AN EXAMINATION OF KAIROS COMMUNITY RESOURCE CENTRE: PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Sociology

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of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Correctional services in Canada have witnessed an ever-increasing trend toward the establishment of community-based treatment facilities (Zeitoun, 1976:1-2; National Task Force, 1979:i; Griffiths et al., 1980:249). A major concern to those working in residential centres, is the outcome of program participants, or their rate of recidivism.

Additionally, sociologists and program treatment staff are concerned about the strength of social history characteristics, of incarcerants, as predictors of recidivism.

One residential facility may differ completely from another, and all residential facilities are markedly different from the institutions where their residents come from. Information concerning institutional populations is extensive, even information pertaining to residents of community-based centres is readily obtainable (Sone, 1976: Ardron, 1978, 1980); but extensive information pertaining to a specific residentially-based treatment program is not so readily available. The purpose of this study is to provide detailed information about, specifically, Kairos program participants and their outcomes.

Statement of the Problem

There are four specific areas or problems which the present study is focusing upon:

- 1. What are the recidivism measures for the participants of the Kairos program?
 - To what extent do sub-population recidivism measures differ from the population mean?
 - . What is the relative strength, or order, of social history characteristics as predictors of recidivism for the Kairos program?
 - . Does the occupancy rate of the Kairos program have an effect upon the recidivism rate?
 - . Does a disruption in the treatment staff--due to staff changes--have an effect upon the recidivism rate?

Delimitations of the Problem

Information for this study came from Ministry of Correctional Services, Ontario, files and from other official court records and R. C. M. P. reports. The gathering of research materials was conducted for one week in February, 1981, at the Ministry of Correctional Services "main office" in Toronto. The research materials were coded during a four-week period in the summer of 1981 at the Thunder Bay Correctional Centre; and the data was analyzed over a one-month period during the fall of 1981 at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay.

Theoretical Framework

The present study is primarily descriptive in nature. In this instance the researcher is in agreement with James Hackler, who favours the small inquiry over "massive research programs" (Hackler, 1978:89). The review of the literature contains a more detailed explanation of some of the problems facing program evaluators; but for the present, it must be stated that this researcher sees little coherence in the efforts of other researchers in the area of recidivism studies. Therefore, by undertaking a close and detailed examination of Kairos participants, and their outcomes, it is hoped that the findings of the present research—when made accessible to Kairos program staff—will result in minor modifications and improvements in the Kairos program.

Definitions of Terms Used

Community Resource Centre. A community resource centre (C. R. C.) is a community-based residential treatment program for inmates from provincially operated minimum security institutions, and/or provincial jails. Sentences for inmates serving time in these institutions run from a few weeks, up to two years minus one day. Community resource centres are privately contracted to provide their services, with the majority of their operating funds being supplied by the Ministry of Correctional Services, Ontario.

Kairos C. R. C. Kairos is a C. R. C. located in Thunder Bay, Ontario, and is one of thirty--or more-similar residential treatment programs currently operating in Ontario. Kairos residents come from the Thunder Bay Correctional Centre, or from the Thunder Bay District Jail, and occasionally from other provincial correctional institutions. Kairos first opened its doors in January, 1976, and is the C. R. C. under examination in this study.

Recidivism. For the purpose of this study, recidivism refers to any further incarceration or conviction with subsequent probation, fine, and incarceration incurred after the Kairos resident was released from custody. A significant recontact does not necessarily mean that the recidivist was convicted, but it does represent—for this study—one of several possible recidivism occurrences.

Overview for the Remaining Chapters

Chapter II. A review of the literature is presented, briefly outlining a history of recidivism research and discussing the current controversies in the evaluation of treatment programs; and a perspective on conducting further research is also presented.

Chapter III. This chapter outlines the methodology employed in this study. Measures of recidivism are discussed, as well as the study subjects; the specific

questions and hypotheses to be examined; and the method of data collection and analysis.

Chapter IV. The results of the study are presented in this Chapter: univariate data; measures of association; information pertaining to specific research questions; and the testing of hypotheses. The findings of the study are briefly outlined in the summary section.

Chapter V. Significant results of this study are discussed in light of the current literature; further research recommendations are made; and some suggestions are presented, which have implications for the Kairos program, as well as correctional services policies.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Extensive amounts of research have been conducted in the area of correctional treatment programs and their program participants. The following literature review will specifically examine the current controversy of the "Nothing/ Something Works" debate.

Early Research

Some of the early studies conducted on criminal offenders took place in American state prisons. In 1915
Dr. Frank L. Heacox, the physician at Auburn State Prison, collected social history and demographic characteristics of 30 parole violators. Heacox presented the information for each of the parole violators as "case histories". At the end of each case history, he outlined the causes for the recidivist's criminal career and parole violation. For example:

Causitive Factors of Criminal Career:

- 1. Mental Peculiarity-Defective control for alcohol.
- Home Conditions-Large family; lack of parental control.
- 3. Environment-Early street life; bad companions. Causitive Factors of Violation of Parole:
- 1. Associating with bad companions.
- Return to previous alcoholic habits. (Heacox, 1915: 248)

Another early study was published by Warner (1923), who categorized 69 items for 680 prisoners of the Massachussetts Reformatory between 1912 and 1921. Warner examined the post release successes and failures based on each of 69 categorized items. A short time later, Hart (1924) reanalyzed Warner's data and concluded that 30 of the 69 items clearly differentiated between the successes and failures.

Recent Research

Over the years, recidivism studies have taken on two forms: those that tend to evaluate and compare the effects of various kinds of treatment programs upon the rate of recidivism, and those that tend to focus on various social history and demographic characteristics as predictors of recidivism.

1. Program Evaluations. The first type of study
--which is evaluative and comparative--will ideally be
experimental in design, or at least have a "quasiexperimental" design (Cambell and Stanley, 1967). In these
studies the treatment program is viewed as an independent
variable, and the outcome measure or dependent variable is
recidivism. If an experimental design is employed, then
the experimental group--those who received treatment--are
compared to a control group--those who did not receive the
chance to participate in the treatment program.

If a quasi-experimental design is employed, a comparison group is selected upon the basis of several characteristics matched in the aggregate. A statistical analysis is then conducted to determine if there is a significant difference in the outcome measures between the experimental group and the comparison group. If a significant difference is demonstrated in favour of the control group, it is then concluded that the program under evaluation has successfully "rehabilitated" the individuals who participated in it. Recidivism data is generally collected for a period of 6 months to 1 year after the release of program participants.

Charles Logan (1972) has developed a formal typology for what he considered are the minimal requirements, for a study, to test the effectiveness of a correctional program.

Hackler has summarized this typology:

- 1. There should be a clear set of program procedures which could be repeated at different times with different subjects and by different administrators...
- 2. There must be some division, preferably random, into treatment and control groups differing as little as possible.
- 3. There must be a measure of the behaviour that is to be changed before and after the program both for the treatment and control groups.
- 4. 'Success' must be definable and compatible with reasonable expectations as to what success should be; that is, 'success' should reflect not just happiness, personal adjustment, or faith in the program, or the opinion of observers: it should refer to criminal behaviour.
- 5. There should be a follow-up in the community for both the treatment and control groups sometime after the program has ended (Hackler, 1978:24-25).

It has been indicated by several investigators (Martinson, 1974; Logan, 1972; Hackler, 1978) that very few studies meet the requirements of an experimental or quasi-experimental design. Two such studies which meet four of the five requirements outlined above, are: 1. The "Provo Experiment" (Empey and Rabow, 1961), and: 2. The Opportunities for Youth Project in Seattle (Hackler, 1966). The Empey and Rabow Provo Experiment, minimally fullfilled the first four requirements, while Hackler's Opportunity for Youth Project was less marginal. But both studies failed to meet the fifth requirement. The conclusions of the Provo Experiment were merely suggestive (Empey and Erickson, 1972, 321), and the findings of the Youth Project were inconclusive.

2. Prediction Studies. The second type of study, which examines social history and demographic characteristics as predictors of recidivism, represents a large amount of the literature in recidivism studies. Certain social history characteristics and demographic variables have been consistently shown to be related to recidivism—so much so that they have come to be referred to as "stable predictors of recidivism". In a review of seventy—one studies, Pritchard (1979:19) presents data on the relationship between biographical predictors and recidivism in 177 independent samples of offenders. Pritchard concludes that

an offence of "auto theft; the presences of prior convictions; stability of employment; age at first arrest; living arrangements; current income; history of opiate use; and history of alcohol abuse appear to be the most stable predictors of recidivism."

Other predictive studies have also shown that age and previous criminality are strongly related to recidivism (Babst et al., 1971; Baikhuisen and Hoekstra, 1974; Madden, 1976); poor employment records and recidivism are related (Cartwright et al., 1972; Pallone and Hennessey, 1977); and that heavy alcohol and drug use have increased the predictability of recidivism among the participants of treatment programs (Babst et al., 1972).

A recent example of a Canadian predictive study was conducted by Gendreau et al. (1979:416). The researchers collected data on 802 inmates from the Guelph Correctional Centre during a period from 1970 to 1972. Gendreau et al., were concerned with first incarcerates, and conducted a "social history interview" with each subject; a "file data sheet" filled in with information from the institutional files, and "recidivism reports" filled in with information from R. C. M. P. records and Ministry of Correctional Services files. The researchers concluded that the factors most associated with recidivism were age; prior criminality; work history; institutional behaviour; and age at which alcohol or drug use began.

Of course many studies combine elements of both program evaluations and predictive studies; but, for the most part, it is only the biographical data which has had any real significance to date.

Current Debates

1. Nothing Works. Many researchers are of the opinion that rehabilitation programs offer little--if any --by way of rehabilitation to prison inmates. One of the early statements in this regard was made by Schnur, who concluded that:

No research has been done to date that enables us to say that one treatment program is better than another or that enables us to examine a man and specify the treatment he needs. There is no evidence that probation is better than institutions, that institutions are better than probation, or that being given parole is better than escaping... So much of what is now being done about crime may be so wrong that the net effect of the actions is to increase rather than decrease crime. Research could possibly shed some light, but none of the researches conducted to date answers these questions (Schnur, 1964:23).

In the latter part of the 1960's, Robert Martinson and several other researchers were hired by the New York State Governor's Special Committee on Criminal Offenders. Their task was to establish what had been the most effective means of prisoner rehabilitation. The 1400 page document which resulted was never published. Martinson claims that the document's disturbing conclusions had

changed the minds of the Governor's Committee about the document's "worth...and proper use of the information.. gathered" (Martinson, 1974:23).

Following this decision, Martinson undertook the task of compiling his own study for publication. Martinson reviewed the literature for all available reports published in English, concerning rehabilitation programs—in the United States, as well as in other countries—from 1945 to 1967.

From this exhaustive review of the literature,

Martinson picked only 231 studies, which—he claimed—met
the selection criteria established. The selection criteria
stated that:

A study had to be an evaluation of a treatment method, it had to employ an independent measure of the improvement secured by that method, and it had to use some control group, some untreated individuals with whom treated ones could be compared. We excluded studies only for methodological reasons: they presented insufficient data, they were only preliminary, they presented only a summary of findings, their results were confounded by extraneous factors, they used unreliable measures, one could not understand their descriptions of the treatment in question, they drew spurious conclusions from their data, their samples were undescribed or too small or provided no true comparability between treated and untreated groups, or they had used inappropriate statistical tests and did not provide enough information for the reader to recompute the data (Martinson, 1974:24).

Even after such careful screening, Martinson's (1974:25)

"bald" summary was: "With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism."

Additionally, James Hackler (1979) has noted the many dangers of evaluation with regard to rehabilitation programs, and in his examination of youthful crime he has referred to what he terms "The Great Stumble Forward" (Hackler, 1978). Hackler maintains that "despite the resources, interest, and expertise available...very few crime and delinquency prevention programs have met with the minimum criteria for a genuine evaluation" (Hackler, 1978: 25). According to Hackler, the development of treatment programs has been the result of one blundering step after another.

In yet another review of the literature, Ilene
Bernstein (1975), examined 236 studies. Bernstein (1975:
56-57) concluded that 75 percent did not use an experimental
or quasi-experimental design; 41 percent did not randomly
select their subjects; 50 percent employed a biased sample;
and 65 percent did not include a statistical analysis of
the data. For the proponents of the "nothing works"
doctrine, the importance of a valid scientific experiment
is paramount, and under their critical gaze even those
studies that do fullfill their rigid criteria seem to be
lacking in concrete results.

Finally, Aultman and Wright have discussed the "nothing/something works" debate from the perspective of the change model developed by Kuhn (1970), in "The Structure

of Scientific Revolutions." Aultman and Wright (1982:17) diagrammed Kuhn's theory of paradigmatic change as follows:

PARADIGM I

NORMAL

SCIENCE

MODIFICATIONS OF PARADIGM

ANOMALIES

CRISB--NEW THEORY--REVOLUTION--PARADIGM II

Paradigm I, or the currently dominant approach, has been identified as the "Reformative Paradigm;" the paradigm which encompasses the treatment oriented or rehabilitative approach to the handling of offenders—and the positivistic viewpoint for methods of evaluation in the treatment/ rehabilitative approach.

The researchers have tentatively proposed (Aultman and Wright, 1982:22) the emergence of a competing paradigm, one which they have identified as the "Fairness Paradigm."

The "Fairness Paradigm" highlights a shifting philosophy, in justice and corrections, toward a "more rigid and legal type of institution."

Regardless of the existence of a competing paradigm,
Aultman and Wright point out that the proponents of the
"nothing works" debate have drawn attention to the
anomalies in the "Reformative Paradigm," and this has precipitated the present crisis in the "nothing/something
works" debate. Aultman and Wright point out the fact that:

... no body of research provided consistent support to any of the theories proposed within this positivistic

paradigm suggest that no scientist has been able to come up with the right solution to the puzzle of criminal etiology. The additional fact that no treatment program has been able to show a consistently significant effect in the reduction of criminal recidivism illuminates the lack of ability of this paradigm to provide answers concerning the correct approach to changing deviants (Aultman and Wright, 1982:21).

2. Something Works. Reaction to the "nothing works" doctrine has been extensive, and it has only served to fuel the debate among the various researchers concerned. One of the first replies to the Martinson article was by Ted Palmer. Palmer (1975) undertook a review of Martinson's article, and concluded that his harsh, nothing works, stance was not in keeping with many of the studies reviewed by Martinson; which indicated positive results. Palmer quoted extensively from Martinson, indicating key passages where he had specifically acknowledged that a number of programs had produced beneficial results. For example:

(Taken together, the studies that were reviewed) give us very little reason to hope that we have in fact found a sure way of reducing recidivism through rehabilitation. This is not to say we found no instances of success or partial success; it is only to say that these instances have been isolated, producing no clear pattern to indicate the efficacy of any particular method of treatment (Palmer, 1975:49).

In his closing remarks, Palmer questions whether or not Martinson is right in asking, "What works--for offenders as a whole?" Instead, Palmer (1975:150) maintains that we must ask, "Which methods work best for

which type of offenders, and under what conditions or in what types of setting?".

In reply to Palmer's review, Martinson (1976:78) complained that he had to spend "the better part of four months struggling to decipher the research design...to translate the footnotes, appendices, cross-references, and tables from the original Egyptian...To review one of Palmer's research projects is...something like translating the Moscow telephone book into Swahili". According to Martinson, "Correctional treatment is about nine-tenths pageantry, rumination, and rubbish...A partly positive result is probably akin to a partly pregnant girlfriend... (With the answers provided by correctional researchers) and thirty cents you can buy a cup of coffee in New York".

What becomes immediately obvious in the criticisms of Schnur, Martinson, Hackler, and Bernstein, is that very little research in the field of correctional rehabilitation even comes close to fullfilling the rigid criteria which they have outlined for evaluation studies.

According to Paul Gendreau and Mary Leipciger (1978:4), it is an "all or none" view of recidivism which informed Martinson's perspective. This all or none view has contributed to the "nothing works" doctrine.

Alternatively, Stuart Adams acknowledges the lack of scientific rigour in the evaluation of correctional treatment programs. Adams (1974:16), goes on to suggest, "that

evaluation in corrections is as productive, generally speaking, as evaluation in industry or medicine". Adams further suggests that other types of studies will result in a "pay-off", such as case studies, panel-interviews, a time series, as well as quasi-experimental designs, and elaborate controlled experiments (Adams, 1974:17).

More recently the "something works" side of the debate has been discussed in an article entitled,
"Effective Correctional Treatment: Bibliotherapy for
Cynics". In this article—by two Canadian researchers—
Gendreau and Ross (1979) reviewed the literature published between late 1973 and early 1978. Ninety—five studies met admission requirements that stated: a study should employ, at least, a quasi—experimental design, contain a statistical analysis of the data, and report on a follow—up of at least six months. The researchers grouped the studies under the headings: family and community intervention, contingency management, counselling, diversion, biomedical assistance, miscellaneous treatment, and some discussion of studies dealing with the problems of alcoholism and drug abuse among offenders.

