

# Schooling Over Scolding: A Study of Postsecondary Education's Effect on Offender Correctional Success



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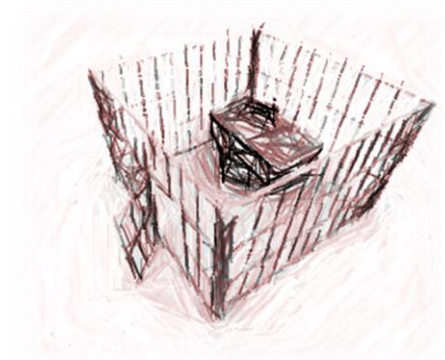
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## Abstract

This paper seeks to determine the treatment effect of offender postsecondary education (PSE) on correctional outcomes. Although there is still debate over whether offender PSE represents a deserved right or a privilege, there is increasing evidence, both domestic and abroad, that supports a positive correlation between offender PSE and an increase in post-release employment rates, correctional success, and overall public safety. This analysis, based on the most recent domestic data available, posits that postsecondary correctional education (PSCE) programs are relevant, effective, and provide a cost-effective correctional opportunity, leading to net financial benefits for Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), the Federal Government, and, by extension, Canadian taxpayers. The state of PSE in correctional institutions, however, has been declining. Growing barriers to access, financing, and student offender support means a reduction in the program's ability to effectively equip offenders for successful reintegrate into society. Moreover, the lack of data reporting mechanisms means the domestic data available is rapidly becoming outdated, posing a challenge to new investments in offender PSE. Therefore, this paper recommends the creation of a pilot PSCE project that could produce new domestic data relevant to the treatment effect of offender PSE on correctional outcomes as well as provide a scalable program that could subsequently be introduced in any correctional institution.

**Keywords:** Postsecondary Education (PSE), Postsecondary Correctional Education (PSCE), Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), corrections vs. punishment, rehabilitation, incarceration rates, recidivism rates, employment rates, correctional outcome, labour market outcome, cost-effectiveness, treatment effect, selection bias



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## List of Acronyms

<b>ABE</b>	Adult Basic Education
<b>CAAT</b>	Canadian Adult Assessment Test
<b>CCRA</b>	Corrections and Conditional Release Act
<b>CCRR</b>	Corrections and Conditional Release Regulations
<b>CD</b>	Commissioner's Directive
<b>CMEC</b>	Council of Ministers of Education, Canada
<b>CP</b>	Correctional Plan
<b>CSC</b>	Correctional Service Canada
<b>CVU</b>	Canadian Virtual University
<b>DOJ</b>	Department of Justice, Canada
<b>ESDC</b>	Employment and Social Development Canada
<b>ESL</b>	English as Second Language
<b>FSL</b>	French as Second Language
<b>G20</b>	Group of 20
<b>GED</b>	General Education Development
<b>IFI</b>	Internet for Inmates
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>OIA</b>	Offender Intake Assessment
<b>OMS</b>	Offender Management System
<b>PSCE</b>	Postsecondary Correctional Education
<b>PEP</b>	Prison Education Program at the University of Victoria and Simon Fraser University
<b>PSC</b>	Public Safety Canada
<b>PSE</b>	Postsecondary Education
<b>SFU</b>	Simon Fraser University
<b>UVic</b>	University of Victoria
<b>VC</b>	Virtual Campus

## 1. Introduction

*“If becoming a criminal is a learning process, the remaking of useful citizens is more the task of education than it is the outcome of custody or punishment.”*

Corcoran, 1985, p. 49

When responding to criminal behaviour, Canada places more importance on corrections, preferring it to punishment. While some scholars argue that the certainty of punishment is the best deterrent to crime, the Canadian correctional system upholds the notion that public safety can be elevated if offenders are given the appropriate tools and opportunities to help them lawfully reintegrate into society. Providing incarcerated offenders with correctional interventions, such as cognitive skills programs, including education, is one way to promote the importance of rehabilitation – a key component of Canada’s correctional strategy.

As part of its correctional programs, Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) offers a variety of education opportunities to all offenders, spanning from basic literacy programs to postsecondary education (PSE). Education in a correctional setting is widely recognized as having positive effects on student offenders’ behaviour while incarcerated and improves their likelihood of successful correctional outcome (CSC, 2015b; Eggleston & Gehring, 1986; Porporino & Robinson, 1992; Fabiano, 1991; Darby, 2009). However, this consensual understanding of the benefits of correctional education does not extend to offender PSE. As a matter of fact, offender PSE remains a contentious policy issue. While its proponents claim it is “cost effective, reduces violence in penal institutions, actualizes human potential, constitutes a deserved human right, and ultimately increases public safety,” its critics claim that offenders do

not deserve such services, as their punishment is effective enough, and deem its related expenditures as unjustified (Thomas & Thomas, 2008, p. 19, 24-26).

Moreover, the Canadian public, which is already critical of the Department of Justice's (DOJ) response to crime, would see more tough-on-crime policies as opposed to greater efforts in providing offender services (Stein, 2001, p. 3). According to the latest DOJ poll (Stein, 2001), two-thirds of Canadians believe federal penitentiaries are "not harsh enough" on offenders in custody (p. 10). This popular dissatisfaction with the correctional system suggests that the Canadian public would most likely disapprove of initiatives seeking to improve PSE in penitentiaries. This stance also assumes that Canadians would lean towards defining PSE as a privilege, rather than a right, of incarcerated individual.

However, since "almost all [incarcerated offenders] ... will eventually be released into the community," it is CSC's duty to ensure that the offenders they release have the best tools and knowledge possible to avoid returning to a life of crime (Griffiths, 2004, p. 2). Considering offender PSE has faced growing barriers to access, financing, and student offender support since the early 1990s, the program's ability to effectively equip offenders with these tools and knowledge is questionable.

To that effect, this research aims to investigate CSC's opportunities for PSE within its penitentiaries and, conversely, determine the service's impact on correctional outcomes (i.e. labour market outcomes, recidivism rates, overall public safety implications, etc.). This paper will argue that, despite the small community of offenders able and eligible to participate in the program, PSE shows a clear and unambiguous correlation between its services and decreased recidivism, higher prospects for employment, increased self-esteem, and improved behaviour

during incarceration. Therefore, it is recommended that CSC's Commissioner, along with local PSE institutions, improve their partnerships in order to reduce barriers to enrolment, provide more funding opportunities to participants, improve access to course material, and provide post-release support.

The following section will be a brief statistical overview of the Canadian prison population. The variables observed will include: incarceration rates, sentence length, traditional metrics (e.g. gender, race, and age), risk and educational assessment of offenders, cost of correctional custody and supervision, prison release data, and recidivism rates. The objective is, on the one hand, to draw an accurate picture of the carceral population currently under custody and provide basic information on CSC concepts and mechanisms. On the other hand, the section will provide the necessary data and measurements to effectively determine the treatment effect of offender PSE on correctional outcomes.

The third section will survey the range of PSE opportunities available to incarcerated offenders. It will then evaluate the performance of PSE services according to an evaluation model developed by CSC to determine the effectiveness of their Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs. The model provides opportunities to investigate offender PSE's (1) relevance in a correctional setting, (2) effectiveness based on post-release outcomes, (3) cost-effectiveness from an institutional perspective, (4) operational efficiency, (5) supporting resources to student offenders, and (6) data reporting mechanisms. Though there is limited information available on offender PSE, this section manages to paint an accurate picture of the state of PSE in Canadian penitentiaries.

Finally, the conclusion will summarize the findings and draw logical next steps to improve the offender PSE offerings in Canadian penitentiaries. While a range of recommendations aimed at facilitating access, financing, and student-offender support will be made, the section will emphasize on the importance of producing a comprehensive dataset allowing for the measurement of offender PSE's treatment effect on correctional outcomes. This research will suggest that the best way to reach this objective is through the creation of a small scale pilot project that enacts synchronised actions on a multiple offender PSE barriers.

## **2. A Survey of the Canadian Prison Population**

This section will serve as an introduction to the Canadian correctional system and its offender population. Before assessing the efficiency and effectiveness of CSC's PSE programs, there is a need to determine the size and constitution of the Canadian prison population and its willingness and ability to pursue PSE while in custody. In addition, certain statistics are required to measure the need and the impact of PSE, such as recidivism, reincarceration, and reconviction rates, as well as incarceration and program costs. Essentially, this section will serve as a basic overview of the mechanisms that provide services for offenders and an introduction to the tools to help measure its effectiveness.

## 2.1 Incarceration Rate

In 2013-2014,<sup>1</sup> the average number of adult offenders in custody was around 36,000, which accounts for the 22,000 in provincial/territorial custody and the 15,000 held in federal penitentiaries. This puts Canada's overall incarceration rate at 118 per 100,000 people. This number pales in comparison to Canada's American neighbour – which has 707 per 100,000 incarcerated persons – but Canada ranks in the middle among OECD countries, and 6<sup>th</sup> within the G20. When put in perspective, the Canadian incarceration rate is, thus, relatively high. There is also significant fluctuation in rates across Canadian jurisdictions. Provincial incarceration rates start at 65/100,000 in British Columbia and reach 242/100,000 in Manitoba, whereas the territories show much higher proportions, with the Yukon starting at 278/100,000 and the Northwest Territories with 755/100,000; a rate comparable to the United States. Therefore, a nationwide incarceration rate should be used carefully, as a low overall rate is not indicative of low incarceration in all jurisdictions.

That being said, a high incarceration rate does not necessarily translate into a bigger prison population. Although this statement may seem counter-intuitive, it speaks to stock versus flow statistics, which are often conflated. According to Aebi & Kuhn (2000), the prison population – which relates to the size and the structure of *a given* prison population on *a given* day – is a 'stock' statistic. They explain that "the size of these prison populations results from considerable movements (of entering and going out of institutions)," all of which is

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<sup>1</sup> The following data comes from Statistics Canada's *Adult Correctional Statistics in Canada: 2013/2014*, released in 2015.

characteristic of 'flow' statistics (p. 65). In other words, the incarceration rate is the number of individuals who *enter* correctional facilities over a given period of time (flow) and the average prison population count "provide[s] a snapshot of the correctional population and represent the number of adults *in custody* ... on any given day [stock]" (Stats Can, 2015; emphasis added). The number of offenders in custody on a given day (stock), albeit revealing, does not capture the high turnover rate (flow) characteristic of provincial/territorial correctional systems. In order to understand the dynamics of the Canadian correctional system, a third variable has to be investigate, namely the length of sentences. This third variable may attest to the discrepancy between stock and flow, as short sentences may explain why the high incarceration rate (flow) barely affects the average prison population count (stock).

