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THE CONTRIBUTION OF LONG TERM PRISONERS
TO VIOLENCE IN CANADIAN PENITENTIARIES

Christine Barlow

Submitted to the Department of Criminology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Criminology

University of Ottawa



Christine Barlow, Ottawa, Canada, 1990



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ISBN 0-315-60594-4



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all of those people who confidently supported me through not only the completion of this thesis but all of my academic years.

To Dr. Frank Porporino, who without his help much of the data and wisdom contained in this thesis would not have been possible. I thank you for "finding the time" to take an interest in my work. Your search for perfection has taught me many valuable lessons. I thank you as well for being a friend.

To Dr. Jayewardene, a man whose brilliance would be hard to surpass. May you continue to amaze those around you with your seemingly endless knowledge. I thank you for your patient and relentless thesis supervision.

To my parents, words cannot express the love and admiration that I feel for all of your patience and caring throughout the many years of education. Your guidance has always seen me through and no doubt will continue to do so as the years go on.

Finally, to my husband Loren. Our university education brought us together and our acquired knowledge has set a course for both of us to follow. May we grow together with continued success and much happiness. I dedicate this thesis to you.

ABSTRACT

The law pertaining to capital punishment in Canada saw significant changes during the 1960-70 period and culminated in 1976 with the abolishment of capital punishment and its replacement with life sentences for what is known now as first and second degree murder. Individuals incarcerated for these "life sentences" have created a complex managerial dilemma for correctional officials. Indeed, do we assume that these individuals all require a special "high security, fortress-like" complex in which they will serve their sentences concentrated together or does their presence invoke a more calming effect on an institution whereby everyone concerned might be better off if these inmates were to be dispersed among all of the prison population? Past experiences in countries such as Great Britain and Australia provide inconclusive answers to this question.

One thing is clear, this issue must be examined within a Canadian context in order to give us a clearer understanding of the situation as it presently exists. Do long term prisoners contribute significantly to the violence in our institutions. To test this three hypothesis were developed; (1) Institutions that house long term offenders do not have disproportionately higher incidents of violence or escapes; (2) Long term offenders are not disproportionately involved in incidents of violence or escapes; (3) Long term offenders are not a homogeneous group hence certain characteristics within this population predispose selective individuals to become involved in prison incidents or escapes.

This study showed that institutions that house long term offenders were indeed disproportionately involved in incidents of violence however it was unclear as to whether that was due to the presence of long term inmates or other factors. This relationship became further in doubt when the second hypothesis revealed that short term not long term inmates were disproportionately involved in incidents of violence and escapes. This finding was consistent with other research done in this area. Finally, a number of distinguishing characteristics were found amongst the long term offender population which might begin to provide a basis for which to predict institutional behavior. Not surprisingly, the distinguishing factors related primarily to age at time of offence and previous convictions and incarcerations.

A system of dispersal-concentration appears to most accommodate the findings that the data provides. What is advocated here is a system whereby long term offenders after an initial orientation period in a general population prison would if deemed appropriate be concentrated in special "long term units" which would be lower security settings placed among a larger, higher perimeter security institutional complex. These units would be dispersed amongst our existing correctional facilities. Such a system appears to better accommodate the needs of both the correctional system and the offenders involved.

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Chapter 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of the Capital Punishment Legislation in Canada

The laws pertaining to capital punishment in Canada have been the subject of much debate and subsequent amendments over the past twenty-five years, resulting in the final abolition of the death penalty and its substitution with life imprisonment in 1976. The issue arose again in 1987 and following the debate's conclusion the amendments of 1976 remained unaltered.

Canada created its Criminal Code in 1892. Legislation relating to homicide remained largely unaltered until 1961. Murder was penalized by the death penalty while manslaughter carried a maximum punishment of life imprisonment.

The one major amendment that did occur with respect to the law for murder prior to 1961 took place in 1948 when the Minister of Justice introduced Bill 337 creating a third category of homicide entitled infanticide. Prior to this, infanticide was prosecuted either as murder or as manslaughter, depending on the circumstances surrounding the incident. The new crime of infanticide was made punishable by a maximum five year period of imprisonment. Of interest is the fact that the introduction of this amendment was perceived as an attack on the use of capital punishment (Jayewardene, 1977).

In 1954, a Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate was established to inquire into a number of criminal justice issues, including capital punishment. The final report

called for the retention of capital punishment as the mandatory penalty for murder. The Committee recommended that no change be made in the definition of murder and claimed that the creation of 'degrees' of murder were not appropriate for Canada. However, they recommended the abolition of capital punishment for convicted murderers under 18 years of age and a limited use for those under the age of 21. Further recommendations included the full disclosure of the crown's case to the accused and that the accused be provided with proper legal representation. Also suggested was a mandatory plea of not guilty for capital charges and the introduction of an automatic appeal process.

The government addressed the issue of capital punishment again in 1960 through the introduction of Bill C-92, an Act to Amend the Criminal Code. This Bill ignoring the 1954 Joint Committee's recommendations, abolished capital punishment for certain types of murder dividing murder into two distinct categories; capital, which carried the death penalty and non-capital which did not. Capital murder was defined as murder (a) that was planned or deliberate; (b) of a police or corrections officer in the line of duty; or (c) committed during the commission of crimes of violence. All other types of murder were defined as non-capital.

Although numerous attempts were made to alter the law concerning capital punishment following these changes, the next amendments to this legislation did not occur until December 1967, when Bill C-168 introduced a five year moratorium on the death

penalty except for the murder of a police officer or prison official while on official duty. According to Jayewardene (1977), the moratorium was the culmination of an abolitionist movement that had begun as early as 1946. A proposal in the United Kingdom to introduce a similar five year moratorium was also considered a significant influence on Canada's decision. Clearly, Bill C-168's goal was to restrict the use of capital punishment. Accordingly, the definition of capital murder was altered to include only the murder of a police or prison officer in the line of duty. These amendments were to be in place for a period of five years. This Bill was passed on December 21, 1967 on a free vote with 114 members voting in favour of the amendments and 87 voting against.

The 1967 bill brought the issue of capital punishment to rest until the 29th Parliament in the spring of 1973. At this time, the moratorium on the death penalty had ceased and the situation reverted to the conditions created by the 1961 amendment. Although the minority Liberal Government of the day appeared anxious to avoid the risk of bringing such a contentious matter to vote, Bill C-2 was introduced in February 1973 extending the moratorium created by the 1967 amendments until December 1977. Although the 1967 amendments called for the death penalty for the killing of a policeman or a prison guard, no one was executed.