Gendreau and Ross (1979:469) carefully concluded that "The effects of these programs have been shown to contribute indirectly to reducing criminality. In addition, the types of treatment offered suggest useful directions for further correctional programs". Gendreau

and Ross also argued that the "nothing works" doctrine created a negative view of correctional treatment programs, thereby allowing the correctional system to escape its own responsibility. If offenders are classified as untreatable the system then makes it apparent that it cannot be held responsible for his success or his failure (Gendreau and Ross, 1979:488-499). Such a view warrants little merit in the eyes of Gendreau and Ross.

A Different View

An alternative view of correctional treatment programs—especially community based residential programs—states that such programs are required, regardless of outcomes, because they provide an essential social service. Additionally, treatment programs represent a more humanitarian means of dealing with criminal offenders.

Normandeau and Hasenpusch maintain that:

...many secondary or corrective crime and delinquency prevention programs provide valuable social services for their clients, even if they have no preventive effect whatsoever. An evaluation of such programs, which is likely to show a lack of preventive effects, must not be used to justify the withdrawal of these social services (Normandeau and Hasenpusch, 1980:314).

Additionally, it has been noted by Haley (1982:213)

--in light of the "nothing/something works debate"--that

justice and humaneness are critical issues in the incarceration of offenders. Humane treatment refers to the

incarceration of offenders, "without suffering deterioration

or damage during their sentence" (Haley, 1982:213). The debilitating effects of incarceration environments exact a toll on the emotional, psychological, and maturational needs of inmates (Cohen and Taylor, 1972). And, residential treatment programs, such as Kairos, definitely provide for a greater degree of "normal social interactions and daily living" (Haley, 1982:213).

Lamb and Goertzel (1975:39), in their evaluation of a community based treatment program, have concluded that although recidivism wasn't reduced, it wasn't increased either. Similarly, Dale Ardron (1980:25) has concluded that residential and other institutional programs in Ontario, although not showing any reduction in recidivism, have not shown any increases; but, innovative treatment programs have shown increased employment, especially during incarceration, and have "demonstrated that many more men are able to continue community employment while under sentence than had heretofore been thought possible..." (Lamb and Goertzel, 1975:39). This demonstrates that serious offenders can serve their sentences in a setting in which they can engage in competitive employment, keep in contact with their families, continue in educational programs, and participate in therapeutic programs.

Some researchers argue that there is too little treatment offered to offenders. For example, it has been estimated that in the United States, less than 5 percent of

an annual \$5 billion budget is spent on federal, state and local rehabilitation programs (Channeles, 1976:134).

Similar doubts about a \$552 million Canadian budget, have also been raised (Haley, 1982:205-206). Some researchers maintain that we need more, and not less, offender treatment programs.

But what about the issue of research? James Hackler (1974; 1975) suggests -- as noted by Normandeau and Hasenpusch (1980:314) -- that researchers should decide not to evaluate certain programs, or to at least present their results in an inconclusive manner. Suggestions that further studies are required has always been a method employed by researchers who have a concern about justifying a program's existence to administrators. Hackler (1974) also suggests that researchers should seek assurances that the results of program studies will only be used to improve the program under examination. In this instance, research would remain a neutral element and could not become a tool to be used by cost-conscious administrators or careerenhancing researchers.

A Perspective On Conducting Further Research

The voluminous amounts of research dealing with correctional treatment programs and the disparate points of view exemplified by the researchers, indicates the state of "crises" (Aultman and Wright, 1982:16) in this field of

study. One observer of the--"nothing/something works" debate, has claimed that the conclusions of both Palmer and Martinson were probably due to "the discovery of improbable random events through sheer diligence" (Robison, 1976: 483-86).

The vast majority of program evaluations in corrections do not come near the ideal of what constitutes —so called—valid scientific research. Other areas of research, such as biology, are far more conducive to the use of experimental research than is the area of correct—ional treatment programs. In fact, after some 65 years of research, we know very little more about what constitutes effective treatment of offenders, and hardly any more about significant predictors of recidivism, despite the attempts of researchers to employ scientific techniques.

The discrepant reports filed in the literature by the--so called--experts, leave many researchers suspicious. Similar to Hackler, some researchers favour a more modest inquiry; since the "data presently being generated provide few insights into what is being accomplished..." (Hackler, 1978:89).

In his book, "The Prevention of Youthful Crime:
The Great Stumble Forward," Hackler cites a study by
Heckbert (1976) that examined the influence of day parole
on inmates from the Alberta correctional system. Heckbert's
study was "primarily descriptive" and yielded some

changes in the program may be suggested in an effort to better serve a wider range of offender types. Such modifications, coupled with extended research and analysis will—in the long run—help to improve the type of services which correctional systems extend to their inmate populations.

In conducting this type of research; investigators can circumvent the "nothing/something works" debate entirely. Community based correctional treatment programs are here to stay, even if for no other reason than that they are less expensive than the traditional institutional mode of incarceration (Smith, 1976:2). At this point, researchers should be more concerned with asking: What type of treatment is most effective for what type of offender? (Logan, 1972:378), and, What aspects of treatment programs have an impact upon the rate of recidivism (Logan, 1972:378).

The value of the "nothing/something works" debate has been summarized by Gendreau and Ross, who maintain that the arguments:

...are persuasive, the language used often brilliant, the metaphors appealing, and the objectivity sadly lacking. The antagonists—who represent a mixture of different disciplines (e.g., sociology, economics, political science, psychology) and professions (e.g., academicians, administrators, clinicians) seem to be more intent on winning arguments than seeking truth (Gendreau and Ross, 1979:464-465).

Obviously, there is no panacea for correctional treatment programs; there is no one way to rehabilitate

offenders; nor is there any way to establish—as Martinson el al. (1975) had been charged to do by the New York State Governor's Special Committee on Criminal Offenders (Martinson, 1974:23)—what is the most effective means of prisoner rehabilitation.

As long as correctional treatment programs continue to exist and be created, then there will be an interest in the outcomes of such programs' participants. In-depth examinations of these programs can only serve to increase and contribute to the already existing body of knowledge. In this way, it is hoped that incremental improvements may be instituted, and that treatment programs will evolve into ever more effective ways of dealing with criminal offenders.

Summary

Early research conducted on offenders is revealing in that a close examination of the report by Heacox leads one to question how far we have actually come in some 65 years of evaluation in correctional treatment programs.

The work that eventually was published by Martinson, Lipton, and Willis, for the Governor's Special Committee on Criminal Offenders, was entitled: "The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Evaluation Studies". Two outspoken proponents of the "something works" side of the debate, Robert Ross and Paul Gendreau, have compiled a group of articles in a volume entitled: "Effective Correctional Treatment" (1980).

Correctional research has tended to take two general forms, or a combination of both: evaluation studies and prediction studies. By the mid-1970's, some investigators were questioning the efficacy of correctional treatment programs, and researchers were subsequently divided into two schools of thought--those who supported the "nothing works" doctrine, and those who supported the "something works" doctrine. Eventually, a position of neutrality emerged, based on the evidence that treatment programs did not increase recidivism, while at the same time permitting a more humanitarian means of dealing with criminal offenders. This suggests a perspective for continued research which can yield "pay-offs", without being embroiled in the "nothing/something works" debate. In-depth research, with modest goals, is a point of view held by many researchers, especially when it comes to the examination of specific correctional agencies, and the nature of their "differential effects" upon residents.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

Most researchers in the field of correctional treatment programs are aware of the almost universal use of recidivism as a measure for the effectiveness of such programs. This point has been made recently by Gendreau and Leipciger (1978:3), who claim that the efficacy of such measures is undermined by the many ways in which the term "recidivism" has been operationalized. For some researchers recidivism could simply mean a rearrest; for others a reconviction; and for others recidivism might refer to incarceration only.

Recidivism Outcome Index

Attempts to operationalize the term recidivism should extend beyond "all or none" criteria. Strong proponents of this view are convinced that recidivism, "should be conceptualized as more than a binary classification but rather multi-dimensional with different probabilities associated with different programs and individuals" (Gendreau and Leipciger, 1978:4).

Following the lead of Gendreau and Leipciger, the present study will employ the use of a "Recidivism Outcome Index". The recidivism outcome index used in this study is a modified version of the Gendreau and Leipciger (1978:9) index--although the present index does not allow for as many outcome possibilities, it is slightly more discriminating over a lesser range of outcomes. The present study's index is a five-point scale based upon the type of recontact which the recidivist had with the criminal justice system.

RECIDIVISM OUTCOME INDEX

Recontact Arrested for one or more law

violations with no conviction and

no disposition as a result of

absconding, i.e., wanted.

Probation Convicted of an offence and

sentenced to probation.

Fine/Default Term Convicted of an offence and fined--

subject to default in paying the fine liable for a term of imprison-

ment.

Term Convicted of an offence for which

a sentence results in a term of imprisonment; this includes technical parole violation possibly

accompanied by further charges which may, or may not, have carried

a conviction.

No illegal activities of any kind

available on any records.

(Gendreau and Leipciger, 1978:8).

The recidivism outcome index makes it possible to measure recidivism in several ways. From an "all or none" perspective, it will be possible to see how many Kairos residents had no subsequent contact with the criminal justice system, and how many did have contact. The all or none perspective provides for the most conservative estimate of recidivism, which will be the chief measure—among others—that will be employed in the present study. Additionally, less severe forms of recontact measured by subsequent court dispositions, such as recontact, probation, etc., may be dropped to produce a less stringent and less conservative measure of recidivism.

Recidivism Measurement

Recidivism was measured for a one-year period following the residents' release from incarceration. Both those residents who had completed their term of incarceration and were released from Kairos, and those residents who had been returned to the correctional centre to finish their term of incarceration, were included in the study. All residents, regardless of whether they successfully completed their term of incarceration, or how long they were residents, were included in this study.

In addition to this, the data gathering instrument* was designed so that recidivism data could be collected for a longer period of time--depending on which year any particular resident resided at Kairos. This amounts to additional recidivism information for the years 1976, 1977, 1978, of 4, 3, and 2 year follow-up periods respectively. Residents for 1979 were scrutinized for a one year follow-up period.

The Study Subjects

The subjects for this study represent an entire population, or universe. There were 215 Kairos residents who were released from custody between January, 1976, and December, 1979. Therefore, it was possible to establish a population mean of non-recidivists and recidivists. The study sample was then divided into various sub-populations for the purpose of comparison.

The sub-populations of the sample consist of residents of a particular age; residents with a certain level of educational attainment; Native residents; residents with no previous record; residents with previous criminal records, etc.

^{*}See Appendix A.

Questions and Hypotheses

There are several questions and two specific hypotheses of interest to the present researcher:

- Question 1. What are the recidivism measures for the participants of the Kairos program?
- Question 2. How do sub-population recidivism measures differ from the population mean?
- Question 3. What is the relative strength, or order, of social history characteristics as predictors of recidivism for the Kairos program?

HYPOTHESIS 1. SMALLER COUNSELLOR CASELOADS CONTRIBUTE TO LOWER RECIDIVISM RATES.

Several studies have reported that smaller caseloads among treatment staff resulted in lower recidivism
rates. Massimo (1963), evaluated a program with a psychotherapeutic approach; one distinguishing feature of this
program was its small size. Similarly, Adams (1966),
Feistman (1966), and Pillinick (1967), show that programs
where probation officers had smaller caseloads, also had
lower recidivism rates.

For the period of time which the present study proposes to cover, there were two distinct periods in which the average occupancy rate, at Kairos, was ten residents and less; the other, fourteen residents or more. These two periods would be represented by the years 1976 and 1979,

respectively. Although the occupancy rate increased in the period between 1976 and 1979, the treatment staff actually decreased.

HYPOTHESIS 2. BROKEN AND INTERRUPTED COUNSELLOR/CLIENT RELATIONSHIPS RESULT IN HIGHER RECIDIVISM RATES.

Another program characteristic which has been shown to have an impact upon the rate of recidivism, is the turnover among treatment staff (Harrison and Mueller, 1964). Staff turnover can be very disruptive to rehabilitation programs; a lack of continuity can be very detrimental to the individual undergoing treatment. Unlike many group homes, Kairos has been able to provide a service which is noted for its continuity -- in terms of counsellor/client relationships. Kairos treatment staff have normally committed themselves for periods which are one year in length (Kairos staff remained virtually unchanged for the first two years of operation); but there is one period of time, in the operation of the Kairos program, when there was a fairly rapid turnover among the treatment staff. This particular period extended over several months and allows for a comparison of resident outcomes -- at this time -- to the population as a whole.

Data Gathering

A data collection form (see Appendix A) was completed for each of the 215 residents. Main Office files of the Ministry of Correctional Services, Ontario; and Adult Information Services (A. I. S.) profiles (see Appendix B), were examined for relevant data. Recidivism data, and data concerning criminal history were achieved by examination of files, obtained on micro-film, from the Ministry of Correctional Services: (F. P. S.) reports. Additional information was gathered from individual case files retained at Kairos Community Resource Centre.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was directed at determining differences between certain sub-populations of the Kairos sample and the population mean, and at determining the strength of the associations between social history characteristics and outcome measures. Statistical evaluation was accomplished by the use of a chi-square (x^2) , and t-test (Blalock, 1972).

Data analysis was conducted through the use of Lakehead University's 360-IBM and Vax computer. Data was coded and card-punched, for part of the analysis, using the SPSS (Nie, et al., 1975). Additionally, a data file was created on the Vax, and subsequent data analysis was accomplished with the SCSS (Nie, et al., 1980).

SUMMARY

Understanding recidivism is complicated by the many ways in which the term has been operationalized by research-One way of alleviating some of the confusion is to employ multiple definitions of the term; it was proposed that this be accomplished through the use of a "Recidivism Outcome Index". This enables researchers to summarize recidivism data in terms of strict definitions, as well as less strict definitions. Recidivism is most often measured for follow-up periods of six months to one year. suggested that more longitudinal examinations of treatment programs are required to reveal participants' outcomes over extended periods of time. In the case of a small program, like Kairos, it was possible to collect data on an entire population -- so the study subjects represented an entire universe. Questions were directed at program participants and their outcomes. This included aggregate recidivism data for various sub-populations, as well as an examination of the strength of social history characteristics as predictors of recidivism. Hypotheses were directed to testing for some impact upon the level of recidivism; due to the structure of the Kairos program. Data, for the study, was gathered from correctional files and other official records and reports.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The findings are presented in tabular and graphic form. Background or social history characteristics are presented first, followed by the findings of the study and an examination of the hypotheses.

Social History Characteristics

This section of the analysis is presented in two parts. The first set of data to be presented are the social history characteristics as they pertain to the individual, such as race, age, and education; and second, biographical data as it pertains to the individual's "current offence", previous criminality, and recidivism.

TABLE 1
RACE

VALUE	N	TOTAL &	CUMULATIVE %	LABÉL
1 2	176 39	81.9 18.1	81.9 18.1	WHITE NATIVE
_		TOTAL N VALID N		

TABLE 2
AGE

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %
VALUE 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 49 60 63	17 20 21 17 29 16 16 9 7 6 8 5 3 2 1 4 3 2 2 3 3 1 1 1 3 3 2 1	7.9 9.3 9.8 7.9 13.5 7.4 5.1 2.8 3.7 2.3 1.9 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.4 9.5 1.5 1.6 9.6 9.6 9.6 9.6 9.6 9.6 9.6 9.6 9.6 9	7.9 17.3 27.1 35.0 48.6 56.1 61.2 64.0 68.2 71.5 74.3 78.0 80.4 81.8 82.7 83.2 85.0 86.4 87.4 88.3 89.7 90.7 92.1 92.5 93.0 93.5 94.9 95.8 97.2 98.6 99.5 100.0
MO	1M	.5M	NA

MEAN = 24.159

TOTAL N = 215

VALID N = 214

Table 1 shows that the group of Kairos residents under study contained a significant--but small--minority of Natives--18.1%. The remaining residents (81.9%) were White.

In Table 2, the subjects' ages are reported: the mean age is 24 years; but it is evident that the mode (20 years) is more representative of the age of Kairos residents. Over one-half (120) of the subjects are 21 years old or younger. The median age occurs between 20-21 years.

From Table 3, it can be determined that a clear majority (63.3%) of Kairos residents had never been married, or had lived in a common-law arrangement, or were still married.

TABLE 3

MARITAL STATUS

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE .%	LABEL
1 2 3 4 5 6 0M		63.3 14.0 11.2 7.0 3.3 .9 .5M TOTAL N	63.6 77.6 88.8 95.8 99.1 100.0 NA	Single Married Common-Law Separated Divorced Widowed

Table 4 indicates that 50 Kairos residents had one or more dependents. This Table was collapsed from a previous table, which indicated that of the 50 residents who had dependents, 15 had 3 or more dependents, and 35 had two or less.

TABLE 4
DEPENDENTS

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1	164 50	76.3 23.3	76.6 100.0	None One or More
_		TOTAL N VALID N		

The Grade Level Last Attended data, represented in Table 5, is self-reported data--similar to the data from Tables 3 and 4. Therefore, this data should be viewed rather cautiously. On the A. I. S. form (see Appendix B), this information is supposed to represent the highest grade completed. In many--if not most--instances, the individuals involved will state they have completed schooling at a level which they only last attended.* Often times this

^{*}The present researcher was cautioned about this by the Clerk of Inmate Records at the Thunder Bay Correctional Centre, and by one of the researchers on staff with the Ministry, as well as being aware of these difficulties due to my own experience as a Kairos employee.

information does not actually represent attendance at a normal public or secondary school, but at an institutional school.