## 2.2 Length of Sentences

The most common variable that dictates which system (i.e. provincial or federal) will supervise an offender is the length of the sentence. According to Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA), provinces and territories have a responsibility to take offenders who are sentenced to less than two years detention, placed in remand, or in other temporary detention (CCRA, 16.1). These Canadian jurisdictions deal with community supervision<sup>2</sup> and offer correctional services similar to their federal counterpart, but they are adapted to the shorter detention period specific to provincial/territorial penitentiaries.

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<sup>2</sup> "Community supervision includes probation, conditional sentences, provincial parole, full parole, day parole, statutory release, and long-term supervision" (Stats Can, 2015).

As evidenced by the Chart 1, approximately 26% of individuals who come into provincial/territorial custody served one week or less, and more than half were released after less than a month. Conversely, more than half of individuals in remand centres were in custody for one week or less, and 78% for less than a month. Those in remand comprise 52% of the provincial/territorial correctional population.

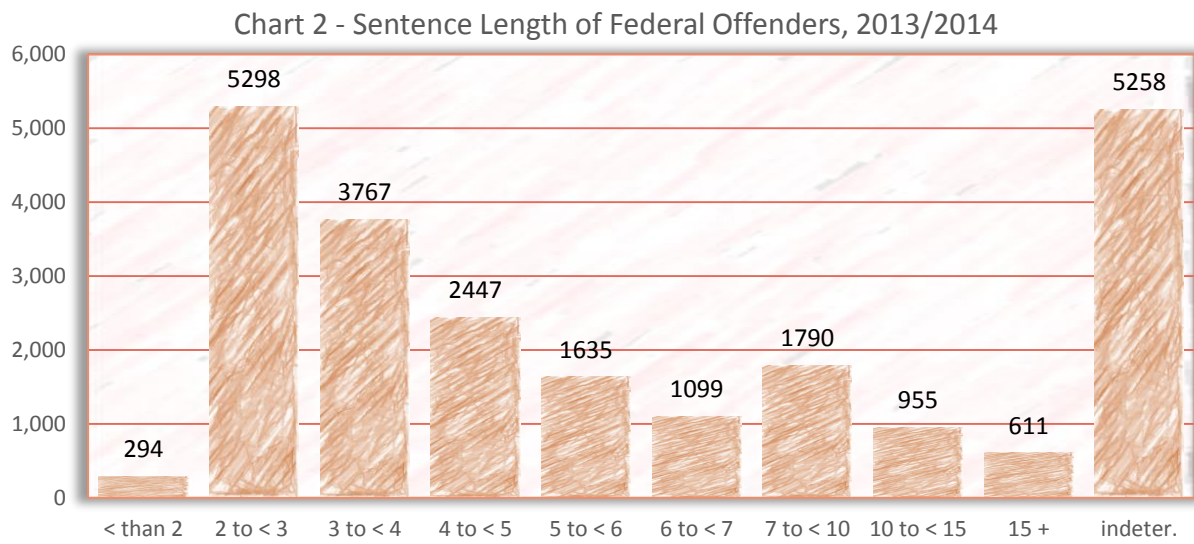


Source: Statistics Canada (2015), *Adult Correctional Statistics in Canada, 2013/2014*

In other words, more than half of individuals in prison in the 13 Canadian jurisdictions (stock, i.e. on any given day) have not yet been recognized as guilty of a crime. Unlike individuals sentenced to imprisonment, people in remand cannot have a Correctional Plan started or in fact, benefit from many correctional programs. Therefore, the research for this study will not include remanded individuals for the aforementioned reason, nor the remainder of the provincial/territorial prison population due to the limited detention period of these offenders. It is important, however, to mention that some postsecondary education (PSE) opportunities are offered to offenders in some provincial/territorial systems, but the project will first evaluate the effectiveness of the federal model (mostly because the sample size is larger in the sense

that it includes more facilities and more individuals supervised by a single entity) and will then use the results to determine whether or not other Canadian jurisdictions would benefit from changes to their approach to PSE and subsequent research.

Assuming custody time plays an important role in the access to and completion of PSE, federal offenders are likely to serve sentences that are more suitable to the benefits higher education while incarcerated. Indeed, the average length of federal criminal sentences is 5 years or less (PSC, 2014, p. 41). Almost all federal detention could include an academic or skills training component, which are both directly related to improved correctional success and employment rates.



Source: PSC, 2014, p. 41

Out of all convicted offenders (which includes offenders sentenced to probation, community supervision, house arrest, etc.), the proportion of offenders sentenced to custody has increased from 13,500 to 15,500 in the last ten years (PSC, 2014, p. 35). This may indicate that the DOJ is resorting to incarceration more than it once did, considering the crime rate has been steadily decreasing for 20 years (PSC, 2014, p. 35; Stats Can, 2014). Regardless, the

growing population of offenders in custody will likely proportionately increase the demand for access to PSE, which further proves the importance of assessing the capacity and the effectiveness of CSC's PSE offering.

### **2.3 Traditional Metrics: Gender, Race, and Age**

Traditional metrics like gender, race, and age are also of importance as they may impact one's likelihood to pursue academic training – only insofar as gender, race, and age might have an effect on individual's decision to pursue PSE outside a correctional setting. Appendix A contains charts that summarize the gender, racial, and age distribution of the population in CSC facilities. Women represent 4.1% of offenders in custody, individuals who identify as Aboriginal represent a disproportionate 21% of the prison population (despite barely accounting for 3% of the Canadian adult population), and 53.8% of CSC's entire population is under 34 years old (PSC, 2014, p. 53).

One of the assumptions is that having a young prison population will indicate a greater interest in pursuing PSE. The gender distribution does not really effect educational interest per se, but gender-specific facilities may request access to different types of PSE programs. Out of the 43 custodial facilities managed by CSC, 6 are for women (CSC, 2015c). Finally, programs will have to account for cultural differences, especially those relative to Aboriginals, and remain sensitive to specific educational needs. In addition, Aboriginal offenders, on average, are admitted into CSC custody at an earlier age (i.e. 50% are under 30 years old at entry) and their incarceration rate keeps increasing, which may indicate a growing need for specific types of PSE (PSC, 2014, p. 43).

## 2.4 Risk Assessment

Knowing that offenders would have enough time to participate is not the only criteria for establishing educational programs. Indeed, the risk assessment of offenders may shed light on the kinds of programs they will be able to access, and their receptiveness to the idea of pursuing academic endeavours while in CSC custody. Although 68% of offenders are serving a sentence for a violent offence, 85.9% are classified as medium security risk or lower (PSC, 2014, p. 61, p. 55). Establishing the ability of offenders to interact with each other and with authority figures in a potential classroom setting will determine the kind of teaching methods that can be made available (online classes, individual print-based courses, visits to accredited academic institutional campuses, in-class settings in custodial facilities with permanent or visiting educators, etc.). Finally, the openness of the correctional facility to let in outside resources (i.e. professors and teachers) will have to be assessed, as administrative restrictions (i.e. visitors, online content, etc.) are also obstacles to PSE access in federal penitentiaries. This element, however, will be investigated in a subsequent section.

## 2.5 Educational Assessment

According to CSC, the lack of educational opportunities has not been identified by offenders as a main complaint – the most salient of which are conditions of confinement, health care, staff performance, institutional transfers, and administrative segregation – but it *has* been identified as a need upon offender entry (PSC, 2014, p. 31). In fact, it was determined that “approximately 75% of offenders admitted to federal custody on their first sentence

between April 1, 2008 and March 31, 2013, reported that they did not have a high school diploma or equivalent” (CSC, 2015b, p. 20).<sup>3</sup> Although this means that Adult Basic Education (ABE) is clear need, it leaves under 25% of the penal population meeting the academic requirements to pursue PSE. Of that 25%, perhaps less will be able, willing, and financially capable of pursuing it. The academic potential of offenders proves to be a constricting factor the potential scope of higher education in CSC facilities.

Some argue that considering the program’s likelihood to ever reach a significant portion of the prison population, it should be shut down; however, as it will be discussed later, some correctional PSE programs have managed to go beyond the traditional model of academic requirements and have allowed access to PSE to any offender willing to partake. It is unfair to assume that offenders will not be able to reach the academic requirements while in prison and inaccurate to say PSE cannot adapt to federal correctional realities.

## 2.6 Cost Implications

Canada’s federal correctional population costs over \$2 billion annually. The average cost of incarcerating one individual is upwards of \$112,000 per year (PSC, 2014, p. 25). In order to picture the fluctuation of the annual cost of inmates on a longitudinal basis, Appendix B1 graphs the variations from 1978 to 2008 in constant 2003 dollar. There was a relative increase of 46% in costs per incarcerated offender from 1978 to 2008 and 103% relative increase from

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<sup>3</sup> CSC show different proportions of educational levels, but those statistics are from 2007 and are the result of *academic testing*, an assessment method that has proven to be inconsistent for multiple factors, which will be addressed in a subsequent section. Therefore, self-reported academic levels by the offenders will be favoured for this analysis.

1993 (the cheapest year) to 2008. Considering this figure (i.e. annual cost per incarcerated offender) constitutes an all-encompassing national average in which diverse security level offenders and different types of offenders are conflated into a single number, the source of the fluctuation in the average cost may be due to surges in more costly offenders in correctional facilities (e.g. maximum security offenders, female offenders, etc.). Indeed, Appendix B2 illustrates that the range of cost per offender is broad between minimum and maximum security male offenders (\$84,000 to \$148,000) and between male and female (\$110,000 and \$211,000, respectively).

Resorting to incarceration is a costly alternative to other forms of supervised sentencing. In fact, maintaining a non-violent, low-risk offender in the community is 70% cheaper than what it costs to put the offender in custody (average cost of \$33,799) (PSC, 2014, p. 25). Resorting to different kinds of CSC supervision would represent significant savings that could be applied to improving services for incarcerated and supervised offenders, as well as lower overall operational costs.

Understanding the operational costs of CSC, and the cost per incarcerated offenders, will be most valuable when correctional success comes into play. If PSE truly increases employment rate, and thereby reduces recidivism, the estimated annual savings as a direct effort from PSE can be calculated.

The other cost that needs to be taken into account is that of correctional PSE programs. CSC classifies its PSE program in its correctional intervention portfolio under Offender Rehabilitation. The overall budget of correctional education – which includes basic education and its equivalent, literacy, English/French as a second language, PSE prerequisites, and PSE –

sits at just over \$24M a year (CSC, 2015a, p. 62). The breakdown of the budget by educational program is unknown, but it is assumed that the vast majority of the budget is allotted to basic education, as it is provided in-house (i.e. by CSC, in CSC). Offenders who take PSE credits do so via distance education and are responsible for the costs, which leaves little financial burden for CSC. PSE, therefore, may prove to be an inexpensive service with great benefits.