Faced with the prospect of having to sanction the execution of Rene Vaillancourt, a killer of a policeman, a majority Liberal

Government decided to attempt the total abolition of capital punishment. Consequently Bill C-84, an Act to Amend the Criminal Code in Relation to the Punishment for Murder and Certain Other Serious Offences was introduced and capital punishment was abolished on July 26, 1976. This new legislative amendment abolished the death penalty and introduced life sentences with minimum mandatory terms to be served before parole eligibility. This new law also abolished the categories of "capital murder" and "non-capital murder" and created first and second degree murder offences.

First degree murder was defined as: (a) planned or deliberate murder; (b) murder of a peace officer or prison officer in the line of duty; (c) murder while undertaking the hijacking of an aircraft, kidnapping or forcible confinement, rape or indecent assault; (d) murder following a previous conviction for first degree murder. Individuals convicted of such an offence were not eligible for parole until after twenty-five years of incarceration.

Second degree murder included any type of murder which was not considered first degree murder. An individual convicted of 2nd degree murder was not eligible for parole before ten years of incarceration. The ten year period was set as a minimum mandatory sentence. A judge had the discretion to impose a longer sentence if it was felt the circumstances warranted it. However, the length was not to surpass that of first degree murder.

Also introduced during the 1976 amendments was a process of judicial review. Anyone serving a sentence where the parole eligibility was longer than fifteen years was permitted at the fifteen year point of their incarceration to apply for a review in which a jury had the authority to reconsider the minimum duration required before parole could be granted. This provision did not affect the National Parole Board's (NPB) authority and discretion over the granting or denial of parole. The decision to reduce the duration of incarceration before parole eligibility only mandated the NPB to consider the individual for parole but not necessarily to grant it. Should parole be granted to an individual sentenced to "life", he was to remain under the supervision of a parole officer for the rest of his life. Therefore, at any point in his release he ran the risk of having his liberty revoked should his supervising officer feel it necessary. Hence, this individual remains a "lifer" in the true sense of the word. Interestingly, Rene Vaillancourt, the individual who was seen as a factor in the decision to abolish capital punishment was also be the first individual in Ontario to apply for a judicial review. His application was denied in the fall of 1988. There are now over 250 murderers in prison across Canada who will in the next few years, have served 15 years of their sentence and who will presumably be applying for a judicial review as well.

Although capital punishment was only abolished in 1976,

there have been no executions in Canada since December 11, 1962. Since that date, sixty-nine death sentences had been pronounced, by the time capital punishment was abolished, all but eleven individuals had had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. Upon the enactment of the 1976 amendment all of these sentences were automatically commuted.

According to Rizkalla, Levy and Zauberman (1977), the implementation of twenty-five year minimum sentences was essentially a political trade off. They argued:

"It was in exchange for the abolition of the death penalty, which he wanted more than anything else that Mr. Allmand suggested the above measures.

...

Considering the manner in which it was presented and the criticism it has received, the question is whether Bill C-84 will remain in force long enough to give rise to all the harmful consequences predicted. One might well suspect, discreetly of course, that the trade-off is merely temporary."

(Rizkalla, Levy, Zauberman, 1977, pg. 8 & 11)

Implied here is the idea that once introduced, it was possible that Bill C-84 would be reversed or modified. Such revisions could include reducing the minimum length of time to be served prior to parole eligibility. Normandeau (1976) suggested a minimum of 10 years for first degree murder and the creation of a twelve citizen jury who would decide whether or not to grant parole and a 5 year minimum for second degree murder with the granting or denial of parole to remain at the discretion of the parole board.

Abolitionists argued for the introduction of alternative solutions that would complement such liberal principles as rehabilitation and reintegration.

However, the law and long term imprisonment has remained in place for over 13 years.

Consequences of Abolishing Capital Punishment

With the abolition of capital punishment in 1976 and the subsequent implementation of a minimum twenty-five year imprisonment before consideration for parole for first degree murder and of a ten year minimum imprisonment for second degree murder, there was a possibility of changes occurring in the prison population and problems created for prison administrators. Other countries that had abolished capital punishment prior to Canada had been contending with this issue for some time. Their experiences suggested that the 1976 legislative amendments would have profound consequences on the structure of the Canadian prison system. Two primary concerns were the increasing number of long term prisoners and the high security levels at which these individuals had to be placed.

One major concern for prison administrators was the fact that there would be a substantial increase in the number of long term prisoners. First degree murderers in particular would accumulate since the first prisoners sentenced to the twenty-five year minimum would only be eligible for parole in the year 2001. Consequently, prison population statistics would show a yearly

increase in the number of long term prisoners, with only additions to and no likely subtractions from the number until that year. This increase in the absolute number of long term prisoners would also result in an increase in the relative proportion of long term prisoners in the prison population, but more important than that was the fact that the prison population itself would increase unless a change occurred in sentencing procedures to reduce the number of short term prisoners.

Sapsford (1978) has attributed a great proportion of the increase in the population of British prisons to the abolition of capital punishment. In his analysis of long term prisoners in Britain, he noted that before 1969 when the abolition of capital punishment was made permanent, approximately two out of every three murderers were hanged. On this basis he argued that more than half of the convicted lifers would not be alive and in prison.

King, Morgan, Martin and Thomas make the same point in their book, The Future of the Prison System (1980). They claim that there have been dramatic shifts in the long term British prison population due to life sentence prisoners. In 1962, before the abolition of capital punishment these numbered 300 to 350 of which the majority were murderers. Since the abolition of capital punishment, the lifer population has increased significantly from 551 in 1968 to 1,286 in 1977. This amounts to an 233% increase in one decade.

The Advisory Council to the Penal System (The Radzinowicz Report, 1968) observed that the number of long sentence prisoners was increasing. They also pointed out that the prison statistics indicated that during the years 1956-60, three new prisoners sentenced to serve 14 years or more were added to the prison population yearly and during the period 1961-66, ten such prisoners were added a year. It was the Committee's firm belief that the abolition of capital punishment contributed to the increase in the number of long term prisoners. They reported that there were 89 long term offenders in 1955, compared to 365 in 1964. In January of 1973 the Twelfth Report of the Criminal Law Revision Committee on the Penalty for Murder stated that:

"Following the abolition of the death penalty in 1965 there grew up a very considerable population of murderers of the more brutal and hardened type. In the past, many of these would have been executed, now they had to be detained for long periods."