TABLE 5
GRADE LEVEL LAST ATTENDED

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 0M	15 24 46 68 22 21 2 6 4 3 4M	7.0 11.2 21.4 31.6 10.2 9.8 .9 2.8 1.9 1.4 1.9M	7.1 18.5 40.3 72.5 82.9 92.9 93.8 96.7 98.6 100.0	Grade 1 to 7 Grade 8 Grade 9 Grade 10 Grade 11 Grade 12 Grade 13 University/College Technical and Trades Other Post-Secondary

Even when mindful of the above cautions, it is obvious that the educational level attained by the Kairos residents is low: 39 had grade 8 or less; 114 had attained a grade 9 and 10 level; and only 13 had some post-secondary education.

Table 6 represents data from a previous table which was collapsed to form the new table. On this previous table, the mean age for leaving school was calculated at 16.27 years—just barely above the legal minimum age of required school attendance.

TABLE 6

AGE LEFT SCHOOL

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 0M	43 128 40 4M	20.0 59.5 18.6 1.9	20.4 81.0 100.0 NA	Age 15 or Less Sixteen and Seventeen Eighteen to Twenty-one
		TOTAL N VALID N		

TABLE 7
OCCUPATION

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 0M		.5 .9 10.4 4.7 75.3 6.0 .5 1.4M TOTAL N	.5 .9 1.9 12.3 17.0 93.4 99.5 100.0	Managerial Professional/Technical Clerical and Sales Craftsman Personal Services Labourer Unskilled Student Other

Despite the fact that some 35% of all residents were 19 years old or younger--at the time of the offence current to this study--only 13, as indicated in Table 7, listed their full-time occupation as student. An overwhelming

majority (75.3%), listed their occupation as unskilled labourer. Craftsmen formed the only other significantly sized group, and accounted for only 22 of 215 of the residents (10.2%). Managerial, professional/technical, and clerical/sales contributed another 1.9%, and the service occupations accounted for 10 residents, or another 4.7%. Managerial, professional/technical, clerical/sales, and personal services occupations, combined, accounted for only 14 residents in total (6.6%).

Similar to the data reported in some previous tables, the data for Table 8 is also self-reported, and as such, must also be viewed cautiously. Significantly, though, 65 (30.2%) of the residents indicated that they were heavy drinkers; although it is likely that there were less than the 20 abstainers and 125 moderate drinkers which were recorded.

TABLE 8
ALCOHOL USE

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	-LABEL
1 2 3 0M		9.3 58.1 30.2 2.3M TOTAL N VALID N	9.5 69.0 100.0 NA	Abstainers Moderate Drinkers Heavy Drinkers

Most of the residents who were released from custody and had resided at Kairos were from the Province of Ontario. Table 9 establishes that 207 out of 215 residents (96.3%) were residents of Ontario. A separate examination of Kairos files revealed that of those 207 Ontario residents, 187 (86.9%) were either from Thunder Bay or the rest of Northwestern Ontario.

TABLE 9
ONTARIO RESIDENTS

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2	207 8	96.3 3.7	96.3 100.0	Yes No
		TOTAL N VALID N		

Criminal Biographical Data

Previous incarcerations and the number of previous convictions, represents two important variables in recidivism studies; these variables give recidivism researchers some idea of the extent of previous criminal involvement of the subjects under study.

Table 10 shows that just over one-half (56.7%) of the Kairos residents had no previous incarcerations. A total of 79 residents (36.8%) had 3 or less incarcerations;

and 14 residents (6.5%) had 4 or more incarcerations. There were 93 residents (43.3%), in total, who had previous incarcerations.

TABLE 10
PREVIOUS INCARCERATIONS

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	38 23 13 4 4 2 2 2 2	17.7 13.0 6.1 1.9 1.9 .9	17.7 30.7 36.8 38.7 40.6 41.5 42.4 43.3 100.0	l Incarceration 2 Incarcerations 3 " 4 " 5 " 6 " 7 " 8 or More Incarcerations No Incarcerations
	215	- TOTAL N - VALID N		

A less severe—but more inclusive—measure of previous criminality is indicated by the results reported in Table 11. The number of previous conviction dates refers to any previous conviction received by Kairos residents for which a term of imprisonment was not part of the disposition. Accordingly, 87 residents (40.5%) had no previous convictions, and as such they were first—time offenders; those with previous convictions totalled 128 residents (59.5%). Over 50% of the 215 residents had some previous conviction; 87 residents (40.4%) had 3 or less previous convictions, and 41 residents (19.1%) had 4 or more previous convictions.

TABLE 11
PREVIOUS CONVICTION DATES

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8		13.9 15.8 10.7 4.7 3.3 4.1 2.3 4.7 40.5 = TOTAL N = VALID N	13.9 29.7 40.4 45.1 48.4 52.5 54.8 59.5 100.0	1 Conviction 2 Convictions 3 " 4 " 5 " 6 " 7 " 8 or More Convictions No Convictions

From the data presented in Tables 10 and 11, it is possible to calculate the percentage of those with previous convictions who were also previously incarcerated.

Therefore, 93 of the 128 persons with previous convictions (72.6%), were also previously incarcerated.

The major purpose, stated by the residents, for their transfer to the C. R. C., was to work. From Table 12, it can be ascertained that three-quarters, or 163 residents, listed work as their purpose when transferring to Kairos; 38 residents (17.7%) listed education; one resident transferred for health reasons; and 13 residents are listed as other. Transfers listed as other could indicate some residents who came to Kairos for unstated health reasons,

or for their own protection--possibly after having gained a reputation as a "rat" at the correctional centre.

TABLE 12

PURPOSE OF TRANSFER TO C. R. C

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 4		75.8 17.7 .5 6.0 TOTAL N VALID N	75.8 93.5 94.0 100.0	Work Education Health Other

In Table 13, information concerning residents' release status from Kairos is presented. Between those residents who satisfied their sentences—completed their term of incarceration—and those residents who resided at Kairos until they were released on parole, there were 137 residents (63.7%) who successfully completed the Kairos program. There were 70 residents who either had their temporary absence passes (permits to reside at Kairos) revoked; and were then returned to the correctional centre. The category "other" represents residents who may have voluntarily decided to return to the correctional centre, or who were removed for sensitive and therefore unrecorded reasons. In all, 78 residents did not complete their stay at Kairos.

TABLE 13
STATUS WHEN RELEASED FROM KAIROS

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2	95	44.2	44.2	Satisfied Sentence
	42	19.5	63.7	Satisfied Sentence
3	13	6.0	69.8	(Paroled) Escaped T. A. P. Revoked Other
4	57	26.5	96.3	
5	8	3.7	100.0	
	215	= TOTAL 1 = VALID 1	A	

A "final status" represents a resident's status upon release from custody; whether that occurred from Kairos or from a correctional centre. In Table 14, final status data is presented; in total, 156 residents satisfied their sentences, which means an additional 61 residents—that is in addition to the 95 residents who satisfied their sentence at Kairos—completed their term of incarceration at a correctional centre. One interesting result is indicated in the number of residents who ultimately received parole. From among the total of 49 residents who were granted parole, 42 of them had successfully completed the Kairos program (85.7%). Out of 78 residents who did not complete their stay at Kairos, only 7 were granted parole (8.9%). Other release possibilities include unconditional releases due to successful conviction appeals.

Differences between the Kairos release status and final release status occurred because 78 residents did not complete their term of incarceration as Kairos residents, or did not remain Kairos residents until released on parole.

TABLE 14
FINAL STATUS WHEN RELEASED FROM CUSTODY

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1	156 49 10	72.6 22.8 4.6	72.6 95.4 100.0	Satisfied Sentence Satisfied Sentence (Paroled) Other
_		TOTAL N		

Status differences can be accounted for from the information in Table 15; residents' T. A. P.'s were revoked for several reasons. Most residents' T. A. P.'s were revoked due to inappropriate behaviours resulting from drinking or drug use: when a resident was permitted to leave the premises—these occasions are referred to as "leisure passes."

As seen earlier, with information presented in Table 13, 137 residents did not have their T. A. P.'s revoked. Severe behaviour problems, alcohol use and drug use, accounted for 52 of the 78 residents who were returned to the correctional centre (66.6%); and, additionally, 13

residents were illegally at large or just simply left the premises: escaped (16.6%). Thirteen other residents also had their T. A. P.'s revoked; this could have occurred voluntarily, or because a resident may have been temporarily attending a rehabilitation/therapy program, which he failed to complete. The latter cause for a T. A. P. being revoked reduces to an alcohol or drug problem, but may not have resulted from any specific incident at the Kairos residence.

TABLE 15

REASON FOR T. A. P. BEING REVOKED

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 4 5 6		63.7 9.3 11.6 3.4 6.0 6.0 **TOTAL N	63.7 73.0 84.6 88.0 94.0 100.0	Not Revoked Drugs Alcohol Behaviour Escape Other

There were other residents who had their T. A. P.'s temporarily revoked. This was a measure employed as a "scare tactic". If a resident had been misbehaving he could, on accasion, be returned to the correctional centre over the weekend—or longer. The intention was to have him returned to Kairos by Monday; but, the resident would not be aware of this fact. This measure was employed, only

sparingly, in cases where it was felt that a fairly severe punishment was required for some excessive behaviour which did not warrant a full T. A. P. revokation. The individual who was treated in such a way was usually restricted to minimal privileges upon his return to Kairos. From Table 16, it can be determined that only 14 residents received such treatment through the first four years of the program's operation.

TABLE 16
TEMPORARILY REVOKED T. A. P

VALUE	N	TOTAĻ %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1	14 201	6.6 93.4	6.6 100.0	Yes No
		TOTAL N VALID N		

TABLE 17
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE STAY

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	• LABEL
1 2 3 4 0M		27.9 47.4 21.9 1.9 .9 TOTAL NO	28.2 76.1 98.0 100.0 NA	1-30 days 31-90 days 4-9 months Over 9 months

From a previous table, the length of residence stay was found to average 77.26 days, or roughly two and one-half months. In Table 17, the length of residence stay values have been collapsed into four categories. Accordingly, almost one-half (47.4%) of the residents resided at Kairos for a period between 31 and 90 days.

TABLE 18
WORK STATUS WHILE AT C. R. C

VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1	26	12.1	12.1	Seeking a Job
2	85	39.5	51.6	Employed
3	28	13.1	64.7	Employed Intermittently
4	39	18.1	82.8	Attended Education Program
5	20	9.3	92.1	Employed/Education
6	8	3.7	95.8	Unemployed
7	9	4.2	100.0	Other
		TOTAL N VALID N		

The work status of residents varied considerably.

From Table 7, there were only 13 residents (6.0%) who listed their full-time occupation as student, and from Table 13 there is an indication that a considerable change took place as 38 residents (17.7%) indicated that the purpose of their transfer to Kairos was to attend an education program.

From Table 18, it can be seen that 39 residents (18.1%), had become full-time students. In addition to

this, 20 more residents both attended some form of educational program, and worked, while they were residents at Kairos. Many of these individuals, for example, would have attended manpower vocational retraining programs—such as the "cutter-skidder" course—and subsequently obtained employment before their release, parole, or return to the correctional centre.

Of those 34 residents (15.8%) who actually did not work; 8 were either unemployed (3.7%), or unsuccessfully sought a job while residents at Kairos (26 or 12.1%).

There were 43 residents, in total, who were not employed, or who were not attending an educational program. There were 85 residents (39.5%) who were successfully employed during the duration of their stay, and there were 28 residents (13.1%) who were sporadically employed—doing casual labour and odd jobs, etc. Some residents were there to do volunteer work, and were not gainfully employed; some residents were there for medical reasons: 9 persons (4.2%).

Table 19 indicates residents' employment status; 43 residents (20.0%) are classed as "not applicable." The residents in this category represent those residents from Table 18, in categories 1, 5, 6, and 7, respectively. These are the 43 residents who were not employed or involved in an educational program. Of the remaining 172 residents, 101 were employed as labourers (58.8%). This represents a reduction of 16.5% in the category of labourer from the

information reported in Table 7. The reduction is due, in part, to the 12.1% increase in full-time students, as well as the non-working status of residents who might very well list their occupation as the same; but for one reason, or another, were unemployed while residents at Kairos.

TABLE 19

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT WHILE AT C. R. C

				<u> </u>
VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 4 5 6 7 8	1 16 11 101 39 3 43	.5 .5 7.4 5.1 47.0 18.1 1.4 20.0	.5 1.0 8.4 13.5 60.5 78.6 80.0	Managerial Professional/Technical Craftsman Personal Services Labourer Student Other Not Applicable
		= VALID N		

Kairos residents attended several types of educational programs. These programs ranged from regular high school classes, to college or university level programs. There were several other special programs which were attended by Kairos residents; these included Canada Manpower's Basic Job Readiness Training (B. J. R. T.); and the City of Thunder Bay's Work Activities Program (W. A. P.) — the above two programs taught basic "life skills"—as well as college upgrading programs.

From Table 20, it is evident that of the 59 residents who attended educational programs—full or part—time—25 residents (42.3%) attended the Manpower Vocational Retraining programs. Regular college, upgrading, and high school programs were next with 9, 8, and 11 residents, respectively, attending them. Regular high school was the least attended type of program.

TABLE 20
SCHOOL COURSE ATTENDED WHILE AT C. R. C

_				
VALUE	N	TOTAL %	CUMULATIVE %	LABEL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	215	3.3 1.9 3.7 1.9 11.6 4.1 .9 72.6 = TOTAL N		B. J. R. T. W. A. P. College Upgrading High School Manpower Retraining College/University Other Not Applicable

Measures of Association

In this section the various variables are examined for significant measures of association. Specifically, measures of association which are related to the outcome measure of recidivism/non-recidivism. Additionally, some other variables are also examined for measures of association.

In Table 21, recidivism is measured by race. In this example there is an inverse relationship between the two variables (67.0% White non-recidivists and 66.7% Native recidivists; 33.0% White recidivists and 33.3% Native non-recidivists). According to the information in this Table, Native residents were far more likely to recidivate than were their White counterparts.

TABLE 21
RECIDIVISM BY RACE

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	,
0.	58 33.0	118 67.0	176	White
	26 66.7	13 33.3	39	Native
TOTAL	84 39 . 1	131 60.9	215	
CHI-SQ	= 15.242	SIG. = .000*		DF = 1

There are several other variables which have a significant association with the variable Race, one of these is Alcohol Use. In Table 22, it can be determined, by reading the row percentages, that over one-half (51.3%) of the Native residents indicated that they were heavy drinkers. Only one Native resident claimed to be an

^{*} Significance is less than .001.

abstainer. Native heavy drinkers represent 30.8% of heavy drinking Kairos residents; although they only represent 18.1% of all Kairos residents. Kairos residents who were moderate drinkers totaled 125 (62.6% White and 14.4% Native Native).

TABLE 22
ALCOHOL BY RACE

N;R%	ABSTAINS	MODERATE DRINKER	HEAVY DRINKER	TOTAL	
1.	19 11.1	107 62.6	45 26.3	171	White
	1	18	20	39	Native
	2.6 20	46.2 125	51.3 65	210	
CHI-S(9.5 $Q = 10.269$	59.5 SIC	31.0 $G. = .006$		DF = 2

Another variable significantly associated with Race is Grade Level Last Attended. In Table 23, it is reported that there were 15 Native residents (38.5%) who had attended grade 8 or less; over one-half (53.8%) had attended grade 9 and 10; but fewer than three residents who were Native had attended any post-secondary educational programs. Native residents were over-represented, in the "Grade 8 or Less" category, by over twice their percentage of representation in the population as a whole (18.1% vs. 38.5%).

TABLE 23

GRADE LEVEL LAST ATTENDED BY RACE

N;R%	GRADE 8 OR LESS	NINE AND TEN	ELEVEN TO THIRTEEN	SOME POST- SECONDARY	TOTAL	
1.	24 14.0	93 54.0	44 25.6	11 6.4	172	White
	15 38.5	21 53.8	3 7.7	0	39 ——	Native
	39 18.5	114 54.0	47 22.3	11 5.2	211	
CHI-S	Q = 16.5	75	SIG. =	.001	DF = 3	3

TABLE 24
PREVIOUS CONVICTION DATES BY RACE

N;R%	PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS	NO PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS	TOTAL	
1.	98 55 . 7	78 44.3	176	White
	30 76.9	9 23.1	39	Native
	128 59 . 5	87 40 . 5	215	
CHI-SQ	= 7.303	SIG. = .010		DF = 1

Similarly, the variable Age Left School, when measured with the variable Race, achieved a Chi-Square score (13.043) which was significant at the .001 level; and the frequency distributions, over the three age categories, were

approximately the same as the frequency distributions over the four grade level categories in Table 23.

