions policy, the program should continue to accept a heterogeneous mix of residents to meet a variety of individual needs. The findings of the study suggested that certain types of residents, e.g., drug offenders, have a positive influence on others and ultimately on the Howard House program.

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Appendices

Appendix A

C.R.C. RESIDENTS EXCLUDED FROM THE STUDY
DUE TO STAY OF LESS THAN 30 DAYS AND OTHER REASONS

	<u>Completed Stay</u>	<u>Terminated</u>	<u>Other</u>
Correctional Service of Canada	11	12	
Her Majesty's Penitentiary	28	17	
Adult Corrections (probation)	2	1	
Residents staying longer than 30 days			
Deceased within 2 year follow-up	4		1
Not included in study sample due to unavail- ability of P.P.S. records	6	1	1
	<u>51 (62.2%)</u>	<u>31 (37.8)</u>	<u>1</u>

Primary Reasons for Termination

	<u>Number Terminated</u>	<u>Reasons for Termination</u>			<u>Committed Crime</u>
		<u>Alcohol</u>	<u>Drugs</u>	<u>Rule Violation</u>	
C.S.C.	13	6		3	4
H.M.P.	17	8	3	6	
Adult Corrections	1	—	—	1	—
Total	31	14	3	10	4

Length of Stay by Jurisdictional Status
and Number of Residents

	<u>Total Days</u>	<u>Number of Residents</u>	<u>Average Length of stay (days)</u>
C.S.C.	359	24	15
H.M.P.	808	45	18
Adult Corrections	39	3	13
Deceased ex-residents	<u>232</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>46</u>
Total	1,434	77	19

Total Time Spent at the C.R.C. by Former
Residents Excluded from the Study in Comparison
to the Original Sample

	<u>Days</u>	<u>% of Total Resident Days</u>
Total time spent at C.R.C. by those excluded from the study	1,434	9%
Total time spent at C.R.C. by those included in the original sample	<u>14,407</u>	<u>91%</u>
Total resident days April 1977-May 1981	15,841	100%

Appendix B

Study Instruments

PROGRAM PARTICIPATION SCALE

5. EXCELLENT - THE RESIDENT'S PERFORMANCE AND/OR PROGRESS WHILE STAYING AT HOWARD HOUSE HAS BEEN EXCEPTIONAL.

The individual presented self as a model resident, demonstrating respect for the House program and rules, co-operative behavior, a good relationship with staff and other residents, and took initiative in one or more areas.

The resident should have been successfully employed or enrolled in an educational or training program and/or made constructive use of his leisure time.

The resident should have demonstrated a positive, constructive attitude. The counsellor may have included in his report a favorable prognosis for the person's future, including the prediction of little or no further criminal involvement.

4. GOOD - THE RESIDENT HAS DEMONSTRATED GENERALLY POSITIVE BEHAVIOR, WHICH MAY INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS DURING HIS STAY AT HOWARD HOUSE.

Significant development should have been made toward the major goals of the resident's stay. He should have generally demonstrated co-operative behavior and adherence to the House rules.

The resident may have made a positive behavioral change with observed improvements in his overall maturity and attitude and/or his relationship with others.

3. FAIR - THE RESIDENT MAY HAVE GENERALLY ABIDED BY THE RULES, PRESENTED FEW, IF ANY PROBLEMS, BUT PARTICIPATED MINIMALLY, SHOWED LITTLE INITIATIVE IN CONSTRUCTIVELY UTILIZING HIS TIME, AND/OR CHANGING HIS BEHAVIOR AND CIRCUMSTANCES. THE RESIDENT MAY HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN CERTAIN AREAS, WHICH WERE NEUTRALIZED BY PROBLEMATIC AND/OR DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR FROM TIME TO TIME, SUCH AS VIOLATING HOUSE RULES.

2. POOR - NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR GENERALLY; WHICH MAY HAVE RESULTED IN DISMISSAL OR TERMINATION FROM THE PROGRAM, OUTWEIGHED ANY IMPROVEMENTS.

Generally, there was very little of a positive nature to report from the resident's stay at Howard House. Problematic behavior, such as violating House rules, poor attitude, poor relationships and little co-operation were reported.