The Committee on Long Term Imprisonment in Canada, has examined the situation in Canada (1984). Considering those convicted of first and second degree murder, they reported that in the last 6 months of 1976, following the abolition of capital punishment, there were four admissions for first degree murder and thirteen for second degree murder. By 1983, the number of annual admissions for first degree murder increased to twenty-four while second degree murder admissions increased to fifty-seven. These figures for the intervening period (Table 1) indicate that annual admissions for both types of murder have remained fairly consistent over the eight years in question, with

the exception of 1980 when the number of admissions for first degree murder was significantly lower. There has been consequently, a steady increase in the long term prisoner population.

Table 1
1st and 2nd DEGREE MURDER ADMISSIONS
AS OF JUNE 30, 1983

YEAR	FIRST DEGREE	SECOND DEGREE	TOTAL FOR YEAR	% CHANGE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR
1976 ¹	4	13	17	---
1977	30	87	117	---
1978	29	98	127	+8.5
1979	28	98	126	-0.8
1980	13	88	101	-19.8
1981	32	89	121	+19.8
1982	39	110	149	+23.1
1983 ²	24	57	81	---
TOTAL	199	640	839	---

Source: Committee on Long Term Imprisonment
in Canada, Working Paper No. 1, 1984,
pg. 13

¹Last six months of 1976 only

²First six months of 1983 only

7

One of the most significant issues in the management of long term prisoners, is the question of security level designation. It has been the policy of the Correctional Services of Canada (CSC) to classify long term prisoners to maximum security based on the severity of their offence and/or sentence length. Administrative guidelines of a minimum three years to be served in maximum security for first degree murderers and eighteen months for second degree murderers were established in 1981.

According to the Committee on Long Term Imprisonment 93% of all first degree murderers and 60.2% of second degree murderers were being held in maximum security institutions as of June 30, 1983. In comparison, 39.9% of all other long term prisoners³ and 28.0% of the remaining prison population (short term) were being housed in maximum security institutions.

With respect to medium security institutions only 5% of first degree murderers and 34.8% of second degree murderers were accorded medium security status. This compares with 38.5% of all other long term prisoners and 53.2% of the remaining prison population or short term prisoners (Table 2).

The Committee argues that this policy of classification has resulted in significant changes in maximum security prison

³Other long term offender is defined as all prisoners except those serving a sentence for first or second degree murder who are (1) serving a sentence of life imprisonment, (2) serving an indefinite sentence regardless of their parole eligibility, (3) those serving a definite sentence of at least 21 years, (4) all prisoners who have served at least seven consecutive years and who have therefore served the equivalent of the shortest parole ineligibility period for a life sentence.

populations. In 1978, 10% of Millhaven Institution's prison population were serving life sentences. By December 1984, this figure had increased to over 30%. Furthermore in 1985, one in five prisoners in maximum security institutions across Canada were serving a sentence for murder.

These figures suggest that relative to murderers, other long term offenders are generally confined in lower levels of security. The general prison population (short term) is also maintained for the most part in lower levels of security. Furthermore, the increasing number of inmates serving lengthy sentences in maximum security has significantly altered the population structures of these institutions.

Another interesting observation made by the Committee was the fact that 13% of the murder group were incarcerated at Kingston or Saskatchewan Penitentiaries. These institutions are protective custody facilities for those inmates who, due to circumstances surrounding their offence or their incarceration, cannot function in a general population institution.

The increase in the number of prisoners being classified to protective custody (PC) and special handling units (SHU) has added to the dilemma of prison management. There are serious consequences both to the management of the prison system and the prisoner himself when confinement in such institutions results, particularly in the case of long term offenders.

The Carson Committee (1984), in the Report of the Advisory Committee to the Solicitor General of Canada on the Management of Correctional Institutions reported that, as of October 31, 1984, almost 16% of 1st degree murderers had been placed in special handling units.

The increasing number of long term offenders seeking protective custody may be related to an overall increase in the number of protective custody admissions. Research indicates that overcrowding and the high percentage of first time federal offenders in maximum security may be some possible explanations for the increase (Solicitor General, 1984-86).

Table 2

SECURITY LEVEL AS OF JUNE 30, 1983

Security Level	1st Degree Murder		2nd Degree Murder		Other Long Term		Remaining Population	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Maximum	185	93.0	385	60.2	394	39.9	2877	28.0
Medium	10	5.0	223	34.8	380	38.5	5463	53.2
Minimum	1	0.5	24	3.8	203	20.6	1779	17.3
Provincial	3	1.5	8	1.3	10	1.0	154	1.5
TOTAL	199	100.0	640	100.1	987	100.0	10273	100

Source: (Committee on Long Term Imprisonment in Canada, Working Paper No. 1, 1984, pg. 19)

Some international comparisons of security level classification are interesting to make. The various Australian jurisdictions use different rules for the classification of prisoners, and the terms maximum, medium and minimum may have different meanings from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. They are however, according to Walker and Biles (1986) at least broadly comparable. Prisoners normally spend the early part of their term in maximum security and move through medium to minimum security as they serve their sentence. Exceptions to this process normally include violent prisoners and former escapees. Australia had 926 individuals incarcerated for homicide in 1985. Of these, 39.1% (370) were being held at the maximum security level, 23.7% (227) were held at medium security institutions and 32.4% (273) were held at minimum security facilities. Another 2.4% (23) were unclassified and for the remaining 1.4% (13) their security level was unknown (Walker & Biles, 1986). When the situation in the different jurisdictions in that country is examined a similar trend emerges. In all jurisdictions there are no more than 50% of the homicide offenders held in maximum security institutions. As illustrated in Table 3 , in the Northern Territory, only 24% of homicide offenders are held at the maximum security level while the majority 76% are held in medium (44%) and minimum security (32%).

This becomes an interesting distinction when compared with the situation in Canada where 93% of first degree and 60% of second degree murderers are held at maximum security.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER OF HOMICIDE OFFENDERS BY
SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AND JURISDICTION
AS OF JUNE 30, 1985

JURISDICTION	MAXIMUM	MEDIUM	MINIMUM	UNKNOWN	TOTA
New South Wales	42% (136)	15% (49)	37% (118)	6% (19)	322
Victoria	41% (88)	25% (54)	33% (71)	---	213
Queensland	35% (72)	34% (69)	23% (47)	8% (17)	205
Western Aust.	50% (44)	32% (28)	18% (16)	---	88
Southern Aust.	50% (32)	19% (12)	31% (20)	---	64
Northern Terr.	24% (8)	44% (15)	32% (11)	---	34

Source: (Walker & Biles, 1985,
pg 91-93)

Note: This table excludes the jurisdiction of Tasmania for which data by security classification was not available.