Two other variables, when associated with the Race variable, resulted in significant Chi-Square scores; these were the variables Previous Conviction Dates and Previous Incarcerations. In Table 24, it can be seen that Native residents were more likely to have had a previous conviction (21.2% more than Whites).

Based upon the information in the previous table, it is not surprising to find that Native residents were more likely to have been previously incarcerated. In Table 25, it can be determined that Native residents were incarcerated at a rate which is twenty-five percent greater than the incarceration rate for White residents (25.5%).

TABLE 25
PREVIOUS INCARCERATIONS BY RACE

N; R%	PREVIOUS INCARCERATIONS	NO PREVIOUS INCARCERATIONS	TOTAL	
1.	68 38.6	108 61.4	176	White
	25 64.1	14 35.9	39	Native
	93 43.3	122 56.7	215	
CHI-S	0 = 8.826	SIG. = .010	DF	= 1

Table 26 presents even more striking information, when Race is associated with the Number of Previous Incarcerations. Proportionately, the 65 White residents and the 18 Native residents—who had four or less previous incarcerations—closely approximates their distribution in the population as a whole (81.9% Whites and 18.1% Natives VS 78.3% Whites and 21.7% Natives with four or less previous incarcerations). Of the 10 Kairos residents who were previously incarcerated five or more times, 7 were Natives (70.0%).

TABLE 26

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS INCARCERATIONS BY RACE

	78				
N;R%	NO PREVIOUS INCAR- CERATIONS	UP TO 4 INCAR- CERATIONS	5 OR MORE INCAR- CERATIONS	TOTAL	
1.	108 61.4	65 36.9	3 1.7	176	White
	14 35.9	18 46.2	7 17.9	39	Native
	122 56.7	83 38.6	10 4.7	215	
CHI-S	Q = 22.479	SI	G. = 0.0000		DF = 2

Table 27 reveals an interesting trend; the younger Kairos residents were more likely to recidivate than were the older residents. By selecting for the White residents

only (Table 28), and associating their outcomes with the variable Age, it can be seen that this trend is maintained.

TABLE 27
RECIDIVISM BY AGE

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	24 64.9	13 35.1	37	Sixteen & Seventeen
	23 34.3	44 65.7	67	Eighteen- Twenty
	19 38.8	30 61.2	49	Twenty-One To Five
	18 29.5	43 70.5	61	Twenty-Six And Up
	84 39.3	130 60.7	214	
CHI-SQ	= 13.294	SIG. = .004		DF =//3

This trend toward less recidivism with increased age is uneven however, since those residents (for both Tables 27 and 28) who were between the ages of 18 and 20, had a slightly lower recidivism rate than those residents who were between the ages of 21 to 25. When selecting for Native residents, only, the overall trend of less recidivism with greater age, is again evident. Table 29 presents this data, with one notable exception: Native residents, who were between the ages of eighteen and twenty,

recidivated at the same rate as those Native residents who were between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five.

TABLE 28

RECIDIVISM BY AGE
SELECTING FOR WHITE RESIDENTS

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	18 60.0	12 40.0	30	Sixteen & Seventeen
	15 26.8	41 73.2	56	Eighteen- Twenty
	11 28.9	27 71.1	38	Twenty-One To Five
	14 27.5	37 72.5	51	Twenty-Six And Up
	58 33.1	117 66 . 9	175	
CHI-SQ	= 11.835	SIG. = .008		DF = 3

A further selection examined—for the variable Recidivism associated with Age—was those residents who had no previous convictions. Once again the overall trend of less recidivism with increasing age is evident. Table 30, presents this data; the exception in this Table is due to a slight increase of recidivism of the 13 residents who were aged 21 to 25, whose recidivism rate was slightly less than those residents who were 26 years of age or older.

TABLE 29

RECIDIVISM BY AGE
SELECTING FOR NATIVE RESIDENTS

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	6 85 . 7	1 14.3	7	Sixteen & Seventeen
	8 72.7	3 27.3	7 7	Eighteen- Twenty
	8 72.7	3 27.3		Twenty-One To Five
	40.0	6 60.0	10	Twenty-Six And Up
	26 66.7	13 33.3	39	
CHI-SQ	= 4.706	SIG. = .195		DF = 3

TABLE 30

RECIDIVISM BY AGE SELECTING FOR RESIDENTS WITH NO PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	17 60.7	11 39.3	28	Sixteen & Seventeen
	9 32.1	19 67.9	28 .	Eighteen- Twenty
	3 23.1	10 76.9	13	Twenty-One To Five
	5 27.8	13 72.2	18	Twenty-Six And Up
	34 39.1	53 _* 60.9	87	
CHI-SQ	9 = 8.435	SIG. = .038		DF = 3

Marital Status was associated with Recidivism on several selections of the sub-populations. None of these measures resulted in a significant Chi-Square score. In Table 31, all of the categories—for Marital Status—other than Single, have been collapsed into the one category: Ever-Married. Because of the significant association measure score and, by examining the row percentages, it can be determined that there is a trend toward less recidivism among those residents who were ever-married. This trend was evident when selecting for married residents only (Chi-Sq = 2.223; Sig. = .136); and when selecting for White residents only (Chi-Sq = 3.501; Sig. = .061).

TABLE 31
RECIDIVISM BY MARITAL STATUS

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
0.	61 44.9	75 55.1	136	Single
	22 28.2	56 71.8	78	Ever-Married
	83 38.8	131 61.2	214	
CHI-S	Q = 5.786	SIG. = .03	17	DF = 1

Table 32 presents data for the outcome measures as associated with the grade level attained by Kairos residents. Once again there is no significant association

between the two variables --as indicated by the Chi-Square score and the level of significance--but there is a trend which is evident, of lower recidivism rates with increased level of educational attainment.

TABLE 32

RECIDIVISM BY GRADE LEVEL LAST ATTENDED

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	18 46.2	21 53.8	39	Grade 8 Or Less
	46 40.4	68 59.6	114	Nine And Ten
	14 31.1	31 68.9	45	Eleven To Thirteen
	4 30.8	9 69.2	13	Some Post- Secondary
	82 38.9	129 61.1	211	
CHI-S	Q = 1.524	SIG. = .68	35	DF = 3

When the variable Grade Level Last Attended is associated with the variable Previous Conviction Dates, there is a more significant level of association attained. The lower the educational level attained by Kairos residents, the more likely they were to have been previously convicted. This information has been summarized in Table 33, where it is indicated that those residents who had attended grade 8 or less, had been previously convicted at

a rate of 79.5%, and those residents who had attained a level of education at the secondary programs, had been previously convicted at a rate of 30.8%.

TABLE 33

PREVIOUS CONVICTION DATES
BY GRADE LEVEL LAST ATTENDED

N;R%	PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS	NO PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS	TOTAL	
1.	31 79.5	8 20.5	39	Grade 8 Or Less
	71 62.3	43 37.7	114	Nine And Ten
	22 48.9	23 51.5	45	Eleven To Thirteen
	30.8	9 69.2	13	Some Post- Secondary
	128 60.7	83 39.3	211	
CHI-S	Q = 13.400	SIG. = .(014	DF = 3

Another variable associated with Recidivism, without any significant results, is Alcohol Use. Once again a trend can be noted; recidivism rates tend to rise over the three categories of alcohol use, which corresponds to that particular drug's increased use. Abstainers appear to have recidivated the least, followed by moderate drinkers and the heavy drinkers—who had the highest rate of recidivism.

Table 34 outlines the data pertaining to the incidence of recidivism corresponding to the various categories of alcohol use.

TABLE 34
RECIDIVISM BY ALCOHOL USE

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	8 40.0	12 60.0	20	Abstainers
	45 36.0	80 64.0	125	Moderate Drinkers
	31 47.7	34 52.3	65 ——	Heavy Drinkers
	84 40.0	126 60.0	210	
CHI-SQ	2 = 2.435	SIG. = .29	99	DF = 2

TABLE 35

RECIDIVISM BY RACE
SELECTING FOR HEAVY DRINKERS

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTÅL	
1.	13 65.0	7 35.0	20	Native
	18 40.0	27 60.0	45	White
	31 47.7	34 52.3	65	
CHI-SQ	= 6.215	SIG. = .014		DF = 1

A more interesting result is obtained when Recidivism is associated with Race, while selecting only those residents who were heavy drinkers. Table 35 indicates that 20 of the 65 heavy drinkers were Native (30.7%); but 13 of the 31 heavy drinking recidivists were Native as well (41.9%).

TABLE 36
ALCOHOL USE BY AGE

N;R%	ABSTAINS	MODERATE DRINKER	HEAVY DRINKER	TOTAL	
1.	5 13.9	29 80.6	2 5.6	36	Sixteen & Seventeen
	6 9.2	40 61.5	19 29.2	65	Eighteen To Twenty
	3 6.0	33 66.0	14 28.0	50	Twenty-One To Five
	6 10.2	23 39.0	30 50.8	59	Twenty-Six And Up
	20 9.5	125 59 . 5	65 31.0	210	
CHI-SQ	Q = 23.664	SIC	G. = .001		DF = 6

Table 36 displays the association measure between the variable Age and Alcohol Use. Nearly one-half, or 30 of the 65 heavy drinkers are twenty-six years of age of older; and 67.7%, or 44 residents who were heavy drinkers, were twenty-one years of age and older. Of the remaining heavy drinkers, only 2 were sixteen and seventeen years old. The

incidence of self-reported heavy drinkers increases dramatically in the age category "Eighteen to Twenty", where 17 residents (29.3%) reported excessive drinking habits.

TABLE 37
RECIDIVISM BY OCCUPATION

N; R%.	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	0.0	4 100.0	4	Manager Professional Sales
	4 12.5	28 87.5	32	Craftsman/Personal Services
	73 45.1	89 54.9	162	Labourer Unskilled
	<u>4</u> 30.8	9 69.2	13	Student
	81 38.4	130 61.6	211	
CHI -	SQ = 14.929	S.I.G.	= .0.02	DF = 3

By reading the column percentages in Table 37, it can be easily ascertained that recidivism tends to increase as job status decreases. Unfortunately, the number of persons in the category Manager Professional Sales is so small that 37% of the valid cells had an expected cell frequency of less than 5.0. Students recidivated at a rate greater than those employed as Craftsmen or Service occupations, but at a rate less than those who were employed as

labourers. Category 1 in Table 37 represents the first three categories from Table 7 (see page); and category 2 from Table 37 represents the combined values of categories 4 & 5 from Table 7.

The extent of previous criminality is well recognized as a good predictor of recidivism (Pritchard, 1979).

Two variables have been recorded, in the present study, to measure the extent of previous criminality: Previous

Incarcerations and Previous Convictions.

TABLE 38

RECIDIVISM BY PREVIOUS INCARCERATION

N; R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	45 48.4	48 51.6	93	Previous Incarcerations
	39 31.9	83 68.1	122	No Previous Incarcerations
	84 39.1	131 60.9	215	
CHI-S	Q = 5.978	SIG. = .0	16	DF = 1

In Table 38, the variable Previous Incarcerations is associated with the outcome measure. The significant Chi-Square score, and the column percentages, indicate that an association exists between the two variables. The trend is for higher recidivism for previous incarcerants, and lesser recidivism for first-time incarcerants. Similarly,

Table 39 represents data for the variable Previous

Convictions and Recidivism; a total of 128 of 215 Kairos

residents had been previously convicted of an offence

(59.5%). Of those 87 residents who had no previous convictions, 21 recidivated (24.1%); whereas, of 128 residents

who had previous convictions, 63 were recidivists (49.2%).

Those Kairos residents who had been previously convicted

were recidivists at a rate which was 25.1% greater than

those residents who had no previous criminal record.

TABLE 39

RECIDIVISM BY PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	63 49.2	65 50.8	128	Previous Convictions
	21 24.1	66 75.9	87	No Previous Convictions
	84 39.1	131 60.9	215	
CHI-SQ	0 = 13.686	SIG. =	000	DF = 1

An examination of the degree of recidivism when matched with the variable Status When Released From Kairos, indicates the varying outcomes with each of the categories. For those residents who were released on parole, and therefore remained under some form of system supervision, recidivism was low (28.6%). Those residents who satisfied

their sentence had the next lowest rate of recidivism (34.7%), followed by those residents who were prematurely returned to the correctional centre (and who recidicated at a rate of 47.4%). Those residents who had escaped from the Kairos program, or who were technically "unlawfully at large", had the highest recidivism rate (61.5%).

TABLE 40

RECIDIVISM BY STATUS
WHEN RELEASED FROM KAIROS

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	33 34.7	62 65.3	95	Satisfied Sentence
	12 28.6	30 71.4	42	Satisfied Sentence Paroled
	8 61.5	5 38.5	Y !	Escaped
	27 47.4	30 52.6	57	Revoked
	80 38.6	127 61.4	207	
CHI-S	$\Omega = 7.112$	SIG. =	.068	DF = 3

Therefore, the results of Table 40 seem to be indicating that there is an association between the type of release status and the outcome measure. Those residents who successfully complete the program and go on to further supervision—parole—and those residents who finish their

term of incarceration, have better outcomes than those residents who had their T. A. P.'s revoked, or those residents who left the program unlawfully.

TABLE 41

GRANTED PAROLE BY RELEASE STATUS

N;R%	GRANTED PAROLE	NOT GRANTED	TOTAL	
1.	42 30.7	95 69.3	137	Completed
	7 12.3	50 87.7	57	Revoked
	49 25.3	145 74.7	194	
CHI-S	Q = 7.223	SIG.	= .009	DF = 1

From Table 14, it can be determined that a total of 49 residents were eventually released on parole; this means that of those 57 residents who had their T. A. P.'s revoked, an additional 7 Kairos residents were granted parole from the correctional centre (see page). Parole violation accounted for 16 of the recidivists; of the 7 residents who were paroled from the institution, 4 recidivated: 2 of which recidivated for technical parole violation and two of which violated parole with additional convictions. Table 41 presents data for the association of the variables Granted Parole, and the combined values

from Table 40 of Status When Released From Kairos, to create the new variable Release Status. It is evident from the information presented in this Table, that those residents who completed the Kairos program, or those residents who did not have their T. A. P.'s revoked were granted parole at a rate which was much greater than those who had their T. A. P.'s revoked. Those residents who successfully remained in the program were granted parole at a rate of 30.7%; of the 57 residents who had their passes revoked, only 7 received parole (12.3%).

TABLE 42

RECIDIVISM BY REASON
FOR T. A. P. BEING REVOKED

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	45 32.8	92 67.2	137	Not Revoked
	27 51.9	25 48.1	52	Drugs Alcohol Behaviour
	8 61.5	5 38.5	13	Escape
	80 39.6	122 60.4	202	
CHI-S	Q = 8.530	SIG. = .0	14	DF = 2

Residents' passes to Kairos were revoked for several reasons: use of drugs and alcohol, or other severe behaviour problems constituted most instances of T. A. P.

withdrawal; escapes resulted in immediate suspension of T. A. P.'s. Table 42 represents the data for the association of variables Recidivism and Reason For T. A. P. Being Revoked. Residents who completed their stay at Kairos, or who were released on parole from Kairos, recidivated at a rate which was lower than those residents who had their passes revoked.

TABLE 43

RECIDIVISM BY
TEMPORARILY REVOKED T. A. P

-				
N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	9 64.3	5 35.7	14	Yes
	75 37.3	126 62.7	201	
	84 39.1	131 60.9	215	
CHI-S	0 = 4.000	SIG. = .049	DF	= 1

Several residents had their T. A. P.'s revoked temporarily. These residents represented individuals who posed severe behaviour and discipline problems; but whom the treatment staff punished in a fashion just short of full T. A. P. withdrawal. When this variable is associated with the outcome measure, it can be seen that those residents who had their T. A. P.'s temporarily revoked,

recidivated at a rate greater than the escapees, and those other residents who had their T. A. P.'s permanently revoked. One thing that must be considered, is that fifty-percent of those residents who had their T. A. P.'s temporarily revoked, eventually had their Kairos passes permanently suspended. This means that 7 of the Kairos residents under examination in this study, actually had their T. A. P.'s revoked twice.

TABLE 44

RECIDIVISM BY PROGRAM COMPLETION

N; R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	39 50.0	39 50.0	7 8	Not Completed
	45 32.8	92 67.2	137	Completed
	84 39.1	131 60.9		
CHI-S	Q = 6.143	SIG. = .03	13	DF = 1

In total, 137 Kairos residents completed the program successfully; either to the completion of their full term of incarceration, or until they were released on parole.

Overall, Kairos residents who successfully completed their stay as residents recidivated at a rate which was less than those residents who failed to complete the program.

Finally, Table 45 presents the data for an association between the variables Recidivism and Length of Residence Stay. The lack of a significant chi-square value indicates that there is no relationship between the two variables; but, an examination of the column percentages hints at a trend toward lesser recidivism with increased length of residence stay.