## 2.7 Prison Releases

Over 7,700 offenders were released during the 2013-2014 fiscal year (PSC, 2014, p. 80 and PSC, 2015, “Warrant”).<sup>4</sup> This number encompasses day paroles, full paroles, and statutory releases<sup>5</sup>. The majority of those releases constitute correctional successes, as few return to prison for breach of conditions or for a new offence. Day and full parole have impressive success rates of 89.6% and 85% respectively, while statutory release success rates stand lower at 62.1% (PSC, 2014, p. 94-98).<sup>6</sup>

The discrepancy between success rates of parole and statutory releases could, assumedly, be explained by the fact that both types of release assess an offender’s preparedness to reintegrate into the community. For instance, in order to be granted parole,

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<sup>4</sup> This number does not include offenders who reached warrant expiry while incarcerated.

<sup>5</sup> “Day parole allows offenders to participate in community activities during the day, but requires that they return to a halfway house or correctional facility in the evening. Full parole allows offenders to serve the remainder of their sentence in the community. Statutory release refers to the legal requirement that offenders must be released after serving two-thirds of their sentence in custody” (A.G., Exhibit 6.1 and 6.5). See Appendix C.

<sup>6</sup> Although parolees have been faring well, the number of day and full parole is decreasing, which also means that statutory releases are increasing (PSC, 2014, p. 81, p. 79). This could mean that, although successful correctional outcomes out of parole programs are consistently high, the number of offender who see their parole request denied should be increasing; but it is not. In fact, it is quite the opposite, as day and full paroles’ grant rates have increased over the last two years (PSC, 2014, p. 83). This anomaly could be attributed to a greater number of offenders sentenced without possibility of parole, or fewer offenders applying for parole. Further research is required.

eligible offenders submit a request to the appropriate parole board and undergo an evaluation to determine their preparedness for lawful reintegration through correctional reports, psychological evaluations, risk assessments to public safety, and parole hearings. Statutory release, however, is a component of federal sentences that requires offenders to serve the last third of their sentence in the community. Offenders up for statutory release are not subjected to in-depth assessment and only rare cases remain in CSC custody until warrant expiry.<sup>7</sup>

In other words, while parole releases are predicated on assessment, statutory releases are predicated on time spent incarcerated. Though the eligibility criteria differ between both types of release, preparedness remains an important determinant of successful conditional release outcome.

The significant lack of preparation of offenders released two-thirds into their sentence (at statutory release) could potentially be addressed by higher education. Not only does PSE develop valuable cognitive skills, but it may increase an offender's likelihood to gain employment upon release. Unlike parolees, who may be individuals inherently bound to succeed because of natural abilities, statutory released offenders may benefit greatly from skills acquired during PSE.

Moreover, the pursuit of PSE post-release could be used as an additional form of control over offenders. If part of the conditional release is to continue unfinished education, as per individual Correctional Plan, PSE could contribute to filling offenders' time with productive

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<sup>7</sup> "This occurs if there are reasonable grounds to believe that the offender is likely to commit an offence causing serious harm or death, a sexual offence involving a child, or a serious drug offence" (CSC, 2014, "Types").

activities, thereby decreasing time for affiliations with illicit groups, persons, or activities, and ultimately lower the risk of recidivism.

### 2.8 Recidivism Rate

An effective way of measuring correctional success is through recidivism. Assuming criminal behaviours and tendencies can be overcome, a lower recidivism rate (i.e. re-entry of an offender following a *new offence*) would testify to the effectiveness of Canada’s correctional system. It is important to distinguish between breach of parole conditions and revocation of parole because of a new offence. For instance, out of the offenders released on day or full parole or statutory release who return to prison, only a small proportion return because they committed a new offence, thus recidivated. Table 1 exposes the distribution of prison re-entry of parolees and released offenders per revocation reason. The number of revocations that can be construed as recidivism corresponds to a small number of re-entry, with violent recidivists making up an even smaller figure.

**Table 1 – Federal Release Outcomes per Types of Release, 2013/2014**

Federal Release Outcomes	Day Parole		Full Parole		Statutory Rel.	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Successful Completion	2,786	89.6	821	85	3,816	62
Revocation for Breach of Conditions	285	9.2	114	11.8	1,800	29.3
Revocation with non-violent offence	32	1	28	2.9	454	7.4
Revocation with violent offence	5	0.2	3	0.3	70	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,108</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>966</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6,140</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: PSC, 2014, p. 26

Understandably, CSC is struggling to define recidivism and produce research to measure Canadian recidivism rate, much like other countries. One thing that CSC does is conflate reconviction rates and re-imprisonment rates, which blurs the concept of recidivism.

Considering a parolee can see his/her release revoked for trivial and/or accidental events (e.g. missing curfew or parole appointments), labelling all breaches of conditions as recidivism seems rash.

Although defining poses as an issue, recidivism is also difficult to measure. It would be easier to measure if it were limited to offenders who are currently under CSC supervision (i.e. all inmates until warrant expiry), however it is not limited to that definition. Indeed, recidivism also speaks to the number of offenders who reoffend after warrant expiry. Until a variable is observed within a determinate period of time, measuring remains an issue.

Recidivism rates tend to exhibit cumulative hazards over time (i.e. Cox's hazard model). This means that the longer an offender goes without committing a new offence, the less likely he/she will commit one in the future (Benda, 2013; Benda & Toombs, 2002, p. 224). The nature of recidivism as a function of time dictates that short-term recidivism would inherently be more telling than a long-term study of recidivism. By and large, Canadian studies limit their scope to 2-3 years following the release, thereby substantiating the value of short-term over long-term studies of recidivism.

Over the last 40 years, the reconviction rate in Canada has floated around 45% (Bonta et al., 2003, p. 2-4).<sup>8</sup> Investments in PSE could improve Canada's recidivism rates by affecting both reconviction and reincarceration rates, as many studies have identified a strong and consistent correlation between PSE opportunities and decreases in recidivism rates for its participants (Duguid et al., 1998; Corcoran, 1985; Jancic, 1998; Davis et al., 2014; and Zoukis, 2014).

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<sup>8</sup> Rates also differ significantly depending on the type of offence, race, gender, etc.

This paper treats reconviction and reincarceration rates equally, as one has public safety implications (reconviction means there was a new indictable offence committed, therefore a return to crime), while the other has direct cost implications (reincarceration comes with higher annual costs than alternative correctional activities, e.g. community supervision, fines, or restitution).

The following section will take a closer look at what CSC offers to its population, the potential effect of its programming on offenders, and the subsequent impact on communities and public safety.

### **3. Post-Secondary Education Opportunities in Canadian Corrections**

This section will survey CSC's post-secondary education opportunities and determine whether or not they constitute responsible outlets for correctional endeavours. In order to address this issue, the evaluation model developed by CSC in 2015 to measure the performance of its overall offender education program and services will be used. Given that the same evaluation was not pushed to include higher education services, this research will not duplicate the results of CSC's 2015 evaluation activities, and will instead precisely focus on this previously omitted element.

A total of six components were used to evaluate the performance of education programs: (1) relevance, (2) effectiveness: education program outcomes, (3) cost-effectiveness, (4) efficiency: optimizing the delivery of the program, (5) material resources for offenders, and (6) reporting of educational data (CSC, 2015b, p. 11). The following section will be divided into six subsections to mirror CSC's format and will analyze the performance of each component,

identify the successes and challenges as well as opportunities for improvement, based on domestic and international studies.

### 3.1 Relevance of PSE in Corrections

Relevance, as understood by CSC, refers to responsibility and need. Therefore, the task lies in (1) determining if delivering PSE opportunities to offenders is CSC's responsibility and (2) assessing if the need for PSE opportunities improves the likelihood of correctional success.

#### 3.1.1. Responsibility for Delivery

Although education is traditionally a provincial/territorial jurisdiction in Canada (*Constitution Act, 1867*), the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) poses that “the federal government is responsible for the education of Registered Indian people on reserve, personnel in the armed forces and the coast guard, and *inmates in federal correctional facilities*” (CMEC, n.d., emphasis added). Thus, CSC has a duty to provide education to its prison population while “adher[ing] to provincial and territorial curricula and guidelines [according to the jurisdiction where] ... educational programs [are administered]” (CSC, 2015b, p. 3). Well within the correctional programming prescribed by article 76 of the CCRA, Commissioner's Directive (CD) 720 - *Education Programs and Services to Offenders* outlines the range of correctional education services provided to federal inmates that contribute to offender rehabilitation. This certainly applies to Adult basic education (ABE) along with literacy and numeracy programs. Indeed, CSC has the capacity to provide these services to its prison population without intermediary parties (e.g. school boards or high schools). CSC uses its own

facilities and hires teachers to provide these services, which are accredited by provincial/territorial ministries of education.

Though CD 720's policy objectives extended to higher education, the delivery of PSE cannot emulate the delivery method of other offender education programs. Unlike elementary and secondary education programming, higher education has to be provided through an accredited PSE institution in order to be recognized. This is where the notion of program versus service comes into play. Whereas adult basic education is a program included within CSC's operational budget, PSE does not benefit from internal (CSC) financial support. Instead, CSC allows access to PSE institutions' academic services via distance education.

The difference between program and service becomes more evident when the postsecondary correctional education (PSCE) is considered. The U.S. prison system and individual correctional facilities have managed to build solid partnerships with PSE institutions to provide a PSE that is adapted to the needs and realities of offenders. In essence, PSCE entails collaboration between correctional and educational institutions, which allows for more opportunities for correctional campuses, expert visits, exchange of services between institutions, and other adopted forms of PSE delivery.<sup>9</sup> There is evidence of one PSCE program in Canada called the Prison Education Program (PEP) and was in effect from 1973 to 1993. It was operated by Simon Fraser University and the University of Victoria and provided adapted

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<sup>9</sup> The American correctional system does not limit itself to PSCE programs, it relies on distance PSE as well (Davis et al, 2014, xviii)

PSE for offenders in a classroom setting within four correctional facilities. The program was discontinued because government funding was cut in 1993 (Duguid, 1993, p. 56).

Now, however, the term is avoided in Canada. Much like how ‘correctional education’ differs from ‘education,’ PSCE differs from PSE. Although both concepts may seem similar, they differ in one key aspect: adaptability. Indeed, where PSCE is adapted to offenders and their correctional reality, PSE is merely an external service – offered to any member of society – which offenders are allowed to use provided they meet the requirements (like any other user) and as long as the service remains within the limitations of their incarceration. In other words, it would be inaccurate to use the term PSCE in the Canadian context, as CSC has virtually no involvement in offender PSE at this time.<sup>10</sup> The inherent difference between ‘PSCE’ and ‘PSE in a correctional context’ deepens the gap between what constitute a program and a service.