Dispersal Vs Concentration Models in Britain and Australia

Two models have been proposed for the housing of long term offenders. The dispersal model seeks to house long term inmates across all the correctional facilities in a system. This model assumes that the presence of these older, quieter long termers will foster an institutional climate characterized by less aggression.

The alternative view - the concentration model - suggests that inmates serving long sentences should be concentrated in a single facility. Persons arguing for this system feel that

inmates serving long terms are particularly serious offenders who require close custody to avoid incidents of violence or escape.

This issue of concentration versus dispersal method has been the subject of great debate in Britain since the abolition of capital punishment there.

Following several major escapes during the 1960's, The Earl of Burma was appointed to head an Inquiry into Prison Escapes and Security in 1966. His report named after him, the Mountbatten Report, argued the following points. (1) The new factor of the abolition of the death penalty and the subsequent implementation of long prison sentences has changed the underlying philosophy for the administration of prisons, that those who mended their ways could and would be allowed to return to free society. (2) Sentences of forty years now being given out made a treatment oriented regime not applicable because inmates serving that length of sentence could not be concerned with any outcome that would not possibly occur until forty years later. (3) Those convicted of the most serious offences were the most likely to escape. And, if they did escape these people posed a much greater risk of committing further acts of violence while at large in society.

Consequently, Mountbatten conceived of the prison population as divisible into four categories according to the danger they constituted.

Category A prisoners were those who under no circumstances should be allowed to escape because of the danger they posed to the public. To house them he proposed the construction of a new type of ultra security institution, the "purpose built prison".

Category B were those inmates who needed a fairly secure setting but not as secure as those in Category A.

Category C prisoners were those individuals who required some structure but were not an escape risk.

Category D were offenders who could remain in open custody institutions and work outside the walls of the prison (Mountbatten, 1966).

The government, accepted Lord Mountbatten's recommendation for security classification of inmates and this was introduced in 1967. However, before putting a model of concentration into effect, the Home Secretary commissioned an Advisory Council in 1968 to consider the nature of the regime under which long term prisoners might be held in conditions of maximum security and report on the Mountbatten Report. The Regime for Long Term Prisoners in Conditions of Maximum Security was the result of their deliberations and was published in March 1968. The Radzinowicz report, as this report became known, disagreed with Mountbatten's proposal and suggested a system of dispersal where high risk prisoners would be spread out among several maximum security prisons where perimeter security had been up-graded. These institutions became known as dispersal prisons. The Committee did acknowledge a need for a small segregated unit to

be established at each of these dispersal prisons to hold a small number of disruptive prisoners who would require separation from the general population for a certain period of time (Radzinowicz, 1968). These recommendations were adopted by the Home Office in 1968 and seven institutions were selected and adapted to meet the dispersal model requirements and hence the classification and administration practices that had already been in place in the British system continued.

The concentration/dispersal issue was raised again in 1979 by the Committee of Inquiry into the United Kingdom Prison Services, also known as the May Committee. Their report supported the continuation of the dispersal policy recommended by Radzinowicz in 1968. The Committee felt that the debate between the two models was to be determined not by the strength of the arguments in favour of dispersal but of those against concentration. They considered the two following arguments as being most crucial to the policy of concentration. First, was the issue of cost. May argued that due to the growing number of category A prisoners and a lack of any true reliable means to distinguish these individuals from other prisoners, more than one facility would be necessary to contain these inmates. The cost of providing two high-security concentrated institutions would outweigh the cost of improving security at the existing dispersal institutions. Their second argument dealt with the issue of classifying inmates to a categorization level based solely on security criteria. The Committee contended that these criteria

alone were totally irrelevant to the issue of control.

Furthermore, they were of the opinion that the present dispersal model had been fairly successful in dealing with control issues that had arisen (May, 1979).

King, Morgan, Martin and Thomas (1980) argue (in their book published as a critique of the May Commission) that the dispersal policy has been illogical and wrongheaded from the outset because it was based on a misunderstanding of the relationship between the security and the control problems. More particularly, they argued that the dispersal model was more expensive than the concentration model would have been. The Radzinowicz proposal had acknowledged the greater expense but had argued that the extra cost was a small price to pay to ensure a humane approach to the custody of high security prisoners serving long sentences. Implementation of this dispersal system, as King and Morgan who are supporters of the concentration regime point out, has resulted in a higher security maintenance for all prisoners.

Cohen (1974) has also been critical of the "magic wand approach to classification". By this he means the tendency of correctional officials to concentrate all long term prisoners in one maximum security prison with the aim of eliminating all custodial problems. Cohen argues, segregating a particular group of inmates from the general population amounts to nothing more than "human warehousing".

Taking a concentration-dispersion combined position, Martin (in King, Morgan, Martin and Thomas 1980) argues that the notion

of dangerous prisoners contains two analytically distinct categories. The first is the idea of a high security risk. Those who are at a high risk of escaping the institution. The second embodies the idea of control risk, that is, those individuals who pose problems while in the institution. Therefore only those who are security risks should be CATEGORY A prisoners and those who are control risks should not necessarily receive the CATEGORY A rating as these individuals could be dealt with in their respective institutions.

The British Home Office has elected to remain with the system of dispersal established by the Radzinowicz Report with some modifications implemented when the concept of special adjustment units was introduced.

Another country which can be thought of as having a long term prisoner problem is Australia. There are 10,000 people in prison in Australia of whom nearly 30% (3,000) can be classified as long term prisoners. But here, a long term prisoner is defined as one serving a sentence of five years or more. In Australia there have been two significant changes in the structure of the country's prison populations. There has been an increase in the long term prison population but there has been no significant increase in the total prison population. In September 1976 there was a daily average of 8796 prisoners held in custody. Subsequently, in 1977 there were 8901 incarcerated individuals followed by 9499 in 1978 and 9897 in 1979. In 1980 the population dropped to 9624 and increased only slightly in

1981 to 9663. In 1982 the population increased to 9715 followed by another increase in 1983 to 10,064 and finally dropping off in 1984 to 9542 (Biles & Johnson, 1984). Overall, there has only been an increase of 641 prisoners in the 9 years in question.