TABLE 45

RECIDIVISM BY
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE STAY

96				
N; R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS	TOTAL	
1.	28 46.7	32 53.4	60	1-30 Days
	37 36.3	65 63.7	102	31-90 Days
	16 34.0	31 66.0		4 to 9 Months
	1 25.0	3 75.0	ţ	Over 9 Months
	82 38.5	131 61.5	213	
CHI-S	Q = 2.606	SIG. =	.456	DF = 3

Recidivism Outcome Index

From an "all or none" perspective there were a total of 131 Kairos residents who had no recorded involvement with the criminal justice system for a period of one year following their release (60.9%). Tables 46 and 47 present this conservative estimate of recidivism.

TABLE 46
RECIDIVISM OUTCOME INDEX

~			
		FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1.	Recontact - Arrested, no disposition, no reconviction	21	9.8
٠	Probation	11	5.1
•	Fine/Default Term	6	2.8
4.	Term	46	21.4
5.	No illegal activities recorded	<u>131</u>	60.9
	TOTAL	215	100.0

Additionally, Table 47 provides recidivism information for each year the Kairos program was examined.

A less severe measure of recidivism would include those residents—as non-recidivists—who had a recontact with the system (Table 46), but who had no subsequent reconviction. Reconviction is the measure most commonly used as a measure of recidivism. Therefore, there were 152

residents who were non-recidivists, and 63 recidivists who were reconvicted. Table 43 summarizes this data by year of residence.

TABLE 47

RECIDIVISM BY YEAR OF RESIDENCE

YEAR	% NON-RECIDIVISTS	% RECIDIVISTS
1976	53.6 (15/28)	46.4 (13/28)
1977	57.1 (28/49)	42.9 (21/49)
1978	57.1 (32/56)	42.9 (24/56)
1979	68.3 (56/82)	31.7 (26/82)
TOTAL	60.9 (131/215)	39.1 (34/215)

TABLE 48

RECIDIVISM INCLUDING CONTACTS
BY YEAR OF RESIDENCE

YEAR	% NON-RECIDIVISM	% RECIDIVISM (RECONVICTED)
1976*	53.6 (15/28)	46.4 (13/28)
1977 1978	65.3 (32/49) 69.6 (39/56)	34.7 (17/49) 30.4 (17/56)
1979	80.4 (66/82)	19.6 (16/82)
TOTAL	70.7 (152/215)	29.3 (63/215)

^{*}There were no residents in 1976 who had a recontact, only, appear on their records in a one-year follow-up period.

Of the 29.3% (Table 48) reconvicted residents, 11 (Table 46) were reconvicted and placed on parole, and 6 residents received a disposition of "Fine/Default Term": that is, they would be subject to subsequent incarceration when in "default" of payment of the fine. Reconvicted residents were reincarcerated at a rate of 73% (46/63).

Tables 49 to 52 present similar data, by year of residence, for Native residents and White residents. There are three major measures of recidivism which can be derived from all of the above information, and they are:

Reincarceration, Reconviction, and Recontacts. This data is summarized in Table 53.

TABLE 49

RECIDIVISM BY YEAR OF
RESIDENCE FOR NATIVE RESIDENTS

YEAR	% NON-RECIDIVISM	% RECIDIVISM
1976	40.0 (2/5)	60.0 (3/5)
1977	33.3 (3/9)	66.7 (6/9)
1978	22.2 (2/9)	77.8 (<u>7</u> /9)
1979	37.5 (6/16)	62.5 (10/16)
TOTAL	33.3 (13/39)	66.7 (26/39)

TABLE 50

RECIDIVISM INCLUDING RECONTACTS
AS NON-RECIDIVISTS BY YEAR
FOR NATIVE RESIDENTS

YEAR	% NON-RECIDIVISTS	% RECIDIVISTS (RECONVICTED)
1976*	40.0 (2/5)	60.0 (3/5)
1977*	33.3 (3/9)	66.7 (6/9)
1973	33.3 (3/9)	66.7 (6/9)
1979	50.0 (8/16)	50.0 (8/16)
TOTAL	41.0 (16/39)	59.0 (23/39)

^{*}There were no Native residents in 1976-1977 who had a recontact, only, appear on their records in a one-year follow-up period.

TABLE 51

RECIDIVISM BY YEAR OF
RESIDENCE FOR WHITE RESIDENTS

YEAR	% NON-RECIDIVISTS	% RECIDIVISTS
1976	56.5 (13/23)	43.5 (10/23)
1977	62.5 (25/40)	37.5 (15/40)
1978	63.8 (30/47)	36.2 (17/47)
1979	75.8 (50/66)	24.2 (16/66)
TOTAL	67.0 (118/176)	33.0 (58/176)

TABLE 52

RECIDIVISM BY YEAR OF
RESIDENCE INCLUDING RECONTACTS
AS NON-RECIDIVISTS FOR WHITE RESIDENTS

YEAR	% NON-RECIDIVISTS	% RECIDIVISTS (RECONVICTED)
1976*	56.5 (13/23)	43.5 (10/23)
1977	72.5 (29/40)	27.5 (11/40)
1978	76.6 (36/47)	23.4 (11/47)
1979	87.8 (58/66)	12.2 (8/66)
TOTAL	77.3 (136/176)	22.7 (40/176)

TABLE 53

THREE OVERALL RECIDIVISM MEASURES

REINCARCERATED	NOT REINCARCERATED
21.4%	78.7%
RECONVICTED	NOT RECONVICTED
29.3%	70.7%
RECONTACTED	NOT RECONTACTED
39.1%	60.9%

Recidivism, Additional Information

Recidivism information was also measured for periods of greater than one year, for the residents who were released in 1976, 1977, and 1978. Residents' criminal records

were examined for periods of up to four years after their release from custody. Residents released in 1976 were subjected to a 4 year follow-up; residents released in 1977 were subjected to a 3 year follow-up; and residents released in 1978 were subjected to a 2 year follow-up period.

Additionally, recidivism information for 1976 and 1977 residents was combined, for a total of 77 residents whose files were examined for a 3 year follow-up. The combined recidivism information for 1976, 1977, and 1978, permitted the examination of 133 resident records for a 2 year follow-up period.

TABLE 54

RECIDIVISM BY LENGTH
OF FOLLOW-UP PERIOD

N;R%	% RECIDIVISTS	% RECIDIVISTS		TOTAL
1.	19 67.9%	9 32.1%	28	4 Year Follow-Up
	45 58.4%	32 41.6%	7	3 Year Follow-Up
	80 60.1%	53 39.9%	133	2 Year Follow-Up
	84 39.1%	131 60.9%	215	l Year Follow-Up
	228 50.3%	225 49.6%	453	
CHI-S	Q = 21.503	SIG. =	. 0 0,0	DF = 3

TABLE 55

RECIDIVISM (AS MEASURED BY RECONVICTION)
BY LENGTH OF FOLLOW-UP PERIOD

N;R%	RECIDIVISTS	NON- RECIDIVISTS		TOTAL
1.	18 64.3%	10 35.7%	28	4 Year Follow-Up
	38 49.4%	39 50.6ફ	ח	3 Year Follow-Up
	64 48.1%	69 51.9%	133	2 Year Follow-Up
	63	152	215	l Year Follow-Up
	183 40.4%	270 59.6%	453	
CHI-S	Q = 23.489	SIG. =	.000	DF = 3.

Tables 54 and 55 present the data for Recidivism—as measured by the "all or none" criteria—by the length of follow—up period, as well as recidivism measured by reconviction rates. In both instances a significant chi-square score is obtained. The increased length of follow—up period dramatically demonstrates the incidence of recidivism over time. The longer the follow—up period, the greater the rate of recidivism.

Types of Offence

Table 56 summarizes information pertaining to the types of offences committed by Kairos residents, prior to the current offence; pertaining to the current offence; and

subsequent to the current offence. The various offences have been collapsed into five offence categories: offences against property; persons; driving-related offences; drug offences; and other.

TABLE 56

OFFENCE CATEGORIES BY PRIOR,
CURRENT AND SUBSEQUENT CRIMINALITY

	PRIOR	CURRENT	SUBSEQUENT	ALL
PROPERTY	41.4	43.3	36.9	40.5
PERSONS	13.5	16.7	12.0	14.1
DRIVING	8.5	14.4	13.0	11.9
DRUGS	10.8	13.5	21.6	18.2
OTHER	.25.8.	12.1	16.5	18.2

Property offences included such offences as "breaking and entering", theft and willful damage. Offences
against persons ranged from common and bodily assault,
conspiring to murder, to choking and rape. Driving-related
offences included offences under the Motor Vehicle Act, as
well as offences under the Liquor Control Act, which
involved the operation of a motor vehicle, for example:
driving over 80 and refusing a breathalizer test. Drug
offences ranged from possession to trafficking and importing
narcotics. Other offences included: Violations of

Municipal By-Laws, Causing a Disturbance, and Public Mischief.

Sub-Population Recidivism Measures

The outcomes of correctional program participants vary with the social history characteristics of the individuals involved. Sub-populations are identified and defined according to the characteristics which program participants possess. The measures may vary greatly, and significant differences lead researchers to insights in the design of treatment programs, and the selection of appropriate participants.

The non-recidivism rate obtained by the population under examination equalled 60.9%; Table 57 presents the significantly different rates obtained by the various subpopulations. Program related variables, in this list, include: Reason for T. A. P. Being Revoked; T. A. P. Temporarily Revoked; and Program Completion. Those residents who either had their T. A. P.'s revoked for the use of drugs, alcohol, behaviour problems, and escaped; or, had their T. A. P.'s temporarily revoked (usually for the same reasons as having the T. A. P. revoked), were recidivists at a rate which was significantly greater than the population mean. Additionally, those residents who "completed" the Kairos program, recidivated at a rate which was significantly less.

TABLE 57

SUB-POPULATION MEANS
COMPARED WITH POPULATION MEAN (60.9%)

VARIABLE	SUB-POPULATION	N	% NON- RECIDIVISTS	t
Race	Native Residents	39	33.3	-3.53, p. / .0005
	White Residents	176	67.0	1.69, p. / .05
Age	Sixteen & Seventeen		35.1	-3.20, p. / .005
No Previous Convictions	Ages Sixteen & Seventeen	28	39.3	-2.27, p. / .025
Marital Status	Ever Married	78	71.8	2.137, p. / .05
Occupation	Craftsman/ Personal Services		87.5	4.433, p. / .0005
Previous Incarcera- tions	Previous Incarcerations		51.6	-1.788 p. / .05
	No Previous Incarcerations	122	68.1	1.71, p. / .05
Previous Convictions	Previous Convictions	128	50.8	-2.95, p. / .005
	No Previous Convictions	87	75.9	3.26, p. / .005
Reason For T. A. P. Revoked	Drugs, Alcohol, Behaviour	52	48.1	-1.828, p. / .05
	Drugs, Alcohol, Behaviour, Escape	65	46.2	-2.370, p. / .025
T. A. P. Temporarily				
Revoked	Revoked	14	35.7	-1.826, p. / .05
Program Completion	Completed	137	67.2	1.575, p. / .05
	Not Completed	78	50.0	-1.826, p. / .05

The remaining variables listed represent social history and demographic characteristics which have been referred to as "stable predictors of recidivism" (Pritchard: 1979).

Relative Strengths of Social History Characteristics as Predictors of Recidivism

One way in which to obtain some indication of the relative strength of social history characteristics as predictors of recidivism, is to examine the various variables in light of their level of association with the outcome measure (Table 58). Accordingly, Race, Previous Convictions, Occupation, Age, Program Completion, Previous Incarcerations, and Marital Status, all achieved significant chi-square association scores with the outcome measure.

There were three additional variables, which did not achieve significant scores, and are normally expected to to be good predictors of recidivism. Alcohol Use in particular is of interest because an association of Recidivism by Race, controlling for Heavy Drinkers, yields a chi-square association score significant at the .014 level. The information in Table 35 (page) clearly suggests that Alcohol Use is one predictor of recidivism where Native residents are concerned.

TABLE 58

RESIDENTS CHARACTERIZED
BY CHI-SQUARE ASSOCIATION
SCORE WITH THE OUTCOME VARIABLE

VARIABLE	x ² ASSOCIATION SCORE (RECIDIVISM BY VARIABLE)		
Race	.000		
Previous Convictions	.000		
Occupation	.002		
Age	.004		
Program Completion	.013		
Previous Incarcerations	.016		
Marital Status	.017		
Alcohol Use	.299		
Length of Residence Stay	. 456		
Grade-Level Last Attended	.685		

Hypothesis 1

In 1976, the Kairos program would be described as small; there were a total of 28 residents released from custody in 1976. The average occupancy rate for the year was 8.7 residents.* There were four full-time treatment staff (including the director), all of whom resided at

^{*}Information concerning the two hypotheses, came from records, statistics, and information compiled by Kairos staff during the 4-year period of study.

Kairos. During the first year of operation all of the staff were involved in the counselling of residents; since the director's duties were not so demanding as to preclude involvement with the counselling and treatment work.

Therefore, the ratio of treatment staff to residents was about 1:2. Three of the treatment staff were females and one was male.

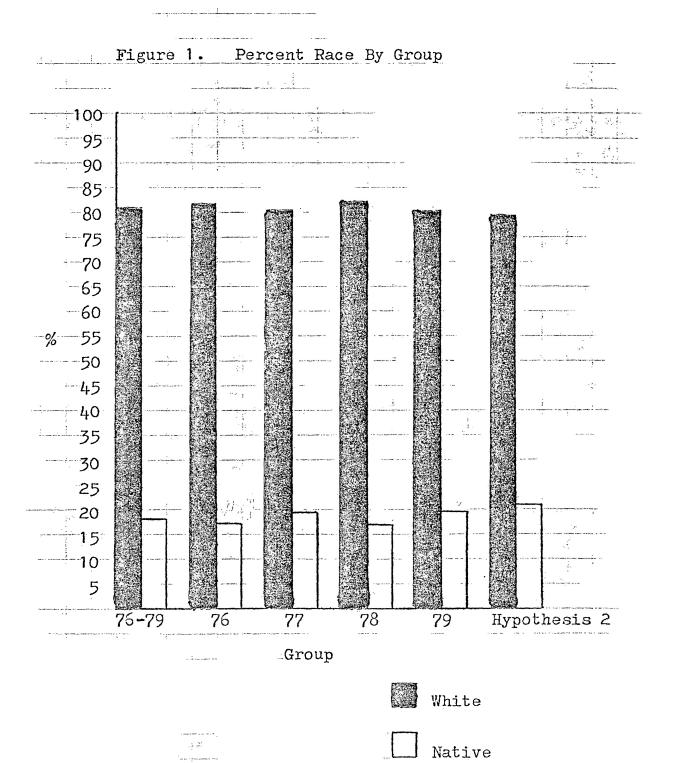
In contrast to the above situation there were 82 residents released from custody in 1979, and the average occupancy rate was 14.6 residents. There were two full-time treatment staff--one which lived at Kairos, and one that did not. The ratio of treatment staff to residents was about 1:7. The treatment staff in 1979 were both male.

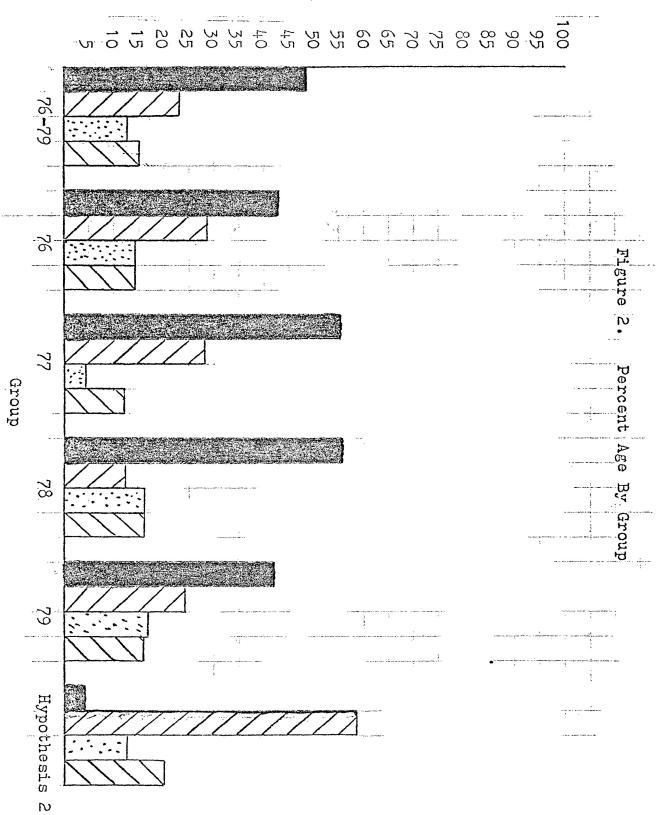
In comparison to the Kairos program of 1976, the Kairos program in 1979 was considerably larger, and so was the client/counsellor caseload. Hypothesis 1 states that:

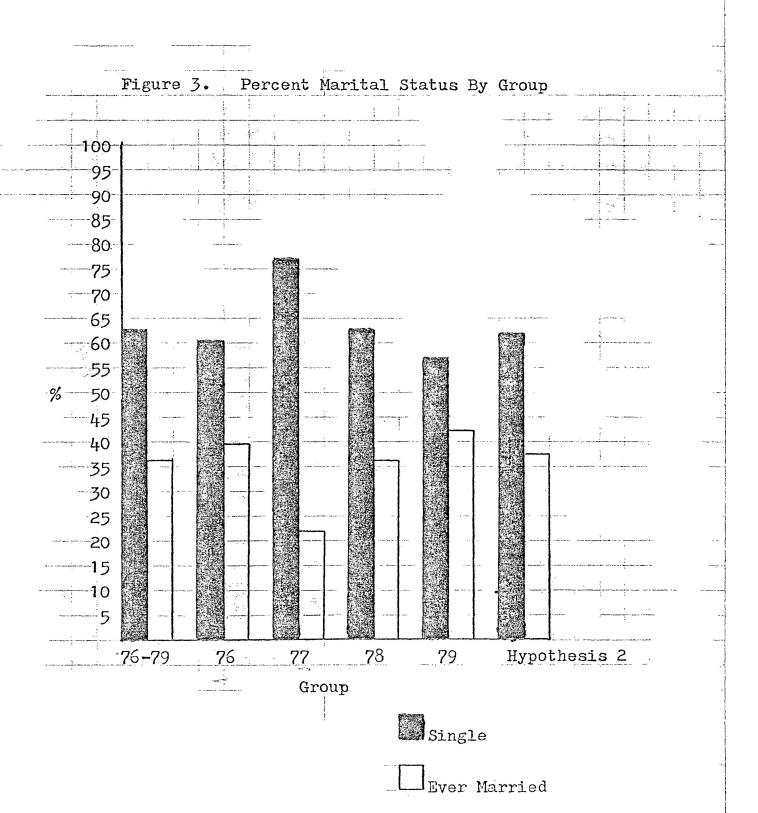
Smaller counsellor caseloads contribute to lower recidivism rates.