That being said, given that delivering PSE is not CSC’s responsibility, financing higher education will understandably not be CSC’s responsibility either. CD 720 stipulates that “Offenders generally pay for their own post-secondary studies, unless it can be demonstrated that the education addresses a very specific need” (PSC, 2015a). Provision 31 of CD 720 warrants an institutional head’s approval of a fee exemption for PSE participants if all the following criteria are met:

- a. the payment for participation of the offender is within the educational budgetary limits;

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<sup>10</sup> One notable exception is the Prison Education Program (PEP) in British Columbia. PEP was, for all intent and purposes, a PSCE program that lasted from 1973-1993 (Duguid, 1993, p. 56 and Almond, 1988, p. 9). PEP will be discussed further in a subsequent section.

- b. the offender meets all criteria for PSE as established by the applicable Ministry of Education or any other educational organization recognized by the Ministry;
- c. the past educational record of the offender regarding completion of courses is considered satisfactory by the institution;
- d. the course is considered as a priority in the Correctional Plan; and
- e. the course is from a recognized and accredited provincial education organization.

Although these criteria offer some form of guidance as to what constitutes a potential exception, the prioritization of PSE in Correctional Plans is rare and has unclear parameters at best. The financial burden associated with pursuing PSE while incarcerated is one of the greatest barriers to access, especially considering offenders generally come from low socio-economic backgrounds and are ineligible for student financial aid. Though offenders on full parole are usually eligible for student aid under certain conditions, offenders currently under custody are ineligible because jurisdictions stipulate that offenders “are provided with living costs as well as a variety of educational services funded through the correction system” (MAE, 2014, p. 47). However, ESDC’s Canada Student Loans Program does not seem to provide aid to offenders willing to pursue PSE and CSC either, which may point towards a gap between what provinces think the federal government is providing and what it actually does.

Ultimately, much like other educational programs, PSE is relevant to several CSC priorities, namely improving employment prospects through education upgrading and elevating public safety through skills and knowledge necessary to lawfully reside in the community (CSC, 2015b, p. 19). It does, however, struggle with financing and could improve its involvement in the deliverance of PSE.

### 3.1.2. Need for PSE

The need for PSE within the federal correctional population is far smaller than the need for ABE. As mentioned in subsection 2.3, a maximum of 25% of offenders admitted in the last five years had a high school diploma or equivalent. Of that, far fewer actually participate in PSE, as around 5% of the total federal prison population benefit from access to higher education while incarcerated (CSC, 2015b, p. 32; PSC, 2015a).<sup>11</sup> Although maximum participation is restricted to offenders with the academic requirements to pursue PSE, 5% is not the optimal participation rate. If the financial burden associated with the service would not prove so restricting, it is assumed that participation would increase. It is also important to note that ‘maximum participation’ only applies to PSE in its current form. Indeed, certain PSCE programs have opened access to their PSE programs (i.e. lowered academic requirements), thereby doubling maximum potential participants.

Moreover, low levels of educational achievement has been recognized as a dynamic risk factor of recidivism by CSC (CSC, 2015b, p. 21). A dynamic risk factor, as opposed to static factors, are aspects of an offender’s behaviours, traits, or characteristics that are predictive of recidivism and that can be addressed through reintegration programs, such as offender education (Gendreau et al., 1996, p. 575-6; CSC, 2015b, p. 21).<sup>12</sup> In other words, education is believed to address criminogenic needs and ultimately increase public safety. Numerous American studies have confirmed this correlation, as ABE “has been proven to contribute to

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<sup>11</sup> CSC reports that around 8,000 offenders participate in education programs, of which 10% (800) opt for PSE. This is how the 5% of federal offenders pursue PSE figure was reached (CSC, 2015, 32 & PSC, “Assessment”).

<sup>12</sup> Both types of factors are consolidated under the criminogenic need umbrella (Gendreau et al., 1996, 575-6).

public safety,” and PSE has similar results according to an “overall analysis of 58 separate research studies from the US” (Davis et al. as cited by Ritchie, 2014, p. 1). In fact, according to Chappelle (2004), PSE has been associated with a greater reduction in recidivism than ABE alone (p. 162). Though these studies provide valuable insight in the impact of PSE on offenders’ correctional success, it remains important that further studies be conducted to determine if the results hold true in a Canadian context. The lack of domestic data on the subject is a recurring obstacle to the accurate measurement of PSE’s effectiveness.

Finally, labour market requirements have changed over the last few decades in Canada. Currently, around 70% of new jobs require some PSE credential in Canada and that number is expected to grow over the years to reach 80% by 2031 (Miner, 2010, p. 9). Therefore, providing access to PSE in the Canadian correctional system is not only a need for offenders, but it is also a growing demand of the labour market. By increasing offenders’ chances of gaining meaningful employment upon release via improving PSE opportunities, their likelihood of correctional success will arguably be proportionally increased. The relationship between PSE in a correctional setting, post-release employment, and recidivism will be investigated further in the following section.

In the end, PSE comes as a need of the offenders, a need for public safety, and a need from the labour market. In order for CSC to reach its goal of providing offenders with the best chance to become law-abiding citizens, thereby increase public safety, it is important that they be adequately prepared to enter Canada’s increasingly competitive and specialized labour market.

## 3.2 Effectiveness of PSE Based on Offender Outcome

The effectiveness of PSE programs is measured by labour market outcomes and correctional success rates. This section will also attempt to identify differences in outcomes for different types of PSE available (e.g. vocational vs. academic programs). Contrary to correctional basic education, PSE has not been the subject of recent statistical research in Canada. Nevertheless, this subsection will use studies conducted during the 1990's, whose main findings arguably still hold true today and constitute the best domestic evidence available, as well as studies observing the relationship between PSE and recidivism abroad.

### 3.2.1 Labour Market Outcome

The underlying assumption here is that academic or vocational upgrading will have a positive effect on labour market outcomes and on the personal development of participants. When discussing basic education, Leblanc (1986) expressed that though "it cannot be stated that there is a correlation between the crime rate and illiteracy, there is a correlation between unemployment and the crime rate" (LeBlanc as cited by Duguid, 1993, p. 67). Therefore, in the interest of increasing public safety (i.e. reducing recidivism rates), boosting employment prospects for offenders after their release constitutes a priority for CSC's education programs. Although LeBlanc's argument was made for ABE and literacy, the second half of his statement is nevertheless relevant to PSE objectives. Thus, if PSE leads to good labour market outcomes for its participating offenders, higher education training in a correctional context should prove effective.

Most studies observing PSE outcomes focus on recidivism rates more than employment, however Jenkins et al. (1995) established that "the higher the level of educational attainment

while incarcerated, the more likely the released was to have obtained employment upon release" (p. 21). Essentially, the study posits that time spent pursuing education while incarcerated is positively correlated with the likelihood of finding stable employment. Jenkins et al (1995) point to the fact that their results are consistent with results obtained in other American states, however "[a]dditional research is needed to select a control group of releasees who did not complete educational programs and who are similar to the educational completers in other regard" (p. 21). Though the selection bias of PSE completers has not been accounted for, the initial findings prove interesting at the very least. Moreover, the study focused on all education levels and determined that college graduates' success was especially notable and had greater employment rates and wages (p. 21-2).

In a literature review of studies on the effect of PSE on post-release employment, Stevens and Ward (1997) reported that post-incarceration "income of degree-earning students [in a North Carolina prison] was greater than their income prior to incarceration if employed" (p. 108). In a subsequent paper submitted to CSC's 2000 compendium, Stevens (2000) posits that the previous North Carolina findings are "congruent with a study [conducted by Cary (1993)] that shows individuals who received higher education while incarcerated have a significantly better rate of employment (60–75%) than those who do not participate in college programs (40%)" (n.p.). These numbers, however, also neglect to address the selection bias inherent in PSE programs.

Canadian studies investigating labour market outcomes and employment rates post-release (Ayers et al., 1980; Duguid, 1993; Duguid et al., 1998; and Boulianne & Meunier, 1986) all seem to corroborate the findings of the American studies, as they all report PSE participants

have a greater chance to find employment than non-participants. None of the studies actually look at remuneration pre- and post-incarceration and/or actual employment rates within PSE participants, but they all seem to agree that higher educational programs in a correctional setting seems to improve the probability of gaining employment. By in large, the studies are based on small samples of released offenders who voluntarily provide information to researchers, which are not significant enough to definitely correlate PSE to an increased employment rate, but there is enough evidence to suggest it. This is why more research is required in order to, not only qualify, but quantify the correlation between PSE and employment rate.

Finally, the John Howard Society of Alberta reports that 95% of CSC's education and employability resources are spent within the institution, leaving 5% to post-release support programs (JHS, 2002, p. 2). Considering one goal of the program is to produce higher employment rates for offenders to proportionally increase the probability of correctional success, the lack of support outside of the penal context could prove debilitating. Including placement or internship programs, or assistance in pursuing further education outside of correctional institutions, could affect the impact of the education program and would do so for a modest cost.

### **3.2.2 Correctional Outcome**

Correctional success and recidivism in relation to PSE is a more familiar topic to Canadian social scientists. Unlike post-release employment rates, recidivism rates have been quantified by several studies. Ayers et al (1980) determined the reincarceration rate of offenders who participated in the Victoria University PSE program was 14%, in comparison to

52% for the overall matched groups, a 73% comparative decrease (p. 51).<sup>13</sup> In addition, the study reports strong evidence of social, cognitive, and effective change (p. 31). Indeed, friends and family of offenders who participated in PSE remarked a positive change in behaviour after enrolment in the university program, including personal growth, as well as aspirations of upward mobility, in terms of employment after their release (p. 31, p. 38, and p. 39). The assumption is that personal development is strongly related to academic upgrading and also contributes to making offenders not only better individuals, but better and more stable citizens.

Duguid et al. (1998) conducted similar research on the University of Victoria and Simon Fraser's Prison Education Program (PEP) with data that spanned from 1973 to 1993. First, the authors establish that "in general 49% of prisoners return to prison within 36 months after release" (p. 89). According to their model, only 25% of PSE participants recidivated in comparison to their non-PSE counterparts (p. 90). On the one hand, the authors astutely point out the possible selection bias in their sample, which means that "the program (...) is the passive receiver of success-bound participants" (p. 91). While, on other hand, the selection bias "may only account for a small part of the success rate, and the actual post-selection experience, that is the program itself, may be the primary contributing factor to post-release success" (p. 91). Other than wishful conjectures, "it is unlikely that either case can be definitely proven" (p. 91). According to the authors, however, it seems quite clear that PSE works for a wide variety of

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<sup>13</sup> Ayer et al (1980) attempted to address the selection issue of PSE by establishing control groups called 'matched groups.' They selected matched groups by using offenders from the same correctional institutions, with similar time served and release dates to isolate 'PSE participation' as key variable (Ayers et al, 1980, p. 9, 11). See Appendix D

offenders, as they have not only beaten their non-PSE counterparts' recidivism rates (25% instead of 50%), but also their own success prediction by anywhere from 12 to 23 percentage points depending on SIR categorization (p. 90-1).<sup>14</sup> In other words, history did not repeat itself with these offenders and this is most likely due to their involvement in PSE according to Duguid et al (p. 104).