There are great differences in the proportions of long term prisoners in the prison populations of the six states and two territories. Tasmania, for example, has only 14.2% of its prisoners serving long term sentences while Queensland has 44.0%. Also, the changes in the proportion of long term prisoners has varied from state to state. From 1976 until 1978, the number of individuals serving life sentences in New South Wales increased by 16% (31 persons). In Victoria, lifers increased tenfold between 1970 and 1978 (Wardlaw & Biles, 1980).

Frieberg and Biles (1976), found in a study concerning time served by life sentence prisoners in Australia, that an average of thirteen years were served before release on parole. When the different jurisdictions are examined individually this figure is found to vary greatly. In some regions the length of time served prior to release was much greater while for other areas this time period was much less. These differences could well be due to differences in the policy towards capital punishment.

Capital punishment was abolished by the different states in Australia at different times. New South Wales in 1955 and Victoria in 1975. Queensland abolished it in 1922; Tasmania in 1968 and the Australian Capital Territory in 1973. South

Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory have not abolished it yet.

The problem of whether long term prisoners should be held concentrated or dispersed throughout the prison system has been studied in Australia as it has been in Britain. Again, as in Britain, the tendency has been for all the large jurisdictions to lean toward a system of dispersal (Wardlaw & Biles, 1980). Wardlaw and Biles seem to feel that an increase in the proportion of long termers subjected to high security conditions, would inevitably lead to a system of locating all long term prisoners in special-purpose institutions and they suggested that some thought might be given to holding long term prisoners in institutions of their own. Arguing against this system, they point out under such a regime, long term prisoners would be deprived of many of the necessary programs which are at present offered under a system of dispersal:

"It is desirable that prisoners should be allocated to institutions on the basis of their needs and the degree of security it is deemed they require rather than the basis of their membership in an arbitrarily defined group."

(Wardlaw and Biles, 1980, pg.79)

Furthermore, they argue that no empirical evidence exists to support the idea that the length of sentence is a measure of the characteristics of the inmate. Nor is there any empirical evidence to suggest that long term prisoners present a management problem that necessitates their incarceration in specialized institutions. On the contrary, Wardlaw showed in a 1980

Australian study, that, as a group, long term prisoners are not a management problem and are in fact often a stabilizing influence in the institution. It was further concluded that if a long term prisoner was a difficult prisoner, it was not the length of their sentence per se which was contributing to his difficulty.

Three Basic Management Problems: Security, Control, Treatment

1) Security

The increase of long term prisoners following the abolition of the death penalty supposedly created three basic problems for prison administrators. The first of these is the problem of security. Considered dangerous, it becomes essential to ensure that the prisoner has absolutely no chance of escaping from custody. Consequently, from at least a theoretical point of view they must be held in institutions where perimeter security has been maximized. This would call for the construction of special institutions as has been suggested by Mountbatten. However, there is evidence to indicate that not all long term prisoners pose the same security risk. What is more, the suggestion has even been made that they have a salutary effect on the general prison population. Consequently, long term prisoners have been distributed to all existing prisons.

Long term imprisonment, especially with a mandated parole ineligibility period of incarceration increases the time the prisoner spends in an institution and consequently the number of long term prisoners convicted of murder in institutions at any

given time. For example, at the end of 1979 there were 101 prisoners who has been admitted into Canadian penal institutions for first degree murder and 307 for second degree murder. By the end of 1986, these figures had increased to 339 and 968 respectively.

The imposition of long mandatory terms of incarceration prior to parole eligibility, has caused sentences served to increase substantially. Data collected in this area indicate that for the time span 1970 to 1982, capital-commuted murderers served on average 14.7 years prior to release and non-capital murderers an average of 10.2 years (Committee on Long Term Imprisonment, 1984). Their prolonged stay in institutions creates problems of overcrowding. Past experience has indicated that those mandated to administer correctional facilities have few effective contingencies for dealing with the problem of overcrowding. The two most often used alternatives are building new prisons and changing sentencing options. Both have proven futile. New prisons fill up and become as overcrowded as the older existing institutions and sentencing alternatives have only served to "widen the correctional net". An extensive amount of literature presently exists indicating that overcrowding has damaging consequences both to the management of the institution and to the individual inmates themselves. There exist a number of studies that have established a link between overcrowding and increased rates of disciplinary behaviour (Solicitor General,

1984-86). These consequences of long term imprisonment produce a second problem - the problem of control.

2) Control

Custodial concerns differentiate themselves into security concerns which involve the risk of escape, and control concerns which involve the prevention of disruptive behaviour while the inmate is in the institution. These control concerns, the management of disruptive institutional behaviour, Cellini (1985) stresses must be the primary mandate of correctional staff.

Flanagan (1980b) contends that it is logical that the longer the time that an inmate serves in prison the greater the risk that he will incur a disciplinary record. The length of his sentence alone, predisposes him to a risk of disciplinary action for a longer period of time. This in turn can have serious consequences on the inmate being granted a parole. O'Leary and Glaser (1972) concluded that prison conduct is unofficially taken into account by parole board members. Prison behavior is seen as a good indicator of future behavior in society.

In a study of violence in prisons, Porporino (1986) has shown that violent incidents in prison are most concentrated in higher security settings. He contends that this concentration of violence in higher security correctional settings supports the fact that the use of increased security to facilitate control has only had a marginal effect at eliminating prison violence. As the majority (93% first degree, 60.2% second degree) of murderers are

held in maximum security institutions, it is perhaps logical to assume then, that a large percentage of life sentence inmates are responsible for or involved in violent prison incidents. Porporino's study however, revealed that violent inmates tend to be younger individuals who are serving relatively short sentences for a variety of criminal offences. The rate of involvement of long termers in violent incidents within the institution has remained substantially constant over the past few years despite their increase in population size, increasing only slightly from 88 per 1000 inmates in 1981 to 97 per 1000 inmates in 1984. These findings are in keeping with previous work done in the area of institutional infractions.