1. VERY POOR - THE RESIDENT HAS BEEN TERMINATED FROM THE HOUSE PROGRAM WITHOUT MAKING ANY PROGRESS DURING HIS STAY.

Termination may have resulted from violations of the resident's parole or temporary absence conditions, from serious breaches of House rules or committing criminal acts. His stay was characterized by a poor attitude and problematic behavior, which may have had a disruptive effect on the House and/or a negative influence on other residents.

9. UNABLE TO ASSESS - CANNOT ASSESS RESIDENT'S PERFORMANCE FROM THE FILES.

FAMILY SUPPORT SCALE

3. GOOD - Family is basically supportive and caring, providing generally sound advice and a positive influence. No obvious negative influence in the home environment.
2. FAIR - Family shows some concern, but can offer little meaningful support and provide few controls.
1. POOR - A generally negative family environment or no environment to speak of. The client does not feel close to his family and has received little, if any, support and guidance in the past, and/or may be in open conflict with family members, some of who may have been or are suspected of being involved in criminal activities.
9. NOT AVAIL-
ABLE - Insufficient information pertaining to family support is available in the file.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY SCALE

4. EXCELLENT - Stable work record i.e., a demonstrated ability to maintain ongoing or steady, continuous employment when not involved in educational or training programs.
3. GOOD - Infrequent period of unemployment. Few, if any, incidences of dismissals, layoffs or quitting without alternate employment or to enroll in educational or training programs.
2. POOR - Sporadic work record characterized by temporary employment and/or layoffs which may also include incidents of having to quit or been fired from jobs.
1. VERY POOR - Very little if any work record and/or inability to hold a job.
7. OTHER - Continuous enrollment in educational or training programs.
8. - Health problems preclude employment/education/training.
9. NOT AVAILABLE - Employment record not available in the file.

ALCOHOL AND/OR OTHER DRUG PROBLEM SCALE

1. NO - No problems indicated in file.
2. YES, Alcohol - Indicated in the file (usually recorded on the Admissions Committee meeting form), that alcohol has been a problem and/or if the resident is a parolee, he has a special instruction to refrain from alcohol.
3. YES, Drugs - Recorded that drugs have been a problem, and if a parolee, a special instruction is included on his parole certificate to refrain from drugs.
4. YES, Alcohol or drugs - File recordings indicate that both have been problematic.
5. YES, Alcohol (Serious) - It is noted that the individual has had a very serious problem with alcohol. A number of impaired driving convictions would be another indication of severity.
6. YES, Drugs (Serious) - It is noted that the person has had a very serious problem with drugs.
7. YES, Alcohol and other drugs (Serious) - Alcohol and other drugs have presented a serious problem.

Appendix C

Information Contained in Resident Assessment

I. Background Information -- (i) Demographic information identified were age, marital status, place of birth, last community address, length of stay at Howard House, the referral agency and the destination upon leaving Howard House. (ii) Family History included a description of the relationship between the resident and various family members. (iii) Educational Background included the highest educational level ever attained. (iv) Employment History contained information about past work experience, including time, length and position of employment. (v) Criminal Record included past adult offences for which the resident had been convicted.

II. General Performance at Howard House -- This section included an assessment of various aspects of the resident's performance while residing at Howard House. This required a narrative description of: (1) The resident's attitude toward the House program, e.g., how well he complied with House rules and responded to supervision. (ii) The resident's relationship to staff and other residents. (iii) Whether or not the resident was employed and/or participating in educational upgrading or training. (iv) The resident's use of leisure time and (v) any additional information or problems.

III. Synopsis -- In this final section, the resident's counsellor provided a brief overview and assessment of the resident's performance while staying at Howard House. The synopsis may have included whether or not the original goals of a resident's stay were achieved and the counsellor's prognosis for the resident's future based largely upon his participation in the Howard House program.

A Comparison of Unemployment Rates
Between Newfoundland and Ontario
for the Years 1977-81*

Year	Unemployment Rate in Newfoundland	Unemployment Rate in Ontario
1977	15.5	7.0
1978	16.2	7.2
1979	15.1	6.5
1980	13.3	6.8
1981	13.9	6.6

Note: * Canada - Historical labor force statistics - actual data, seasonal factors, seasonally adjusted data. Catalogue No. 71 - 201.
Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984.