Other literature reviews of offender PSE in the US spanning over several decades found much evidence of PSE's effectiveness in substantially lowering recidivism rates for offenders stating that the more schooling an offender received during incarceration, the less likely he/she is to reoffend (Taylor, 1992 and Frolander-Ulf & Yates, 2001). Adding Davis et al's (2014) review of the 58 separate studies that observe the positive impact of all levels of correctional education (including PSE) on recidivism in the US, only further confirms the importance of improving the quality and reach of PSE programs to Canadian offenders.

### 3.2.3 Types of PSE Opportunities

PSE offers two types of programs, namely academic education and vocational training. Davis et al. (2014) noticed vocational training participants had slightly lower recidivism rates than academic education (Aos et al. (2006): 9% and 7%, respectively and Lipsey (2009): 7% and 6%, respectively), but the difference was not statistically significant (Davis et al, 2014, p. 10, p. 48).

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<sup>14</sup> "The Statistical Information on Recidivism (SIR) is a recidivism prediction system devised for CSC (...). The SIR score is a numerical value assigned to an individual offender. It is calculated using indicators of risk levels such as marital status, type of offence, number of offences, and age at first arrest (...). An important point about the SIR, however, is that it does not predict individual behaviour. It only predicts the behaviour of a group of prisoners within a particular SIR category" (Duguid et al, 1998, 90).

It is important to note that although CORCAN offers some apprenticeship and vocational training opportunities, these are not accredited courses or programs. These programs develop employability skills, but offenders do not come out of CORCAN with anything more than a correctional institutional certificate of completion. Some studies have shown that the mere affiliation of the certificate to a correctional facility diminishes the value of the certificate in the labour market, that these certificates do not qualify the worker for related professional orders/associations, and that they are not recognized as equivalent to PSE programs and are therefore non-transferable to other PSE institutions (Boulianne & Meunier, 1986, p. 223). According to the same study, “correctional services must try to establish closer links with industry” in order to address the stigma associated with correctional programming. (p. 225)

Insofar as PSE programs go, there were no significant differences between PSE types (university vs. college or undergraduate vs. vocational) and their respective post-release outcomes. This implies that the type of PSE has little to do with the subsequent impact on public safety, employment rates, and correctional success. If anything, adaptability of the PSE offer to local market demands would prove a greater determinant of correctional success; however further research is required.

### **3.3 Cost-Effectiveness of PSE for CSC and Student Offender Costs**

Assuring PSE opportunities are cost-effective correctional endeavours for CSC is important to determine the services viability. If the previous section outlining expected labour market and correctional outcome holds, PSE could potentially represent net financial savings for CSC and the Canadian public.

### 3.3.1 Cost-Benefit Analysis of PSE Program

One of the challenges of completing a cost-benefit analysis is the lack of recent data for PSE participants and updated studies on release outcomes. For the purpose of this exercise, the concept will loosely be applied with the best set of domestic data readily available. According to CSC, there are close to 8,000 unique offenders benefiting from some kind of Offender Education program (CSC, 2015b, p. 32). Out of this figure, approximately 10% participate in PSE, which means around 800 participants in 2013-2014 (PSC, 2015a). Assuming sentences of PSE student offenders have the same distribution as the total federal prison population, 23% of PSE student offenders are in custody for life (PSC, 2015a, p. 59).<sup>15</sup> This leaves 616 PSE participants (i.e. 77% of 800) who will eventually be released from prison. Of this group, only 25% (i.e. 154) will be reincarcerated – which means they will either see their parole revoked for breach of condition or for committing a new offence – instead of 50% (i.e. 308) as is characteristic of non-participants to PSE (Duguid, 1998, p. 89-90).

The basic assumption here is that PSE provided the tools to 154 offenders (308 - 154), who would have otherwise recidivated, to adequately re-enter their communities. This reduced reincarceration rate represents \$112,000 savings in annual incarceration costs per offender if the conviction took place after warrant expiry or \$78,000 if it occurred prior (cost of incarceration: \$112,000 minus cost of community supervision: \$34,000) (PSC, 2014, p. 25). Ultimately, the saving would be anywhere between \$17,248,000 and \$12,012,000 annually, depending on the time of the arrest in relation to warrant expiry.

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<sup>15</sup> This number includes indeterminate sentences as well, which account for just over 2% (Ibid).

Of course, per participant program costs would have to be factored in. However, considering the major blunt of PSE costs are absorbed by the offender him/herself, CSC does not seem to contribute much, if at all, to their offenders' PSE. Nevertheless, considering the annual offender education budget stands at \$24M and that 10% of offender education participants opt for PSE, one could assume that 10% also represents the share of PSE in CSC's offender budget, i.e. \$2.4M dedicated to PSE annually (CSC, 2015a, p. 62; PSC, 2015a). The potentially net annual return – i.e. savings in incarceration costs minus program spending – would vary between \$14,848,000 and \$9,612,000. This very unscientific method of calculating is certainly not meant to be taken at face value, however it represents the kind of savings CSC may expect. If the numbers were more recent, an accurate cost-benefit analysis could be completed.

In the face of this data availability issue, one could assume that considering the cost-effectiveness of ABE programs has been established by CSC, PSE may exhibit similar, if not more impressive results based on its superior purported outcomes. CSC used the RAND methodology, developed by the RAND Corporation<sup>16</sup>, to determine the cost-effectiveness of its offender education program. The methodology “[finds] that cost-effectiveness [is] achieved when the direct costs associated with the participant group (education program costs plus potential reincarceration costs) are less than those associated with the non-participant group (potential reincarceration costs)” (CSC, 2015b, p. 31). The claim that PSE may prove more cost-effective

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<sup>16</sup> “The RAND Corporation is a non-profit research institution based in California with offices in North America and Europe that employs 1,700 staff who work to improve policy and decision-making through high quality and objective research analysis” (CSC, 2015, “Evaluation,” p. 31).

than ABE is based on the fact that if the RAND methodology is applied to PSE – which has proven to decrease recidivism rates further than basic education and its delivery is significantly cheaper considering it is paid by the offender – PSE costs plus potential reincarceration costs are most likely going to be less than the non-participant reincarceration costs (see Appendix E). Further research is required in order to definitively substantiate this hypothesis.

So far, only one study conducted in Canada identified a negative return on investment specific to correctional education (Darby, 2009). Much like other studies, all offender education programs were conflated into one category, which does not allow for a PSE-specific evaluation. According to Darby (2009), only education and employment programs revealed negative net benefits for the Federal Government. Since then, other studies have taken into account these results and, by and large, dismissed it as it “involved extrapolation from an earlier study which was quite dated, reflected only two of CSC’s educational programs, (...) [and] benefits were deliberately deflated to provide a more conservative result” (Ritchie, 2014, p. 1). Ultimately, correctional education, according to overwhelming evidence, remains a cost-effective program for CSC and, by extension, the Canadian public.

Although it is impossible, at this time, to be as definitive when it comes to PSE’s cost-effectiveness, the initial investigation with the best domestic data readily available shows promise. Over the last thirty years (i.e. since PEP), funding for federal offenders to pursue PSE has decreased (Duguid, 1993, p. 56). If, as part of an attempt to renew commitment to provide access to PSE for offenders in custody, it is important to express that the project would, by the best estimations, be cost-effective. The reason why this program needs to exhibit net fiscal benefits is that it is subject to a deep seeded stigma among the Canadian population, which

does not make a political decision in favour of providing this service a popular one. It is in the best interest of proponents of PSE for offenders to prove that the program has the potential to financially benefit all stakeholders involved (i.e. CSC, PSE institutions, tax payers, and student offenders).

### 3.3.2 Student Offender Costs

As already established in subsection 3.1.1., the responsibility of financing PSE for offenders is upon the offender him/herself. Understandably, coming up with tuition money is a challenge for these individuals who do not work and generally come from disadvantaged communities. The assumption is that family members and friends are the best chance for an offender without the means of paying for tuition to gather the necessary funds. However, the financial capability of friends and family members – which are likely to be coming from disadvantaged communities themselves – is not much greater than the offender's. Considering they are ineligible for student aid programs as well, offenders certainly represent a disenfranchised fraction of society when it comes to affording PSE.

Wilson (2013), an ex-offender who self-identifies as Aboriginal, was fortunate enough to have his PSE fees paid by the Kispiox Band which “sponsor[ed] [him] through the federal post-secondary programs for Status Indians registered under the Indian Act” (p. 41). A large number of Aboriginal PSE students have access to funding through local First Nation councils, but the decisions remains the prerogative of the Bands, and they may not want to finance an offender's PSE over other Band projects – or for that matter other Aboriginal PSE applicants – because of their limited funds. It is important that this source of funding for Aboriginal offenders remains available, however it is difficult in a context of limited funding, to argue that an offender's PSE

should be funded over another non-offender's PSE. Considering "thousands of qualified applicants [whether incarcerated or not] are turned down every year for lack of money," it leaves little hope for the funding of Aboriginal offenders willing to undertake higher education while incarcerated (p. 41).

The US has private and philanthropic charities that provide funding for offenders willing to pursue higher education while incarcerated, the largest of which is the Pell Grant program which offers financial aid and full scholarships (Taylor, 2005, p. 6). Much like Canada, American offenders in federal custody are not eligible for student financial aid, which extended to Pell Grant as well in 1994, following a legislation pass by Congress (Davis et al, 2014, p. 5). The following year (i.e. 1995), PSE enrollment in the US dropped by 40% (p. 5). Although PSE in America tends to be more expensive, the restricted access to funding drastically affected an offender's ability to even consider PSE.

The same phenomenon is certainly in effect in Canada. Considering the meagre means of the prison population, whether a PSE course is \$300 or \$3,000, it is too expensive and equally unattainable. The Canadian government should allow private, semi-private, education, and charitable organization to create and offer funding opportunities for offenders. Perhaps the eligibility to student financial aid could be reconsidered when the Correctional Plan of an offender calls for PSE and his/her educational level leaves reasonable hope for his/her academic success. Even then, the issue of what constitutes a legitimate prioritization of PSE on an offender's Correctional Plan, much like what qualifies an offender for an institutional head's approval of a PSE fee exemption (section 3.1.1), remains vague and is, therefore, rarely used.