An early study by Zink (1956) reported that the infraction rates of life term prisoners were lower than those of prisoners serving shorter sentences. Furthermore, Wolfgang (1961) found no relationship between length of incarceration and scores on a multidimensional prison adjustment index. More recently, Brown and Spivacek (1971) found no difference between high and low disciplinary offenders in terms of length of time in the institution. Timothy Flanagan (1980b) has also shown that the infraction rates of long term inmates are significantly lower than the rates for short term prisoners, even in the early years of confinement. However, age is an important variable that intervenes in the relationship, especially in the older age categories. There appears to be an inverse relationship between age and involvement in disciplinary infractions. Therefore, as

age increases, involvement decreases. Explanations for such findings include the increase in maturation levels with age and the loss of nerve over time.

It might consequently, be suggested that if the long term prisoners do not engage in disruptive behaviour, their presence in an institution might provoke it because of the apprehension caused in the other long term prisoners by their presence in the institution. Relevant here perhaps is the finding that Flanagan (1980b) makes that though the type of infractions that long term inmates involve themselves in do not appear to differ from those of short term inmates, the infractions that are committed by them may be more serious in nature.

3) Treatment

The third problem is that of treatment. The Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) has a mandate to "administer the sentences of the courts concerning offenders sentenced to two years or more as well as the decisions of the National Parole Board (NPB) affecting their release." (Solicitor General, Annual Report 1985-86, pg. 50) This objective has been defined as "to manage the Service so as to protect the public, meet the conditions of sentence imposed by the courts, allow offenders the opportunity for personal reformation, promote and contribute to the development of an effective criminal justice system in Canada, and minimize the cost of achieving these goals" (Solicitor General, Annual Report 1985-86, pg.51). Thus while CSC must ensure that the conditions of the sentence imposed by

the courts are adhered to, they also must ensure that offenders are afforded the opportunity for rehabilitation. These two objectives, custody and treatment, are often seen as existing at opposite and contradictory ends. As Jayewardene and Jayasuriya (1979) point out, custody has most often been perceived as inhumane and barbarous while treatment, on the other hand is thought of as kind and humane. Outerbridge (1968), has suggested that treatment may be just a disguise for inhumane and barbarous actions while in many instances custody may be the more humane course of action. With respect to long term incarceration Mountbatten (1966) has argued that the concept of treatment is irrelevant. The notion of treatment leading to rehabilitation and thereby permitting release is not applicable to the inmate serving a life sentence due to the fact that regardless of his program involvement he still must serve the mandatory time of possibly 25 years before possible release. He argues that due to the imposition of long minimum sentences of incarceration the philosophy of prison has changed with respect to the long term prisoner whereby treatment is not a focal concern. Nonetheless, prison administrators must organize some program of activity for the long term prisoners at least to keep them occupied while they serve their time. In a report released in December of 1985 (McLaren, 1985), the following policy statement with regards to programs for long term offenders was put forward by the Policy Division of the Solicitor General of Canada:

"CSC recognizes that long term offenders have special needs, but also that their integration into the general inmate population is fundamentally important. Therefore, the Service will provide high-quality, long-term programs which will by their orientation and nature satisfy both the special needs of long term offenders and the needs of the inmate population as a whole."
(McLaren, 1985, pg.21)

The problems of programs for the long term offender are amplified for the following reasons. First, penitentiary programs are generally geared towards prisoners whose stay will be relatively short, compared to long term prisoners. Secondly, the programs are primarily intended to provide prisoners with the opportunities for meeting criteria which will increase the likelihood of their being released. Finally, programs are more likely to be available in lower security level penitentiaries and selection criteria tend to favour those who are approaching release eligibility. All three of these factors are biases against the inmate serving a life sentence with minimum parole eligibility.

Prison administrators must come to grips with these three issues in order to determine effective policies and programs to deal with the possible consequences of long term confinement. Questions concerning structural changes within the inmate population, increasing amounts of institutional violence and the changing objectives of those implementing correctional policy must be addressed if we are to deal with this issue in an efficient and knowledgeable fashion.

All of these issues are some how or other related to disruptive behaviour in penal institutions. Consequently the question of prime concern is the contribution that long term prisoners make to violence in prisons. It has been suggested by some that these prisoners will experience increasing desperation and helplessness. This "nothing to lose" attitude may increase the likelihood of hostility and aggression towards others. As their numbers increase, it is feared that violence will become more frequent, and special measures will be needed to maintain control. Opponents of such a belief argue that the system has always had to deal with life sentence prisoners and they have not required special security or management measures. In fact, they view these individuals as having a stabilizing influence on the prison population as a whole. But then, this was at a time when only a small segment of convicted murderers spent long periods of time in prison. When the numbers increase and the type of persons serving these sentences change will the same situation prevail?

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

The Dilemma

The review of the literature suggests that there may be managerial problems arising from the implementation of the 1976 amendments which resulted in the abolition of capital punishment and the substitution of long terms of imprisonment. It has been argued that this amendment has presented correctional administrators whose responsibility has become those long term offenders, with the dilemma of creating correctional policy concerning these individuals. One of the primary concerns is that those who require the most imaginative policies and who are also in greatest need of specific policy changes, are the least desirable as candidates for new innovative ideas in terms of political and public acceptance:

"In the development of correctional policy, public approval of policy changes may be least likely when the offenders affected are long-term prisoners, especially if the changes are perceived by citizens as presenting a greater risk to society of repeated victimization by these offenders or as representing leniency toward this group. The public does not support practices that are perceived as (or defined) as 'coddling' criminals. Moreover, because of the serious offences committed, the long-term prisoner group is likely to be the target of the most vociferous public demands for strict custody, control, and punishment."

(Flanagan, 1982b, pg. 83-84)

As outlined in the first chapter, the problems arising for the management of the penitentiary system fall within three main categories: security, control and treatment. These three problems of security custody, and treatment appear to be

interrelated. In 1944 Farber conducted a study to determine what factors influence prison behavior. He concluded that prison behavior appears to be dominated by "the need to get out". This is obviously a direct security concern.

Galtung (1961) noted that the more routine the prison the longer the sentence length was perceived by the inmates. A variety of methods have been developed to allow the inmate to develop time-framing skills. Inmates are taught to adjust their perceptions of their environment and therefore develop an ability to "time-manage" their sentence so it does not appear as long and their adjustment is made easier. Those who accomplish this appear to become less involved in prison incidents. Cohen and Taylor (1972) have also developed strategies for inmates to learn coping mechanisms. This is done primarily by becoming involved in activities which divide the day into segments and also serves to give these individuals something to look forward to. A large part of these activities could be treatment related. It is clear then, that maladaptive time-framing can have severe consequences for the security, control and treatment procedures within an institution. This becomes of paramount importance when dealing with individuals who have 25 year sentences to adapt to. Furthermore, inappropriate time perceptions lead to a maladjustment to prison life which may ultimately lead to involvement in violent and escape incidents.