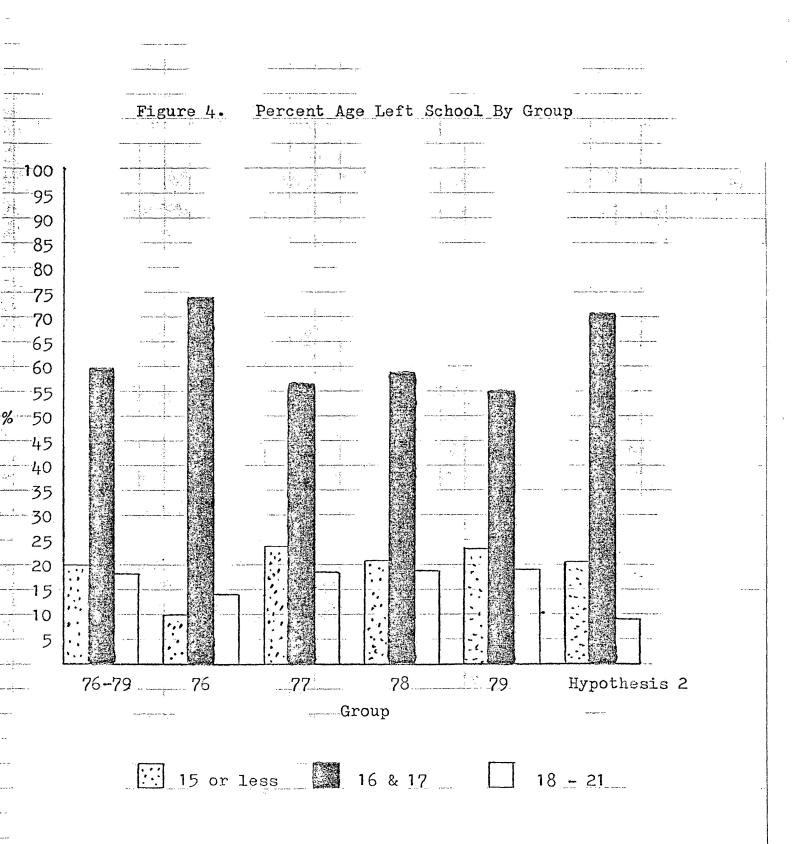
Subsequently, it can be seen that counsellor caseloads were considerably smaller in 1976.

The two groups are readily comparable on several key variables (see Figures 1-10, pages 87-96), most notably: percent racial composition; age distribution; single and married residents; percentage of labourers; percentage of craftsmen and personal service occupations; and previous criminality, as measured by previous incarcerations and









78

Group

79

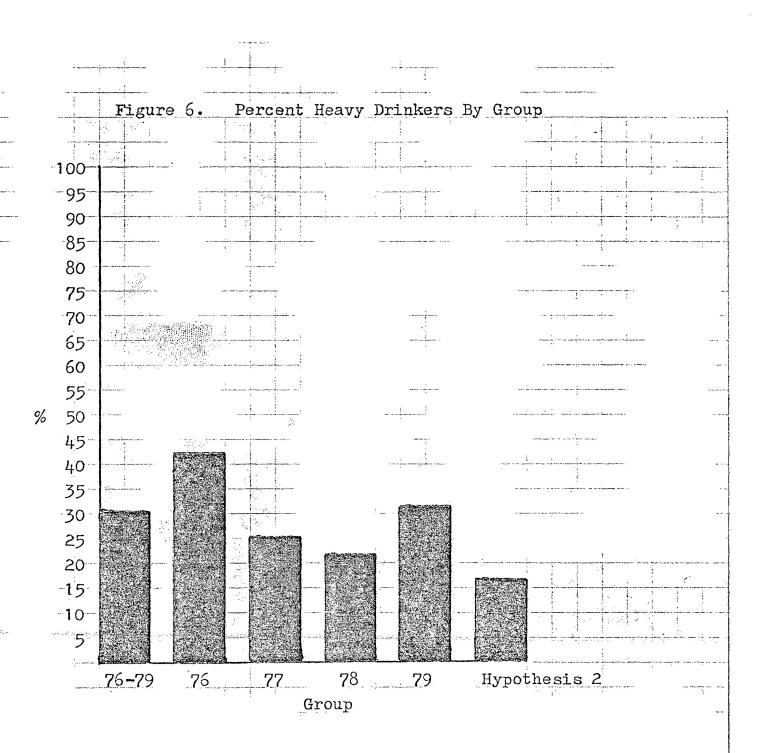
Hypothesis 2

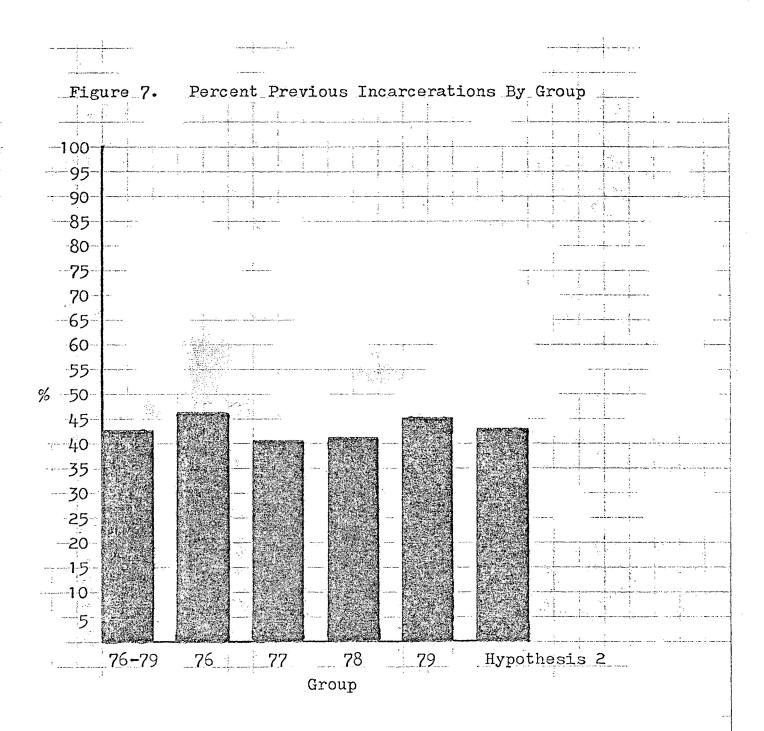
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76-79

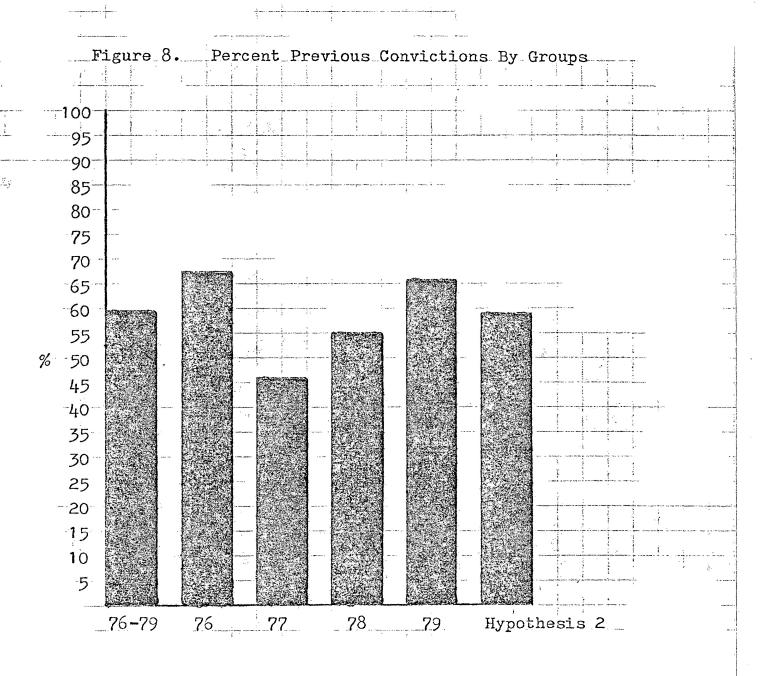
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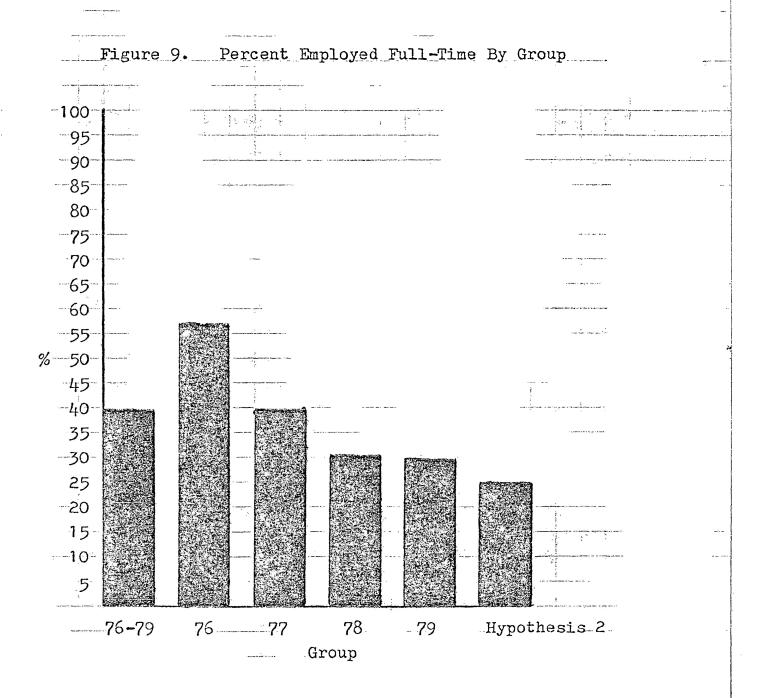
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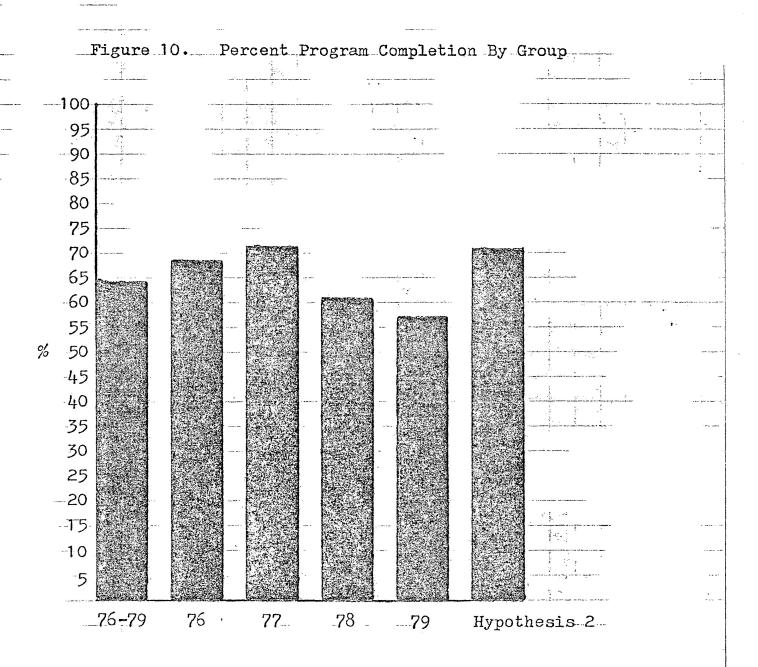




41-3







convictions. Differences which do occur, tend to favour the 1976 group—in terms of predicting successful outcomes—by three to one. The 1976 group has a slightly higher percentage of heavy drinkers, but has a greater percentage of program completers; percent employed full—time; and less residents who left school by age 15 or less.

On the basis of an "all or none" criteria, the two sub-population means for 1976 and 1979 (Table 47, page 76) did not achieve significant test scores (t = .793, N. S.; t = 1.37, N. S., respectively). From a purely descriptive basis, the 53.6% non-recidivism mean for 1976, and the 68.3% non-recidivism mean for 1979, represent a 14.7% difference in the direction which is opposite that hypothesized. At this point it would be convenient to accept the hypothesis and conclude that: for the Kairos sample, counsellor caseloads did not affect recidivism rates. But, when reconviction is used as the measure of recidivism, significant results were obtained.

Table 48 outlines the recidivism rates based upon reconviction for the years 1976 and 1979. The population mean for non-recidivism is 70.7%, and the non-recidivism mean for 1976 is 53.6%—identical to the mean calculated on the basis of Recontact as a recidivism; this means that all of the 1976 recidivists were reconvicted, and that not one 1976 recidivist had a recontact, only, appear on his record. The 1979 non-recidivism mean, however, jumps to 80.4% from

68.3% on the basis of reconviction data. Both subpopulation means now score significantly when tested against
the population mean. The non-recidivism value for 1976 is
now 26.8% below the same value for 1979.

It must still be concluded that counsellor caseload size does not have an impact upon recidivism rates; but the significant results which occurred in a direction opposite that which was hypothesized—especially in light of the two groups' comparability—begs further explanation, which will be taken up in the Discussion Chapter.

Hypothesis 2

During a period from May to August, 1978, there was a considerable amount of staff disruption, which occurred due to the resignation of two long-standing employees; the short-term duration of one new employee; the hiring of two new staff; and the transfer of caseload responsibilities to a part-time employee who assumed a full-time position. And the handling of several cases by the director, who, by 1979, had relinquished caseload responsibilities to the pursuit of managerial concerns. Hypothesis 2 states that:

Broken and interrupted counsellor/client relationships result in higher recidivism rates.

During this four-month period, a total of 22 residents were significantly affected, and as a result they were counselled by two or more treatment staff. The affected residents were non-recidivists at a rate of 50%, or at a

rate which was 10.9% less than the population mean of 60.9%. In this instance, the difference between the sub-population mean and the population mean was not significant (t = .973, N. S.). Additionally, when reconviction is used as the recidivism measure, non-recidivism increases to 59% as compared to a 70.7% population mean, but this difference is not significant either (t = 1.073, N. S.).

Summary

There were 18.1% Native residents, in the period under examination, and 81.9% White residents. Almost fifty percent of the 216 Kairos residents were twenty years old, or younger; and slightly more than 63% of the residents that were single. Forty percent of the subjects had a grade nine education or less, and nearly 83% had a grade 11 education or less. Fifty-nine percent of the subjects had left school by the age of 17. Fully three-quarters of Kairos residents indicated that their occupation was "unskilled labouring." Moderate drinkers were recorded at 58% of the total and heavy drinkers comprised 30% of the total. The overwhelming majority of study subjects were Ontario residents (96.3%). Over one-half of the Kairos residents had no previous incarcerations (56.7%), and 87 of the 215 residents had no previous convictions (40.5%). Successful completion of the program--that is, remaining in the program until the resident's sentence was satisfied or

of all program participants. Three-quarters of the Kairos residents remained in residence for 90 days or less (66.26 mean days). Unemployed or unoccupied residents totalled 15.8% of the total, all the remaining residents were at least partially occupied with employment, education, or a combination of the two.

Significant chi-square associations were achieved when the outcome variable of recidivism was associated with many of the variables examined in the present study. Chiefly, recidivism when associated with race indicated that Native residents recidivated at a much greater rate than White residents (66.7% VS 33.0%). There were several other variables which were also significantly associated with race, indicating that Native residents were heavy drinkers; less well-educated; had a greater number of previous convictions and incarcerations than did the White residents of Kairos.