A possible solution would be to provide offenders with a program that further resembles the PSCE model, which would be the result of partnerships between correctional and educational institutions. This type of program could influence PSE tuition fees at the source and get the correctional system more involved in the PSE that is offered to its offenders. The partnership could be partly built on an 'exchange of services' agreement between CSC and PSE institutions. In exchange for access to offenders and the ability to collect data while providing PSE services, CSC could financially participate in the program to benefit from the collection and subsequent study of the offender PSE data. Meanwhile, student offenders could see their tuition reduced following special offender PSE plans, negotiated between CSC and PSE institutions, waiving certain fees for services that offenders cannot access while in custody<sup>17</sup> and maybe even an additional credit contingent on the offender's willingness to participate in data collection activities. This type agreement between correctional and educational institution would not only rely on mutually beneficial exchange of services, but would be cost-effective and beneficial for all stakeholders involved as PEP has proven to be (Duguid, 1993, p. 56).

While establishing different funding initiatives for offenders pursuing PSE may prove useful, a multi-stakeholder approach may have a greater impact on the overall state of PSE in the correctional system. Not only could it influence PSE fees at the source, it could also optimize PSE delivery in CSC facilities and contribute to ameliorating resources available to student offenders.

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<sup>17</sup> For instance, the fees to access online PSE resources should be waved for offenders as they are completely denied access to internet and other fees like mandatory collective insurance, student association fees, a portion of the fees associated with using school property, etc.

### 3.4 Efficiency: Optimization of PSE Delivery

Efficiency, by CSC's own criteria, speaks to the optimization of the delivery of PSE programs, which include educational assessment upon entry and delivery method of the program.

#### 3.4.1 Educational Assessment

After sentencing, but within 90 days, offenders entering the federal correctional system undergo the Offender Intake Assessment (OIA) (CSC, 2015d). During this process, information about the offender and the offence are collected from multiple sources (e.g. police, family members, courts, etc.) and the offender him/herself is assessed with various psychological, educational, and medical tools (CSC, 2001, p. 25). The goal is to determine the dynamic risk factors, or criminogenic needs, of offenders in order to devise the most efficient strategy to curtail criminal behaviour and increase probabilities of correctional success. The culmination of this collection of information and assessments is the Correctional Plan (CP).

Considering "official school transcripts can rarely be obtained prior to the development of the initial CP," most sites administer the Canadian Adult Achievement Test (CAAT) to all incoming offenders (CSC, 2001, 25). Although this seems like an efficient way to expedite the educational need assessment and accelerate program enrollment, CSC (2015b) reports that educational assessments are inconsistent across facilities and staff (p. 49). Indeed, "the evaluation determined that the use of assignments and the process of determining the appropriate education level to assign an offender differ by region, institution and the level of expertise of the staff members" (p. 49). The evaluation revealed additional shortcomings within the OIA, namely the inaccurate reporting of offender education level in the Offender

Management System (OMS),<sup>18</sup> the mislabelling of correctional education prioritization in OMS, and OMS system wide malfunctions due to software inadequacies and/or lack of employment training in OMS (p. 49-51). These educational assessment lacuna are important as they impact an offender's ability to provide the necessary academic requirements to pursue PSE and potentially benefit from PSE fee exemption according to CD – 720.

Although educational assessments are important in the current offender PSE model, they may not bear the same importance if higher education were to adapt to a correctional context and lower its academic requirements. Considering PSE has a positive influence on offender behaviours, decision making abilities, and overall social cognitive skills (Ayers et al, 1980, p. i and Duguid, 1993, p. 57), opening PSE access to a larger bracket of offenders should prove beneficial for enrollment rates and subsequently the correctional institution's environment. While Simon Fraser University and the University of Victoria conducted their PEP in four penitentiaries, they managed to increase enrollment to anywhere between 10% and 20% of the prison population in *each* CSC facility that it was offered (Duguid, 1993, p. 56). The program, which “for over two decades (...) contributed positively to the smooth running of several prisons, (...) was cost-effective, productive, and cooperative” and provided an environment favourable to efficient prison intervention (p. 56). By adopting a more flexible formula to PSE access, higher education could influence more offenders, contribute to a

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<sup>18</sup> The OMS is the education software that tabulates educational attainments and goals within CSC's systems. Section 3.6 will address the OMS in more detail.

healthier correctional environment, and provide opportunities to improve delivery method and learning environments for offenders to fully appreciate what PSE can offer.

### 3.4.2 Delivery Method of PSE

As mentioned previously, higher education is provided through intermediary PSE institutions, unlike ABE programs which are provided within CSC facilities and by CSC staff. The delivery method opted for by CSC is distance education. Seeing as the number of offenders who take PSE courses is limited to begin with, bringing professors in once a week is probably deemed too great an expense for educational institutions and possibly a security issue for correctional institutions. There is no evidence that CSC currently has any on-site PSE offering.

Postsecondary distance education has made great strides over the last decade, especially with online programming and resources. That being said, the new illusion of proximity that is provided by online courses is lost on the correctional population as CSC does not allow offenders access to the Internet. Therefore, distance education is available to offenders *only* if courses have exclusively print-based material. Although this alternative seems viable, the number of print-based distance education courses is decreasing rapidly because of the growing popularity of online education (Wilson, 2013, p. 41).

Usually, student offenders enrolled in print-based distance education receive a course-pack/textbook and a syllabus in the mail along with learning objectives and scheduled assignments. Assignments are sent back and forth via mail at the student's cost and discussions between student and professor, when they are possible, occur via the prison payphone at the offenders' cost (p. 40). The restrictions of federal offenders in custody are such that the delivery method cannot foster the best possible learning environment.

In order to piece a degree together with limited print-based offerings, some offenders have to complete courses at different institutions and then transfer credits to one PSE institution in order to be conferred a degree (p. 41). This suggests that credit mobility is an added barrier to student offenders wishing to complete a PSE credential while in custody. Some organizations conscious of the issue, like the Canadian Virtual University (CVU),<sup>19</sup> are developing catalogues of print-based distance education courses for students who do not have access to internet – with a specific attention to federal inmates – to facilitate course selection (Busch, 2013). Despite the cataloguing work of organizations like CVU, the ever-depleting range of courses is likely to follow its current trend.

Wilson ends his remarks on PSE delivery in CSC facilities saying that “[considering] internet access will likely continue to be restricted for federal inmates in the future this trend will only [continue to] exclude [all] prisoners from accessing university courses and resources” (p. 40). This issue would not prove as problematic if there was greater cooperation between correctional and educational institutions to make sure student offenders are provided with the most effective learning environment and valuable access to professors and instructors (e.g. visits to penitentiaries). However, it is difficult to fathom, with all the developments in computer and internet security, that programs with restricted access to online content cannot be introduced in the Canadian correctional system. Gorgol and Sponsler (2011), talking about US state prisons, have stated that “incarcerated persons have few options for education

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<sup>19</sup> “CVU is a consortium of 12 Canadian universities that together offer over 2,500 courses through distance education.” (Busch, CVU)

beyond the secondary level (...) [if they are] prohibited from taking advantage of Internet-based educational programs and resources” (p. 16). Some countries have managed to create secured Internet for its offender population, namely the Internet for Inmates (IFI) project in Norway and the ‘Virtual Campus’ (VC) initiative in the UK, which have proven to be a great leap forward for online education for incarcerated individuals and something CSC should consider (Hawley, 2013, p. 35).

In its current form, PSE in a Canadian correctional context is very strict. Obviously, risk and security have to be mitigated considering the clientele at play, however it should not prevent CSC and relevant stakeholders to investigate new ways of providing quality higher education to willing offenders. It is important that offender PSE benefit from advancements in technology in order to address, and potentially clear, some of the obstacles relevant to its delivery.

### **3.5 Resources for PSE Students**

Following an evaluation of its offender education programs in 2015, CSC deemed its institutional libraries adequate to support Adult Basic Education (ABE) and its computer resources out-dated, even for its ABE students (CSC, 2015b, p. 40, 44). On the one hand, while libraries provide a space conducive to completing coursework (e.g. desks, chairs, silence, etc.), the dated material, short opening hours, and the lack of efficient tracking procedures for library material would surely not accommodate PSE students using these resources (p. 41-2). However, computer services, aside from not having internet access as aforementioned, in no way support PSE students. Not only do computers run obsolete software programs on outmoded machines, which still require “floppy disks” as a mean to save electronic work, but it does not adequately

provide offenders with the necessary computer literacy skills to gain and maintain employment (p. 44-5).<sup>20</sup>

Libraries and computers are institutional services offered to any federal offender. The unsatisfactory result of CSC's own evaluation of its resources' capacity to support Adult Basic Education (ABE) does not leave much hope for its capacity to support PSE students. In order to avoid duplicating CSC's evaluation and recommendations, the remainder of this section will be dedicated to resources not addressed by CSC's 2015 report.

As part of some print-based distance education, depending on the course and the institution offering it, students are required to write assignments under certain guidelines and must be supervised (Wilson, 2013, p. 41). Usually, students reach the closest distance learning centre when it comes time to pass a test that needs to be invigilated, however this is certainly not a possibility for offenders in custody. Wilson says that finding a CSC staff member willing to act as an official invigilator and booking a room where he would be allowed to complete his assignment undisturbed was difficult (p. 41). "The lack of formal mechanisms to support post-secondary learning [makes offenders feel like they are trying to] accomplish things in a correctional system that does not support them," says Wilson (p. 41).

The constant battle of PSE students to find resources to complete their education is tiring and unproductive. It fosters an environment in which student offenders are asked to

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<sup>20</sup> E.g., typing, retrieving/sending e-mails, using word processors, creating spreadsheets, extracting data, and designing computer networks.

perform, with minimal to no support, which only decreases the likelihood of them reaching their full potential, whether academically, personally, or cognitively.

Duguid, in his 1993 article “The Demise of University Education in Canada’s Prisons,” puts forward the idea that offenders, regardless of the intervention or rehabilitation program in which they partake, can only modify their characters as much as their environment will allow it (p. 57). This is where education, according to Duguid, should be “encouraged as an aspect of ‘positive custody’” (p. 57). The notion implies an understanding of the limitation of correctional environments and its constant reminder of the inherent duality between inmate and guard, between offender and corrections. Instead, it strives for an environment “designed to help [offenders] attain or regain positive attitudes towards [themselves] and towards the society to which [they] will eventually return” (Parkinson as cited by Duguid, 1993, p. 65-6). This type of environment is where education becomes possible. Essentially, providing access to PSE in federal penitentiaries without any renewed commitment from CSC to offer adequate support to student offenders is, in some sense, counterintuitive. More involvement on behalf of CSC should improve the learning environment of offenders pursuing PSE in their facilities.

### **3.6 Reporting of PSE Data**

CSC has a duty to report offender educational data to assess the need for different education services and plan and budget their offender education program accordingly. This reporting is done through the Offender Management System (OMS) software as mentioned above. CSC, however, has determined that OMS is not used to its full potential and does not reflect the realities of education in correctional facilities, especially not PSE’s (CSC, 2015b, p. 52).