The problems of security produced by long term incarceration are twofold. First, due to the nature of their crimes, these

prisoners are considered to be dangerous and must therefore be given special attention to ensure no possibility of escape. Second, there is a general increase in the number of individuals serving long terms of incarceration thus contributing to a problem of overcrowding. Related to this increase, is the alteration of the structure of the prison population to one in which long term offenders comprise a relatively larger proportion.

The second managerial problem relates to control. The possibility exists that the increase in long term inmates will increase the incidence of violence in penal institutions either because of the nature of the individual being incarcerated or because of the overcrowding that their numbers can cause. Documented evidence appears to indicate that long term inmates do not pose any special risk with respect to involvement in institutional violent incidents. Violent inmates tend to be younger, short term offenders (Porporino, 1986). The possibility exists however, that the presence of long term offenders may provoke violence and disruptive behaviour by others.

Finally, treatment becomes a focal issue when correctional staff must deal with offenders sentenced to life imprisonment. It has been claimed that the idea of treatment with a view to rehabilitation and reformation is absurd as far as long term prisoners are concerned. But the question of treatment here reduces itself to keeping the prisoners occupied for their welfare as well as the welfare of the institution. Treatment

programs serve this end even though they do not result in rehabilitation.

There are three key problems which revolve around the issue of violence and escapes in general. The first, violent men, is a twofold problem. That is, one, they themselves are violent and two, they also promote violence in others. The principle of behavioral consistency may be applicable to behavior in correctional settings. This principle states that past behavior tends to predict future behavior. Therefore, those inmates who are most persistently violent in the community are also more likely to be more violent in prison. This is supported by research done in the area of prison violence (Porporino, 1986). Even more interesting is the fact that assaultive violence has been found to be part of a pattern of more generalized violent behavior. That is to say, assaulters are also prone to engage in other forms of violence such as self-directed violence and property damage (Porporino, 1986).

The second problem surrounding the issue of violence and escapes is overcrowding. To date, the relationship between crowding and prison violence is unclear. Some studies indicate that crowding only effects younger inmates, others have found a more generalized effect regardless of age, still other studies find no consistent relationship, while others suggest a relationship with decreased rates of involvement. The most conclusive evidence seems to indicate that overcrowding often leads to unsatisfactory inmate classification procedures which

leads to a high percentage of offenders being placed in unsuitable facilities in terms of necessary rehabilitative programming and security requirements. In the absence of any clear research findings regarding how to minimize the negative consequences of prison crowding, correctional officials typically adopt an approach of moving inmates to where there is available space and every effort is made to reduce crowding as much as possible. This impedes directly on the social relationships established during incarceration and may actually create even more disruption. Inmate movement may therefore be an important factor contributing to increased levels of prison violence and it may not be the crowded prison conditions per se which lead to an increase in institutional violence.

The third key issue is desperation. As discussed earlier, it has been suggested by some that prisoners, especially those serving long terms of incarceration, may experience increasing desperation and helplessness. This development of a "nothing to lose" attitude may increase the likelihood of hostility and aggression towards others. As the number of long term prisoners and the prison population in general increases it is feared that violence will become more frequent and special measures will be needed to maintain control. Such measures have included the Special Handling Unit Program introduced in September 1977. This program was developed as a means of containing those inmates who displayed particularly violent behavior while incarcerated. It does not appear that this has occurred. Indeed, there has been a

dramatic increase in the number of inmates admitted to the Special Handling Unit program. Based on information to the end of December 1982, there have been 304 inmates admitted to a SHU since the program was formally introduced in September 1977. The average number of admissions per month has approximately tripled from 2.25 in 1978 to 6.67 in 1982. Although one must keep in mind that the criteria for admission were revised in December 1980, primarily to allow for "proactive reasons" thus increasing the number of individuals admitted. Analyzed as a percentage of the total admissions per year, there has been a substantial increase from 10% in 1977 to 27% in 1982. Interestingly, 90% of SHU inmates were originally admitted into a penitentiary on a conviction for a violent offence and of particular relevance to this study, 25.6% of SHU inmates had a conviction of first or second degree murder (Solicitor General, January 1983).

The Question to be Addressed

In light of these issues, the question to be empirically addressed in this study is, the contribution that the long term prisoner makes to the disciplinary problems for the correctional system. More specifically, does the presence of long term prisoners convicted for first or second degree murder increase the incidence of violence in prison?

Previous studies which have examined the issue of prison violence have used a variety of different methodologies including the use of official records, cross sectional and longitudinal

analysis on a variety of variables and questionnaires to both staff and inmates to address the issue.

One method used, involved categorizing groups of inmates based on the number of infractions committed during a specific time period (Brown and Spevacek, 1971; Watman, 1966; Johnson, 1966; Zink, 1956). Brown and Spevacek (1971) selected two groups of inmates from two institutions. To be eligible for inclusion in this sample inmates had to have spent at least a prior nine months in an institution. Group One comprised those 25 individuals who had the highest number of disciplinary reports on their records since arrival at the institution (mean of 6.5 reports). Group Two (N=25) had the least number of disciplinary reports on their records (mean of .51 offences). Watman (1966) also categorized his sample into two groups, based on the number of incurred disciplinary infractions. Group One had two or more disciplinary court actions warranting segregation during a one year period, Group Two had no or one incident requiring segregation. Johnson (1966) analyzed two comparison groups, "rebels", those who had committed at least three violations and "non-rebels", who had committed no rule violations. Finally, Zink (1956), examined a group of "non-troublemakers", those with no infractions between January 1950 to July 1955, and "troublemakers", those in trouble three or more times during the same time period.