Further chi-square associations revealed that offenders of a younger age were more highly associated with higher recidivism rates both for the entire sample and when selecting for those residents with no previous convictions; that single residents were more highly associated with recidivism outcomes; as well as residents who reported their occupation as unskilled labourers; those who had previous incarcerations; no previous convictions; residents who

failed to complete their stay at Kairos due to the use of drugs, alcohol, bad behaviour or escaped; and all residents who failed to successfully complete the Kairos program.

A recidivism outcome index was employed, breakingup recidivism information into five categories. From an
"all or none" perspective, it was determined that 60.9% of
the Kairos residents had no recorded illegal activities in
a one-year period following release. By collapsing three
of the remaining four categories into one category entitled
"reconviction", and by adding those recontacts to the list
of no illegal activities recorded, it was determined that
70.7% of the Kairos residents had no reconviction in a oneyear period following their release. Additional recidivism
information—for various sized groups—beyond a one-year
follow—up period showed a relationship between the length
of the follow—up period and increased recidivism.

The greatest percentage of current offences, prior offences, and subsequent offences, were for offences against property. With prior, current and subsequent offences combined, offences against persons and drug-related offences were almost equal (14.1% VS 15.3%), followed by driving offences which comprised 11.9% of the total, other offence categories totaled 18.2% of the offences committed.

A comparison of the various sub-population means with the population non-recidivism mean has revealed which

sub-population groups were non-recidivists at a rate which was--either positively or negatively--significantly different than the population mean (see Table 57).

Additionally, chi-square association scores for the various variables associated with the outcome measure were ranked according to the strength of their association with the outcome variable. This was done in an effort to determine --in an approximate fashion--the relative strength of the variables as predictors of recidivism.

From the testing of Hypothesis 1, it was concluded that—smaller counsellor caseloads did not contribute to lower recidivism rates, in fact—depending upon which measure of recidivism was used—results achieved suggest that increased counsellor caseloads contribute to lower recidivism rates (alternate explanations for these findings are examined in the Discussion Chapter).

The testing of Hypothesis 2 indicated that staff changeover—although it may have resulted in breaking and interrupting client/counsellor relationships—did not significantly increase the rate of recidivism. But the result obtained did occur in the direction which was hypothesized; that is, resident recidivism rates were higher, but not enough to achieve a score which was significantly different from the population mean.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

One aspect of residential treatment programs, so far not discussed, is the development or "evolution" of such organizations over a period of time. Since the present study examined the outcomes of Kairos program participants over a four year period; and since the results for the testing of Hypotheses obtained measures in the direction opposite of that hypothesized, it might be possible to explore these results in terms of organizational change, program development and structure.

Aspects of Programs Change: Program Evolution

When Kairos Community Resource Centre opened its door for the first residents in January, 1976, it was a new community agency. As a new agency, its ties with other community resources were, of necessity, negligible.

According to Wallace Mandell (1971:281), "Correctional systems are in great need of cooperation from other health and welfare agencies in order to achieve their goals of rehabilitation and reduction of recidivism."

Similarly, Terryberry (1968:590) has noted in a paper entitled "The Evolution of Organizational

Environments" that the interdependence of organizations is an important aspect of organizational evolution. Kairos, as a "Community Resource Centre," implies by its name, two things:

- (1) that as an agency, it can direct its residents to--and it can utilize--a broad range of community resources in the rehabilitation process; and,
- (2) that Kairos itself is a resource for the community to utilize.

Developing Interorganizational Familiarity

In its initial year, Kairos staff were busy establishing Kairos as an agency which would be making referrals of its residents to other agencies. Initially, interorganizational familiarity was low and in some cases inappropriate referrals would be made; which would inhibit the development of interorganizational familiarity.

There was a vast array of community resources available to Kairos program staff; a few resources available would have been the: Canada Employment Centre; Community College; Alcoholism and Drugs Dependency Programs (of which there are two operating in Thunder Bay); Basic Job Readiness Training Program; Work Activities Program; Alcoholics Anonymous; Family and Credit Counselling Service; Secondary

Schools; Doctors; Volunteer Bureau; John Howard Society; Municipal Social Services; and many more.

The effective utilization of all these community resources would have been hindered, initially, due to a lack of knowledge on the part of program staff. Knowledge of the existence of available, appropriate resources would have been lacking, as well as a lack of knowledge on the part of community agencies with respect to the existence of Kairos.

This type of "mobilization" of community resources has been termed "community services management" by Vernon Fox (1977:99), and in this context, program treatment staff become "community service agents" through making referrals, or creating "linkages", by actually taking individual residents to these other agencies for the first interview (Fox; 1977:122).

Over a period of time Kairos also developed as a resource available to the community, and this served to heighten the public's awareness of the existence of Kairos. Contacts were developed with volunteer organizations, and Kairos residents were often called upon to assist in worth-while community projects, as well as the referral of volunteers, to assist staff, from the volunteer bureau. Additionally, employers became aware of Kairos as a resource for readily available labour--on a full or part-time basis--

and eventually many employers would consistently call to see if residents needed work--often on short notice.

An example of the type of cooperation required with community resources was the development of, and necessity for, a close working relationship with a local bank.

Residents' financial matters were closely monitored, and without the cooperation of bank personnel, the supervision of residents' finances would have been extremely difficult. Such cooperation had to be solicited through face-to-face contacts with bank personnel, Kairos treatment staff, and residents; as well as explanations of Kairos responsibilities and goals. The development of such interorganizational familiarity could only occur over a period of time.

Physical Environment

The structure, organization, and social climate of institutions has long been recognized as having impact upon the behaviour of offenders and treatment staff alike (Cressey, 1959; Goffman, 1961; Street, Vinter, and Perrow, 1966, Moos, 1965). Aside from the introduction of a new agency in the community and the development of interorganizational structure and social environment (Andrews and Kiessling, 1980:443; Rachin, 1976:577-578), Richard Rachin has noted that such considerations as space requirements, which include the number of residents to a room, lounging areas, storage areas, meeting areas, and private office

space--are all important considerations in the structure of physical environments for community correctional treatment programs.

Therefore, it is interesting to note that the Kairos residence, in its initial stages, was undergoing considerable physical changes. The physical structure was almost completely gutted from the inside and rebuilt, and the reconstruction work was -- to a large extent -- performed by residents. By 1979, the Kairos residence had been completely refurbished; this included: staff living quarters; six bedrooms (for 15 residents, up to a maximum of 18); three bathrooms; three offices for counselling purposes; secretarial area and file storage; large living/ meeting room; kitchen; two dining areas; storage facilities; two laundry areas; cold storage walk-in fridge; weight-room, with lockers and an adjacent sauna and shower; fully stocked arts and crafts centre; chapel; and a recreation/lounge area. The physical facilities of Kairos in 1979 were considerably improved over the minimal facilities present in 1976.

Program Climates and Their Evolution

The social environments of community correctional programs can change, over time, due to changes in managerial strategies. David Duffee has noted that the "... internal organizational situation is the social interaction among

all organizational participants as they are affected by managerial strategies." Kevin Wright (1977) has argued "that organizational approach" has an impact upon "correctional effectiveness" vis-à-vis recidivism. In this instance managerial strategies reflect styles in the implementation of correctional policy, and can have significant impact upon the social climate of a correctional treatment program; and subsequently may affect the outcomes of program participants. There is little question that the managerial style--in the implementation of correctional policy--at Kairos, changed significantly between 1976 and 1979. Kairos residents came to Kairos under the terms of a Temporary Absence Pass (T. A. P.).* The conditions of the T. A. P. constituted the basis for the correctional policy of the C. R. C. The administration of these terms, or the style of management, may be seen to vary considerably.** This may occur when program directors are changed; or, it may occur as a result of evolutionary changes over extended periods of time.

Charles Perrow (1967:195) refers to people, in a setting such as Kairos, as "raw materials." •Kairos should

^{*}See Appendix "C".

^{**}Kairos recently underwent a change of directors. In recent discussion with the new director (June, 1982), the present researcher learned that the new director had revoked twice as many T. A. P.'s in his first six months of administration as the preceding director had revoked the previous year.

be seen as combining elements of "people-changing and people-processing" organizations. Perrow et al. (1966:3), define people-changing organizations as organizations that work "not only with or through people but also on them."

And, according to Hasenfeld (1972:257), people-processing organizations should be viewed as organizations whose major "product" is "people with changed status and locations in various community systems."

In the initial stages, Kairos possessed the characteristics of a people-changing organization to a greater extent than it did in 1979; although Duffee et al. (1980: 152), point out that "halfway house centers, work release centers, and other partial confinement options have both referral/acceptance functions as well as supervision functions." Kairos's emphasis as a people-changing organization, in its initial operation, would have been partly due to its lack of referral ability because of lower interorganizational familiarity, and partly due to the "perceived" nature of its raw material.

Perrow has explained that:

"Organizations uniformly seek to standardize their raw material in order to minimize exceptional situations. This is the point of de-individualization processes found in military academies, monasteries and prisons..." (Perrow, 1967:197).

Initially, Kairos residents—as raw material—were perceived in a "stable" and "uniform" manner. This meant that correctional policy—which in this instance is reflected in

the residents' responsibility to uphold the terms of their T. A. P.--was observed rather strictly. Residents who contravened the orders of their T. A. P., and/or the house rules, were dealt with in a uniform fashion. Major infractions such as drinking, illicit use of drugs, severe behaviour problems, and quitting a job, resulted in the revokation of the T. A. P. and the resident was returned to the correctional centre.

The above situation occurred for a variety of reasons:

- (1) In 1976, Kairos staff were new to the job-they, in effect, learned how to be counsellors while on the job. During these initial stages, while various aspects of the Kairos program were evolving, the jobs of the staff were simplified by this stricter "blanket" approach to serious infractions;
- (2) Initially, Kairos staff were concerned with doing what was "right", and they did not want to make any "bad" decisions, with possible consequences reflecting poorly on the Kairos program;
- (3) There were other pressing considerations,
 which initially detracted from the development
 of programs and counselling concerns: house
 reconstruction consumed considerable time, and

utilized staffs' and residents' energies to a great degree.

Charles Perrow (1967:198) has referred to the "degree of discretion" which organizational groups, or, individuals in groups possess in carrying out tasks, "and the power of an individual or group to mobilize scarce resources and to control definitions of various situations, such as the definition of the nature of the raw material". As the novelty of dealing with infractions gave way to the almost daily routine of handling such occurrences, and as other considerations—such as house reconstruction—disappeared, Kairos staff began to take situations and judge them more on an individual basis. This resulted in the perception of raw material to alter and become more "non-uniform".

In essence, managerial style changed and correctional policy—although still of extreme importance—was now tempered by the evolving discretionary powers of the staff. One thing noted by Kairos staff was the recognition of cycles in the implementation of correctional policy. Stricter enforcement of correctional policy would occur at times when staff perceptions changed, due to seemingly inordinate amounts of bad behaviour and infractions of house rules. Accordingly, when staff perceptions were favourable and a "good feeling" pervaded, discretionary powers increased. These cycles were likened to the swings

of a pendulum; although it has been acknowledged that strict and uniform perceptions were never again quite as acute as in the first year of operation.

Of course, residents' perceptions of the situations and influence of managerial style would have an effect upon the social climate of the C. R. C. Wink and Moos (1972: 134-135) have observed that the behaviour of inmates is a:

"joint function of both personality factors of the individuals and their interactions with the environment. The quality of institutional life is determined by both the attributes of the people and the attributes of the environment and the resulting interactions."

The present researcher would like to suggest that residents' perceptions of the Kairos environment would have indicated that the 1976 environment was more punitive than the 1979 environment; and that further study of organizational approach and its consequences for correctional effectiveness would be useful to operators of community-based correctional treatment programs.

Treatment in Community Correctional Programs

The Task Force on Community-Based Residential Centers (Outerbridge, 1973:16), has criticized residential programs, such as Kairos, for lack of depth in their treatment programs. The Task Force has noted that "after sitting in some of these 'therapy' or 'group' sessions, we concluded that the 'depth' of the counselling was not as great as we have been lead to believe." When discussing

the evolutionary aspects of C. R. C.'s, the present researcher cannot help but wonder how these programs may have evolved since the time of the Task Force.

Initially, similar criticisms might have been made concerning the Kairos program. When a community treatment program comes into existence, the type of treatment programs which are likely to evolve will reflect the management style of the director and staff. Residential treatment programs —which would have still been relatively new in 1973—require time to develop treatment styles through experimentation, trial and error. Development of treatment programs may also be linked to the availability of community resources; and, as we have seen, this aspect of program development is subject to evolutionary processes as well.

As a "treatment" program, Kairos underwent considerable change over a four-year period of time. Initially, a relative paucity of programs was evident; but, always at the core of Kairos treatment approach was a regular, weekly, one-on-one counselling session for the resident with his counsellor. The counselling technique employed was at the discretion of the counsellor. Throughout the four-year period under examination, there was always at least one trained counsellor (B. S. W.) among the treatment staff.

By 1979, the Kairos treatment program included--in addition to one-on-one counselling--a weekly alcohol and drug rehabilitation program; a weekly group counselling

session; once weekly "in-night" activities, supplemented by the involvement of community volunteers such as teachers to assist residents in up-grading their reading and writing skills, etc., and volunteer program involvement for Kairos residents.

Outerbridge's comments were made at a time which was relatively early in the evolution of the community-based corrections movement. For example, since 1973,, the Ministry of Correctional Services in Ontario has privately contracted the services of approximately thirty such community-based correctional programs. During this time, the Ministry facilitated the development of an association for its communitybased programs.* This association has allowed the various program directors to meet on a regular basis in order to exchange ideas among themselves, as well as with Ministry officials. As a result, program directors and program staff, have received "in-service" training programs, designed to address the specific problems and needs of community-based treatment programs. Additionally, guidelines and standards for C. R. C.'s have been developed and implemented, along with periodic assessment by Ministry officials. Such evolutionary developments in communitybased treatment programs continue to occur.

^{*}The Ontario Association of Community Resource Centres, formed in 1978.

Further to the above developments, there was a considerable amount of change which occurred due to the evolution of structures, rules and regulations, as well as duties of staff and residents. This was evident when, with the participation of all staff persons, a simply worded, 80-page orientation manual was written for the use of residents, as well as staff.* For example, residents were permitted to have passes to go into the community. These pass privileges were granted through the implementation of the "pass-system," and as such, residents progressed through the various "levels." This pass system evolved over the four-year period being examined.

Finally, all of the staff persons who came to work at Kairos, subsequent to the initial staff, benefited from an extensive orientation period. Usually, there was an overlap, where new staff were hired and could work alongside experienced staff. The Director of the Kairos program was the same person throughout the period under examination; and her presence contributed to a sense of continuity during the period of staff changes; and to the training of new staff persons. This period of orientation, for new staff, and the continuity of the director, may have contributed to the evolution of a more efficient program staff.

^{*}See Appendix D for an example of the pass system.

Therefore, it might tentatively be concluded that
the evolution of the Kairos program, over its first four
years of operation, may have contributed to the significant
increase of non-recidivism for program participants of 1979,
as opposed to the program participants of 1976. More
longitudinal studies may reveal similar interesting results.
Evolutionary aspects of community-based treatment programs
have largely been ignored and further in-depth analysis is
required to determine if other community programs have
achieved similar results over a period of time. Careful
record-keeping and long-term analysis may provide vital
clues for the improvement of community-based correctional
treatment programs.

Native Residents

The approach to the problems, and treatment of Native Indian offenders has been characterized as one of "benign neglect" (Hagan, 197:220). Verdun-Jones and Muirhead have noted that:

Canadian Criminologists have manifested a marked reluctance even to synthesize the results of the studies which have researched certain limited aspects of the relationship between natives and the criminal justice system. More significantly, there have been practically no attempts whatsoever to explain native criminality within a coherent theoretical framework.

Native involvement with the criminal justice system has been maintained at a rate which is well above their corresponding representation in the population as a whole.

This has been shown to be true for the federal correctional system (Rahen, 1977) and the provincial correctional systems of Ontario (Irvine, 1978); Manitoba (McCaskill, 1970); Saskatchewan (Hylton, 1981); Alberta (Kirby, 1978); and British Columbia (Hartman, 1976). This is also true of Northwestern Ontario. The present researcher had been promised a break-down of the percentage of Native offenders in the Thunder Bay Correctional Centre and the Thunder Bay District Jail, for the period under study, by the Ministry of Correctional Services, Ontario, Research Branch; but, unfortunately this information was never forthcoming. It has been communicated to this researcher that the Native population of the Thunder Bay Correctional Centre could, at times, exceed 50% of the total inmate population.* This corresponds, roughly, to the figure reported by Hylton, who concludes that "... Native people make up only about ten percent of the Saskatchewan population, they traditionally have made up over half the population in the provincial correctional institutions" (Hylton, 1981:69).