As a matter of fact, PSE data are not even reported in OMS. The reason for this comes from the responsibility of delivery (3.1.1). Considering, ABE programs are offered in CSC facilities by CSC personnel, the collection of educational data is a necessity if the education pathway of an offender is to be followed. Moreover, the OMS, as per offender's Correctional Plan, contains educational objectives for ABE students (the primary of which is to leave custody with a high school diploma or its equivalent). When it comes to PSE students, CSC is not responsible for program delivery and therefore not responsible for assessing progress or tracking completion. The only data available relating to offender PSE comes from PEP and was collected by both universities involved and then linked to CSC data for additional contextual information (sentence length, release date, etc.).

Currently, CSC does not seem to be keeping any record of offender PSE. Other than monitoring mail and supervising phone calls between student offenders and PSE institutions, it is doubtful that CSC has further involvement in the offering PSE. The fact that data is not systematically collected prevents the evaluation of PSE's effectiveness based on completion rates, educational attainments, and correctional and employment outcomes. This information is crucial to the future of offender PSE for if the program remains unchanged over the years because of a lack of data, higher education in CSC will likely decrease as the service and resources go out-of-date.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Duguid (2000) posits that all prison systems can be categorised under three paradigms that guide a State's response to crime, deviance, and custody. He supports that "[each modern jurisdiction] contains elements of Voltairean pragmatism, Rousseauian idealism, or [de] Sadean

fatalism” (p. 261). While the de Sadean paradigm assumes the public derives equal pleasure in punishing the criminal as the criminal takes pleasure in crime, the Voltairean paradigm has little expectation that incarceration will modify offender behaviour (p. 262-263). However, the Rousseauian paradigm, which Canada adopts, has a nuanced understanding of crime and what leads to it, as well as a distinctive optimism in the potential of rehabilitative endeavours (p. 263).

Due to its Rousseauian approach to crime and imprisonment, Canada prides itself on its ideals of corrections and rehabilitation of offenders. Unlike States with other prison models, Canada’s correctional paradigm actively seeks opportunities to help its criminally inclined population to return to law-abiding life. Certainly, this is why offenders under CSC custody seem to have permanent programs readily available to offenders including higher education opportunities.

Canada seems to be onboard with other proponents of PSE in correctional facilities and believes in its benefits, not only for its offender population but also for the greater Canadian public. However, *CSC’s continued commitment* to PSE does not equate *renewed interest*. Indeed, the many advancements in correctional and distance education have managed to provide valuable avenues for improvement of PSE offerings to Canadian offenders, however CSC has kept the same higher education model in its facilities since the early 1990s. By virtue of its idleness in an ever-changing field, Canada’s offender PSE is quickly lagging behind other countries. As a result, the balance between schooling and scolding in Canada’s prison system is slowly sliding towards the latter because of the growing number of barriers offender’s face when pursuing higher education while incarcerated.

CSC can no longer continue to ‘promote’ higher education without exhibiting greater interest in improving its accessibility, its financing options, and overall support to student offenders within their penitentiaries.

#### 4.1 Recommendations

Once Canada acknowledges that there is a problem with offender PSE, there are many ways in which offender PSE could be improved. Based on this short analysis alone, certain recommendations come as evident. For instance, developing secured and restricted access to online educational resources, improving internal data reporting mechanisms, establishing new and clear PSE prioritization guidelines in an offender’s Correctional Plan, and opening student aid programs to allow for offender financing in some cases, would all improve the state of PSE in Canadian penitentiaries. Because these improvements on offender PSE would be dependent on government investments – which would be a difficult sell to the public without current data – they would likely be introduced incrementally, with the outcome of the previous action informing the relevance of the next one. The problem with this method is that the respective effectiveness of these actions is uncertain if they are implemented sequentially. Individually they would likely produce outcomes that are subtle and difficult to measure, thereby leaving little hope for all recommendations to materialize into actions. This type of relentless incrementalism, common to unpopular policies, would be put to better use with a scalable, multi-stakeholder PSCE pilot project.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ken Battle (2001) contends, “relentless incrementalism consists of strings of reforms, seemingly small and discrete when made, that accumulate to become more than the sum of their parts. Relentless incrementalism is *(footnote continued)*

## 4.2 Pilot PSCE Project

Given the unpopularity of investments in prison services, up-to-date domestic data relevant to offender PSE's positive impact on public safety is imperative. To that effect, a multi-stakeholder pilot project could provide the necessary parameters to address multiple barriers to PSE in penitentiaries simultaneously and effectively measure and evaluate the outcomes of the project. Considering similar programs have proven to be successful in the past (i.e. PEP), it pilot would replicate similar conditions and focus on the collection of data necessary to determine its effectiveness.

The project would consolidate Canada's experience and best practices around the world to build an effective PSCE program. The objective would be to measure higher education's treatment effect on correctional outcomes. Though the program would be using a small domestic scale to produce initial results, it would carefully produce and document the tools, protocols, and mechanisms necessary for the project to be transferable to any correctional facility thereafter, thus ensuring scalability.

The program would contain the following elements:

1. it would build a partnership between a correctional and an educational institution, with specific attention to geographical proximity;
2. it would adapt its educational programming to the realities of correctional institutions, as opposed to merely providing distance education;
3. it would be offered in multiple types of detention centres (i.e. gender-specific facilities, penitentiaries of different security levels, treatment institutions, healing lodges, etc.); and

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purposeful and patterned, not haphazard and unintended. The drip drip drip of individual changes over time carve substantial and planned shifts in the structure and objectives of public policy" (p. 51).

4. it would ensure the tracking of the progress of student offenders throughout and after the process by combining academic and correctional data and (ideally) tax records held at Statistic Canada.

These elements would be the minimum requirements for the program to determine the extent of the benefits of PSCE on correctional outcomes.

Based on these elements, the ideal location for the pilot is in southern British Columbia. Not only did Simon Fraser University (SFU) and the University of Victoria (UVic) already operate this type of correctional education program successfully, but several types of detention centers (i.e. nine CSC facilities) are within driving distance from both institutions, thereby providing ideal conditions for the project. Certain labour market stakeholders would also be beneficial in many ways. Their involvement could facilitate the transition between correctional education and the work force via internship programs, apprenticeship opportunities, and such, as well as help determine the type of educational program made available to offenders, based on labour market needs in specific locations. Closer cooperation with labour market stakeholders would also address the reticence felt by employers to hire offenders and create an opportunity to educate the public on the struggle that released offenders face in finding employment.

The initial interest in creating this pilot program between educational and correctional institutions would not only be an 'exchange of services' agreement (i.e. access to correctional data in exchange for an adapted PSE program), but a financially viable service that increases public safety. SFU's and UVic's PEP proved to be a cost-effective program for over two decades; therefore, there is reason to believe that, provided a similar model is used in the pilot, the program would lead to similar results in terms of net financial benefit.

Before the pilot project reaches cost-effectiveness, however, an initial investment is required. The collaborative nature of the program's partnership would mean that the financial burden would not rely on a single entity (i.e. CSC). It is understood that the PSE institutions involved would financially contribute to this initial investment, as well as provide certain services in kind. Ultimately, sharing the financial burden of the initial investments in PSCE would increase the pilot's likelihood to be accepted by CSC.

The project has, however, certain limitations. The selection bias often acknowledged by researchers, but not actually resolved, would have to be addressed. Additionally the argument proposed by Duguid et al (1998), where "the mere fact of choosing to participate in a [PSCE program] may be setting prisoners off from their peers, self-selecting as it were into a cohort of soon-to-be successful parolees" is a valid one that would also need to be considered (p. 91). In an attempt to really discern the treatment effect of PSCE from other variables, this pilot would build, within its enrollment, a mechanism to isolate the effect of self-selection from program participation. While it may prove unpopular, as it does not assign placement based on merit, a random assignment of limited spaces amongst applicants would provide the best opportunity for a control group. Considering the application to the PSCE program would be voluntary, it is assumed that all applicants share a willingness to better themselves and improve their chances of successfully reintegrating into the community. The assumption – if the selection bias were to be a major contributor of PSCE participants' success – is that offenders who applied, but were not selected, would still show better correctional success rates than the overall prison population, precisely due to their predisposition and willingness to better themselves.

The collection of ‘non-selected applicants’ would prove a powerful control group and would inform an unbiased effect of PSCE on the correctional success of selected applicants. This method is more efficient than a non-experimental pre-/post-program comparison of outcome<sup>22</sup> or a regression-discontinuity design.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, given that the nature of the project is not only to provide PSCE, but to collect data on the treatment effect of PSCE on correctional outcome, it is important that the data attest, as much as possible, for the selection bias. Once the project is completed and the treatment effect has been established, the selection process could be modified in subsequent versions of the program to allow for maximum participation of offenders, provided the results were positive. Finally, although the randomized assignment is not a merit-based selection process, the pilot would leave several offenders better off and none would be worse off.

In the end, a pilot project, as opposed to incremental improvements on separate offender PSE issues, would provide the best opportunity to determine the unbiased treatment effect of PSE on correctional outcome, the preferred multi-stakeholder coordinated approach

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<sup>22</sup> This method consists of comparing data on release outcomes of offenders prior to the start of the PSCE program and then similar data for participants of the program. This non-experimental design has reduced reliability because “the methodology is less robust statistically” (Maredia, 2009, p. 32). Maredia says “the full correction of selection bias remains a challenge” with this kind of analysis (p. 32).

<sup>23</sup> Short of randomized selection, the regression-discontinuity design could be used. It implies shortlisting the best applicants and scoring them on the quality of their application. The understanding here is that all short listed individual would constitute strong applicants, but only the top X of applications would go on to be selected for the program based on limited available spots. “The main idea behind the research design [is] that individuals with scores just below the cutoff [who do not participate in the program] [are] good comparisons to those just above the cutoff [who participate in the program]” (Lee & Lemieux, 2010, p. 281). This process would allow the selection process to be merit-based, but would still be biased due to the fact that selected applicants still scored higher than applicants under the cutoff point.

to corrections, and the most effective way to use investments destined to improve PSE in Canadian penitentiaries.

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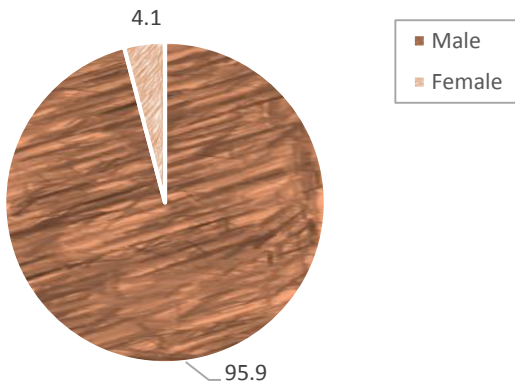
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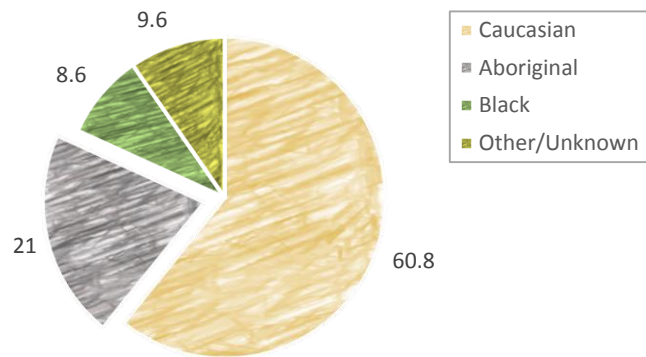
## 6. Appendices

### Appendix A – Traditional metrics of the Canadian Prison Population (Age, gender, and race)<sup>24</sup>

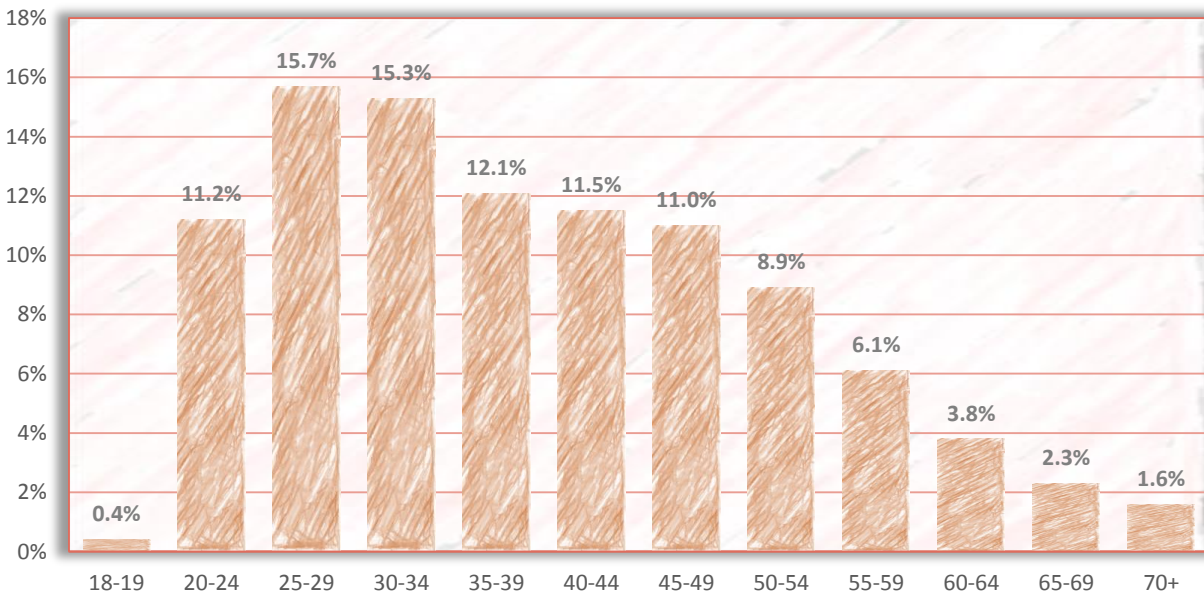
Gender Distribution in CSC Facilities



Racial Proportions in CSC Facilities



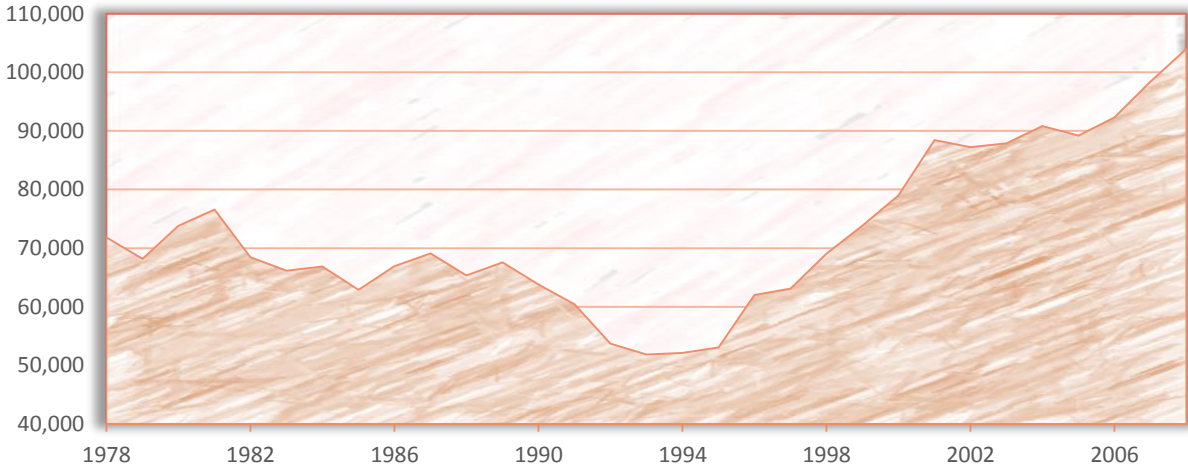
Percentage of In Custody Offender Population by Age



<sup>24</sup> Source: PSC, 2014, pp. 36-49.

Appendix B

B1 – Average Annual Cost per Incarcerated Offender (2002/2003 CAD\$)



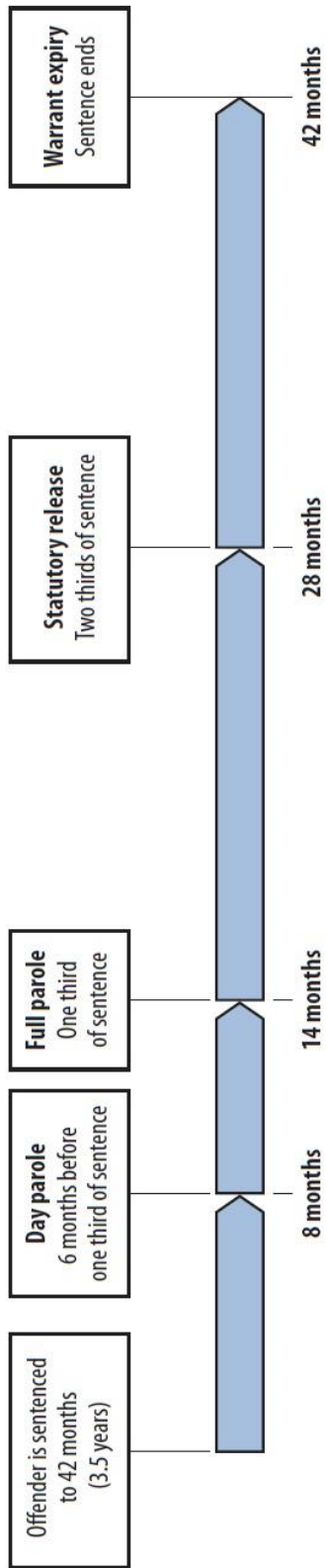
Source: Statistics Canada, Table 251-0007

B2 – Cost per Incarcerated Offenders by type of detention/supervision

Categories	Annual Average Costs per Offender (2014 dollar)				
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>Incarcerated Offenders</b>					
Maximum Security (men only)	147,135	150,808	147,418	151,484	<b>148,330</b>
Medium Security (men only)	93,782	98,219	99,519	104,889	99,207
Minimum Security (men only)	93,492	95,038	95,034	91,959	<b>83,910</b>
Women's Facilities	203,061	211,093	214,614	211,618	<b>210,695</b>
<b>Incarcerated Average</b>	134,368	138,790	139,146	139,988	135,536
Offenders in the Community	29,476	29,537	31,148	35,101	33,799
<b>Total Incarcerated and Community</b>	116,886	120,581	121,147	122,506	<b>118,579</b>

Source: Public Safety Canada (2014), "Correctional and Conditional Release: Statistical Overview," page 26.

Appendix C – Availability of parole and statutory release



Source: Auditor General, Exhibit 6.1

## Appendix D – Ayers et al (1980) Selection Criteria

## Sample Selection Criteria for PSE Participants (p. 9)

1. Subjects must have completed at least two courses totalling three units.
2. Subjects must have completed at least two terms or about seven and one-half months.  
(It was assumed that if students did not complete two courses and stay in the Program at least seven and a half months, there was insufficient participation to attribute effects to the Program and not to other factors. It is interesting to note that only one person who completed a 1 ½ unit course in one term failed to complete 2 courses and remain in the Program for 2 terms.)
3. Subjects had to be released at least six months prior to the conclusion of the study and not more than three and a half years, that is, from April 1, 1976 to October 1, 1979.  
(Most parole violations and reincarceration occur within the first two years after release. Moreover, subjects would likely be more difficult to find the farther from release date, especially if as predicted, former students tend to establish new lives in new communities. In addition, recollection of prior events fades with time. However, a three and one-half year period would all for trends over time, if any, to show in the data collected.)

## Selection Criteria for Matched Groups (p. 11)

1. Subjects must have spent at least eight months at Matsqui Institution and been released in the Pacific Region from Matsqui
2. Subjects must not have enrolled in the University of Victoria Program while in Matsqui Institution or the B. C. Penitentiary.
3. Type of release must match the Eligible Group's type of release and type of release must be as close as possible within each six month time frame from April 1, 1976 to October 1979.

Appendix E – RAND Methodology to Determine Program Cost-Effectiveness

RAND Methodology:

$$\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{PSE} \\ \text{Costs} \end{array} \right) + \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{Potential} \\ \text{Reincarceration Costs} \end{array} \right) < \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{Non - Participation} \\ \text{Incarceration Costs} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left( \begin{array}{c} (\text{PSE Cost}) + (25\% \text{ of parole revocation} \times \$78,000) \\ (25\% \text{ of post warrant expiry} \times \$112,000) \end{array} \right) < \left( \begin{array}{c} 50\% \text{ of parole revocation} \times \$78,000 \\ 50\% \text{ of post warrant expiry} \times \$112,000 \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left( \begin{array}{c} (\$2,400,000) + (154 \times \$78,000) \\ (154 \times \$112,000) \end{array} \right) < \left( \begin{array}{c} 308 \times \$78,000 \\ 308 \times \$112,000 \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left( \begin{array}{c} (\$2,400,000) + (\$12,012,000) \\ (\$17,248,000) \end{array} \right) < \left( \begin{array}{c} \$24,024,000 \\ \$34,496,000 \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left( \begin{array}{c} \$14,412,000 \\ \$19,648,000 \end{array} \right) < \left( \begin{array}{c} \$24,024,000 \\ \$34,496,000 \end{array} \right)$$



Min. and max. cost of  
PSE cost + Potential  
reincarceration costs



Min. and max. cost  
of non-participant  
incarceration costs