Native Kairos residents comprised about 17% of the total Kairos population, and so it is easy to see that Native residents were severely under-represented in terms of their institutional representation. One consideration

^{*}Conversations with the former superintendent of the Thunder Bay Correctional Centre, - Howard Roe.

is the existence of a special C. R. C. in Kenora, solely for Native offenders' but this program has not undergone any serious or extensive examination. Regardless, it is doubtful that, wholly, Native community-based correctional programs would yield results which would be a marked improvement over the Kairos program. Hylton (1982:127) has argued that to seriously address the Native issue in corrections, it will be necessary to examine "fundamental social and economic inequities" in Canadian society.

Obviously, a community-based correctional treatment program, such as Kairos, is inadequate in meeting the needs of Native residents, and it is open to debate whether or not wholly Native programs would fare any better; but the efforts, to date, appear to be inadequate. Further study of the effects of community-based treatment for Native offenders should be a primary concern; and, an in-depth examination of Ontario's only Native C. R. C. for males should be undertaken immediately.

Conclusion

Overall, the findings of this study indicate that recidivism levels for Kairos residents are about the same as C. R. C.'s in Ontario, generally (Ardron, 1980:25). The specific results for the year 1979, however, indicate a lower rate of recidivism than recorded by the general

studies of C. R. C. residents in Ontario, as well as other special institutional programs (Ardron, 1980:25).

But, at this point-in time, and on the basis of this particular research--especially when keeping in mind the controversy of the "nothing/something works" debate--it would be impossible to conclude that Kairos has shown a "treatment effect." Indeed, this is beyond the scope, or the purpose, of this study. Further longitudinal studies of community-based correctional programs--especially programs that have demonstrated some continuity in terms of treatment staff; program development (evolution); and management--is warranted. The concern for demonstrating "treatment effects" should give-way to a concern for designing programs which suit the needs of certain "offender types," or groups.

Therefore, in this study, young first offenders
--particularly in the age sixteen to seventeen group-demonstrated a much greater probability of recidivating.
These findings correspond with the research conducted by
Marion Polonosk, who has concluded that "younger offenders
without a prior Ministry record had a greater likelihood of
recidivism after release, as well as a greater rate of
recontact" (Polonosk, 1980:ii). The efficacy of a program
such as Kairos, for younger (16-17 years) and Native
offenders, is very much in question.

The problems of young offenders and Native offenders indicates the need for researchers to focus "more attention to treatment interactions and individual differences" (Haley, 1982:208; Gendreau and Ross, 1979).

Selecting inmates for programs on the basis of social and demographic characteristics—which research has shown to make them more amenable to the type of programs available—is good sense for correctional policy. Research has shown that young offenders are likely to be more chronic offenders than is evident from their adult records

(Polonosk, 1980), and the results of most studies on Native offenders are negative. Additional programs need to be developed which address the needs of these and other specific groups.

Community-based correctional treatment programs are still relatively new, they hold out the promise of a more humane way of dealing with offenders, as well as reducing recidivism. To date, a reduction in recidivism has not really been adequately demonstrated; but, as community-based programs evolve and diversify, in an effort to meet the specific needs of offender types, then more promising results may be achieved.

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APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION FORM

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APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

PASS LEVEL SYSTEM

PASSES

Pass Book

You must remember that you are still serving a term of imprisonment, but that you have been allowed to serve that sentence on Temporary Absence. That Temporary Absence was authorized for you to reside at Kairos CRC. The staff at Kairos do have the authority to further allow you to leave Kairos for specific periods of time, to go to specific destinations.

To avoid confusion between residents and staff and to uphold Kairos' and your legal obligations to the Correctional Centre, Kairos must know exactly where you are at all times. To accomplish that, you must sign a Pass Book every time you leave Kairos. The Pass Book will contain a "Record of Work/School Passes" form and a "Record of Leisure Passes" form for each individual resident. Further specific instructions on the use of each of those two pass form are following.

Record of Work/School Passes

A copy of a blank "Record of Work/School Passes" form is attached. Please review it carefully.

This particular pass form is to be used searching for a job and when going to and from work or school ONLY. All sections are to be completed fully at the time you leave—it is NOT to be completed a day or days ahead of time.

Further explanations of the headings on the "Record of Work/School Passes" form are:

- "Day & Date": Write for example Fri 8th and not Oct 8. The month and year is already indicated at the top of the form when starting a new form.
- "Address": Write the full name and address of the company who employs you or the full name and address of the school that you attend. Ditto marks are acceptable provided the information you are dittoing does not change.
- "Phone \$\vec{\psi}": Write the phone number where you can be reached while at work or school.
- "Contact Person": Write the full name (first and last) of the person who we can contact if we need to get in contact with you. In most cases this will be your immediate supervisor or course instructor.
- "Time Out": Write the exact time that you leave Kairos for work or school. You are expected to leave Kairos at a time that will allow you enough time to get to work or school on time. This does not mean that you can leave Kairos earlier to go for coffee or visiting. You are expected to go dire thy to work when you leave Kairos.
- "Hours of Work/School": Write you starting time and your quitting time at work or school.
- "To Return By": Write the time that you will return to Kairos after work or school. Again, you are expected to return to Kairos directly from work or school—no going for coffee or visiting, etc.

If you are going to be late returning by this time, or if you have to work overtime, be sure to phone a Kairos staff member (not a resident) so your pass return time can be adjusted.

"Time In": Write the actual exact time that you returned to Kairos.

Blank forms, should your current form become full, are available in the back sections of the Pass Book. Do NOT destroy a Pass form that is filled. The staff will remove it from the Book and file it in your file.

It is not necessary to sign in and out with a staff member on the work/school pass form. You are expected to come and go to work or school on your own. However, occassionally and more often when first admitted, the staff do check to make certain that you are in fact going to work or school when you say you are. Also, the hours of work and overtime columns are used to confirm that you are being paid for the hours you are working.

If you forget to sign out for work or school and then do not phone back to tell the staff that you forgot and you are not in the house, you may be declared Unlawfully At Large because we do not know where you are. However, before declaring you Unlawfully At Large to the Correctional Centre or to the police, we would first check with your employer or school.

Record of Leisure Passes

A copy of a blank "Record of Leisure Passes" form is attached. Please review it carefully.

This particular Pass form is to be used for all other passes from Kairos—termed leisure passes—that are not for work or school. All sections are to be completed fully at the time you leave Kairos and return. Again, it is NOT to be completed ahead of time.

The number of leisure passes allowed in any given week (Monday to Sunday) are determined by a level system and are subject to the guidelines for leisure passes. (The level system and guidelines are explained further on in this mection.)

When you leave Kairos accompanied by a staff member, you are still considered to be on a leisure pass and are therefore still required to sign the Pass Book. However, a leisure pass with a staff member is not subject to the level system.

Further explanations of the headings on the "Record of Leisure Passes" form are:

- "Day & Date": Write for example Fri 8th and not Oct 8. The month and year is always indicated at the top of the form when starting a new form.
- "Address": Write the exact address where you are going. If you do not know the exact street number, find out before you leave.
- "Phone #": Write the phone number where you can be reached at that address.

 Again, if you do not know the phone number, find it out before you leave.
- "Contact Person": Write the full name (first and last) of the person who lives at that address.
- "Time Out": Write the time you leave Kairos to go to that address. You are expected to go directly to that address unless you indicate otherwise on the pass form.
- "Return By": Write the time you will return to Kairos. Again, you are expected

to leave that address and return directly to Kairos by the time that you specified on the pass form. If you are going to be late be sure to phone a staff member (not a resident) of Kairos so your pass return time can be adjusted.

- "Resident Signature": You must sign your name in that column which will be your confirmation to Kairos of your whereabouts during your absence from Kairos.
- "Staff Signature": All leisure passes must be approved by the staff member on duty at the time you are leaving for the leisure pass. You cannot just sign the pass book and leave on a leisure pass. You MUST obtain written approval from the staff member on duty to leave on every leisure pass. That written approval will be the staff member's signature on this leisure pass form.
- "Time In": Write the actual exact time that you returned to Kairos.
- "Staff Signature": You should always sign in from a leisure pass in the presence of a staff member who will in turn also sign the pass book, acknowledging your return. If when you return, you do not see a staff member in the immediate area, look and find the staff—there is always a staff member on duty but they could be busy somewhere else in the house.

Blank forms, should your current form become full, are available in the back sections of the Pass Book. Do NOT destroy a full pass form. The staff will remove it from the book and file it in your file.

You are expected to go directly to the destination you indicated on the pass form, and to directly return to Kairos. Occassionally, and more often when first admitted, the staff do check to make certain that you are where you are suppose to be, as you indicated in the pass book.

Being Unlawfully At Large

Leaving Kairos without staff permission, or failure to sign the Pass Book when you do leave Kairos, may deem you Unlawfully At Large. Also, the "Record of Work/School Passes" and the "Record of Leisure Passes" forms both indicate an exact time that you are to return to Kairos. Failure to return by that time on the pass forms, or failure to phone a Kairos staff member (not another resident) if you will be late, may also deem you Unlawfully At Large.

Failure to go to and be at the destination indicated on those pass forms, or failure to phone a Kairos staff member about a change of destination, may also deem you Unlawfully At Large.

Being Unlawfully At Large is a criminal offence punishable under the provisions of the Criminal Code of Canada and/or under the provisions of the Ministry of Correctional Services Act.

T36

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APPENDIX D

TEMPORARY ABSENCE PASS

19

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19

19

Weekly 1.5 Days Out/

Bal. in Institution

Employment

Recurring

C.R.C

Other

(Explain)

As indicated on Reverse

Vocation

6-15

Industrial

Institution

Vehicle



Institution Phone No.

Temporary Absence Authorization Permit

68295

Period of On

Every

hours

hours

hours

hours

Education

1-5

House of

Concord

bsence

Bus

Absence

From

To

OR

From

To

OR

fourth

first fold

Type(s) of T.A.(s)

Check (X) Box(es)

Interim

Search

Voluntary

Community

Work/Service

Train

Own/Spouse [

urpo es(s) o

Medium of Transportation

Pursuant to the Ministry of Correctional Services Act SO 1978. C37 and Regulations as amended the person named below is authorized to be temporarily absent from the indicated Correctional Institution subject to the conditions hereon and on the

In case of need telephone institution

Institution	Area Code Exchange	Number	Extension
Correctional	Institution		
F.P.S. No.		Da	te of Issue
Issued to			e of Birth— Month Yea

third fold I hereby agree and understand that this permit is only authorized for the specific purpose(s) and location(s) indicated in the type(s) of Temporary Absence(s), Medium and Destination sections of this form. It is granted according to the Ministry's regulations and terms and conditions as recorded herein and within the approved application. Failure to comply may result in suspension of the permit, including court and/or institutional charges and penalties. I understand that if I fail to return as provided, I shall be deemed to be unlawfully at large pursuant to the Criminal Code of Canada. It is further under-stood that if I fail to comply with the terms and conditions without lawful excuse I shall be guilty of an offence pursuant to the Ministry of Correctional Services Act on summary conor

	dition other charge(s)	ot more th	an
NOT VALID AFTER	Inmate's Signature		A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR
	Superintendent		

The bearer of this Permit shall produce this Permit to any peace officer upon demand. Police officers are requested to contact the originating Ministry of Correctional Services Institution if such communications are needed.

Institutional Police Notifications:

mstitutional i once Notifica	Day	Dates Mth.	Yr.	Initials
Telephoned Police at destination			L	
Permit copy sent to Police at destination				
Permit copies (as needed) sent to Police at	,			

Vehicle	Number	
If other/vehicle	owned & supplied by Ont. Licence No.	
Own/Spouse/Ot	er vehicle insured by/Policy No.	
Inmate's Driver' driving a vehicle	Licence No./If terms of absence permits	

Air

7 Licence

T.A. Violation Procedures:

This permit is deemed to be null and void whenever a person is: (a) apprehended and placed under arrest for the alleged commission of a crime against federal law or an offence against provincial law, or

(b) where there is an apparent breach of the Ministry's regulations

or of the terms and conditions recorded.

The Superintendent, or in his absence "his designated representa-tive" or in both their absences "the Senior Officer" may, in the above circumstances, suspend the authorization permit and arrange for or direct the return of the T.A. participant to the Institution:
i. to face further institutional charges, or

consider, having regard to the circumstances and gravity of the offence, whether or not the participant shall be proceeded against under the Criminal Code or pursuant to the Ministry of Correctional Services Act SO 1978, C37.

Normal T.A. Violation Classifications and Implications:

A Withdrawa! normally implies certain mitigating circumstances beyond the participant's control and therefore, more likelihood of

favourable consideration upon re-application.

A Revocation normally follows a finding of guilt after either a further court charge and proceeding or an institutional misconduct charge and proceeding, and therefore implies less likelihood of favourable consideration upon re-application for similar purposes.

Destination & Telephone (name, address, phone no. of school, employer or other sponsor in this residence or T.A. situation).

PARTICIPANT'S COPY

(To be returned to Receiving Officer at conclusion of T.A.)

Temporary Absence Conditions

The Ministry of Correctional Services Act and Regulations apply.

In a participant must notify the institution immediately by telephone if, for any reason, he/she is unable to meet the conditions stipulated in the permit. Failure to do so may result in revocation of the permit, disciplinary action and or further prosecution through the Courts.

Temporary ausence is granted solely for puspose(s) as deared in this authorization.

No agreements and/or contracts shall be entered into without approval of the Superintendent or his designate.

5. All problems not covered by specific instructions shall be reported to the institution and the instructions of the institution personnel shall be followed.

The use or possession of alcohol is forbidden.

The use or possession of drugs is forbidden, unless prescribed by a legally qualified medical practitioner.
Expenses incurred will be met and disbursements will occur

in accordance with the related Temporary Absence Regulations, Terms and Conditions.

 This permit will be given to institution personnel upon return to the institution and will be produced for any peace officer upon demand during the period of this Temporary Absence.

10. The participant is not authorized to drive a motor vehicle

(a) he or she is unable to produce a valid certificate of motor vehicle liability insurance in accordance with the laws of Ontario for coverage against bodily injury and property damage by reason of the operation of a motor eshicle by the participant.

(b) he or she does not possess a personal driver's licence

which is in good standing.
(c) the Deputy Minister or his designate(s) do not authorize the operation of a motor vehicle.

11. I agree and understand that I may be required to submit to a breathalyzer examination and/or urinalysis to assist in any investigation to determine whether or not the terms and conditions of Temporary Absence have been violated.

12. (a) inmates approved for employment T.A.P. will assume responsibility for their own dantal health.

(b) if the inmate is residing in the community in a C.R.C. he will, subject to normal T.A.P. authorization processes, make his/her own appointments with a dentist of his choice in the community and will be responsible for

paying the Dentist the total cost.

(c) if the employment T.A.P. is within a correctional institution and dental services are rendered in the institution, the costs will be charged back to the inmate

earnings or trust fund.

Violation Implications

Failure to return or comply with the terms and conditions prescribed shall mean that the permit is deemed to be null and void, and may result in court and/or institutional charges and penalties. Failure to return as provided may mean that the participant shall be deemed to be unlawfully at large pursuant to the Criminal Code of Canada. It is further understood that failure to comply, without lawful excuse, is an offence pursuant to the Ministry of Correctional Services Act for which, on summary conviction, the participant is liable to imprisonment for one year. In addition, other charges may be

Additional Conditions

The Superintendent shall immediately (and at each stage preregulations by participants. The Superintendent's violation reports shall be promptly forwarded to Main Office files (and the Regional Director and Executive Director/Institution Pro-grams in cases of serious consequence). The Superintendent can immediately suspend and subsequently withdraw or revoke T.A.'s through provisions of the MCS Act and Regulations.

Following any court or institutional proceedings, the Superintendent must report circumstances, dates and findings and his further dispositions, in the matter of a withdrawal or revocation, for the record to Main Office files (and the Regional Director and Executive Director/Institution Programs in cases of serious consequence). A "provisional" withdrawal or revocation may be recorded where the outcome of further court or institutional proceedings are pending

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	Employment L.J			attonal	17
	Other rehabilitative (i.e. The program lias which has undertaken to elegrances and/or prescr	o be in	colved for T.A	V. purposes, c	
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ABSTRACT

The current controversy in the study of correctional treatment programs is the "nothing/something works" debate. Receidivism studies represent the primary mode of correctional treatment program evaluation. These studies usually employ a single measure of recidivism with a single follow-up period of either six months or one year. Most studies include aggregate results of different treatment programs (e.g.: several half-way houses). In depth studies of a particular treatment program employing multiple measures of recidivism and several follow-up periods are rare.

Proponents of the "nothing" or "something" sides of the debate are generally informed by an "all-or-none" point of view, usually ignoring the findings which indicate that certain treatment methods do work better for certain types of offenders.

In this thesis, 215 inmates from a specific residential treatment program, are examined in detail. Several measures of recidivism are examined and residents' post-release performances are examined over varying lengths of time.

The findings of this thesis indicate that there are differential outcomes on the recidivism measures according to the social and demographic characteristics of the program participants. Therefore, the efficacy of a treatment program, such as Kairos Community Resource Centre, can be enhanced by selecting these types of individuals for this specific treatment program.