Another method controlled for sentence length and subjects were divided on the basis of the amount of time served on their

sentence. This method of cross-sectional analysis was most popular when assessing the psychological effects of imprisonment and in particular long term imprisonment (Richards, 1978; Sapsford, 1978; Banister et al., 1973, 1974; Heskin et al., 1973, 1974; Boltin, 1976). Sapsford's study (1978) consisted of two groups of inmates who had all been convicted of murder and were being housed in the same maximum security prison. One group consisted of newly admitted inmates, the other had served approximately six years of their sentence. Each subject was given a series of tests, an interview and their prison files were analysed. Richards (1978) sample consisted of twenty-two subjects all from a top security prison serving life sentences or fixed terms of at least 10 years. Group one (N=11) has served at least 8 years of their sentence, Group two (N=11) had served less than eighteen months. Each subject was asked to rate a series of 20 problems, all related to the psychological stress of imprisonment, for their frequency and intensity of occurrence. The subjects were further asked to complete a "dependency sort" which analysed who they would most often turn to for help with a problem. Banister et al., 1973, 1974 Heskin et al., 1973, 1974, Bolton et al., 1976 defined a long term prisoner as an inmate serving a determinate sentence of ten years or longer or a life sentence, or one who was being held under Her Majesty's pleasure. For the purposes of the five part study, 175 long term prisoners were selected from across English and Welsh prisons. The selection was made controlling for age, offence type, sentence

type and admission date for current offence. The 175 subjects were then divided into four groups based on the length of time served for the current offence. The assumption was made that previous history of incarceration would be randomly distributed among the four groups. The study, divided into five different sections, analysed cognitive, personality, attitudinal and parole variables and a longitudinal analysis took place.

A third method divided inmates based on length of sentence (Flanagan, 1980b; Layton-MacKenzie and Goodstein, 1985). A definition of short and long term offenders was developed in each case. For the purposes of his study, Flanagan's definition of short term prisoners were those inmates who had served less than five years prior to release (N = 701) and the long term group comprised those inmates who had served at least five years of continuous confinement prior to release (N = 765). The sample was selected from inmates released to supervision from 1973 - 1976 from fourteen correctional institutions across northeastern New York state. Each of the inmates was analysed on the basis of socioeconomic, offence and criminal history and disciplinary history data.

Other studies examined all prison disciplinary incidents during a particular time frame (Porporino, 1986). This study examined all recorded violent incidents from January 1980 to December 1984. Taken into consideration was the type of incidents occurring (assaultive, self-directed, property damage, escape, other), the distribution of these offences across

security levels, rates of involvement in violent incidents by age sub-groups, major offence sub-groups and sentence length sub-groups. Furthermore the impact of institutional crowding and population transience were examined.

Surveys were also used as a means of gathering information. Wardlaw (1980) in his Australian study, surveyed officers in charge of all state adult correctional institutions inquiring about problems faced in the daily management of their institutions. They were also asked to identify specific groups of inmates that posed particular problems to the management of the institution and to further make a comparison of long term prisoners with other inmate groups.

The methodological differences in all of the above studies appears to be in the sampling procedure. This is also the area of greatest weakness for most of these studies. Proper sampling is the basis for an accurate, reliable study, and ensures the generalization of research findings. Most often studies are criticized for their small sample size, the sample's randomness, and the sampling time frame.

Sample size alone has an important bearing on the inferences of the study. A small sample decreases the surety of results (confidence) and decreases the likelihood of reflecting true population values and beliefs, (precision). Richards (1978) can be criticized for having a small sample.

Randomness is also a crucial criteria for accurate results. Unless the sample to be analysed is a representative reflection

of the entire population under study, the generalization of results is not possible. Many of the above described studies have made use of only one institution for their analysis (Zink, 1956; Richards, 1978; Sapsford, 1978; Layton-MacKenzie and Goodstein, 1985). This becomes an important consideration when discussing prison violence. As the reader will later see, the security level of the institution plays a large influence on the nature and frequency of institutional violence.

The sampling frame is also of importance for accurate results. Flanagan (1983) points out that by examining only one single time period, only one portion of each inmate's term is considered (Zink, 1956; Brown and Spevacek, 1971). This may not accurately reflect the true nature of the inmate's overall institutional behavior.

The construction of comparison groups is another important element in the analysis of any study. Caution must be exercised when comparing the results of different studies which appear to have the same comparison groups. For example, when comparing studies which have divided their two comparison groups into "short term" and "long term" offenders, care must be given to ensure that these terms have been defined in the same way. For example, the definition of long term offender in this study differs greatly from definition used in Flanagan's study (1980b) or Wardlaw's study (1980). Furthermore, when examining groups, divided on the basis of "time served" the possibility of mid-sentence variation must be considered. Most studies examine

inmates who are at the beginning or have served a good portion of their sentence, however, a third middle group is seldom examined.

This study will attempt to address some of these criticisms using a Canadian prison population. A large sample of inmates has been selected for testing while maintaining complete randomness and proportionality by region. This will allow for a truly representative picture of the entire population. Furthermore, all Canadian institutions were included in the selection thereby allowing for an environmental effect of various different institutions to be examined. In addition, when inmates were being considered for the two comparison groups, their entire institutional history was considered not only a particular time frame.

The contribution that long term inmates make to violence in the institutions can be conceptualized as follows: If long term prisoners contribute disproportionately to disciplinary problems for the system, it would be expected that (1) institutions that house long term inmates should have disproportionately higher rates of violent incidents or escapes and; (2) long term offenders should be disproportionately involved in violent incidents or escapes; (3) if the problems created by long term offenders can be attributed to the fact that they are serving a life sentence then, all life sentence offenders should become equally involved in prison incidents or escapes.

Using Canadian data, it will test the hypotheses that:

- (1) Institutions that house long term inmates do not have disproportionately higher rates of violent incidents or escapes;
- (2) Long term offenders are not disproportionately involved in violent incidents or escapes;
- (3) Long term offenders are not a homogeneous group, hence, certain characteristics within this population predispose selective individuals to become involved in prison incidents or escapes.

Source of Data

The design of the study was controlled by the data available. This study entailed examining offenders serving a sentence for first or second degree murder and their impact on the management of Canadian penitentiaries.

To test the first hypothesis, data was collected from the Correctional Services of Canada, Offender Profile Reports to establish the number of inmates convicted of murder in each of the required institutions for the time period in question, 1979 to 1985. This information coupled with Yearly Average Population Counts enabled the calculation of the percentage of life sentence inmates at each institution. In addition, Preventive Security Incident Statistics documented the number and type of each major and minor incident by institution which occurred during the seven year study period. The rate of incidents per 1000 inmates facilitated conclusions concerning the impact of the presence of long term offenders on the number of incidents which occur at a particular institution.

To test the second hypothesis, data relating to all inmates who were involved in at least one violent or escape incident during the years 1981-1984 provided by the Offender Information System (OIS) of the Correctional Service of Canada was used. The analysis was limited to this time period due to the fact that Preventive Security information contained in the database is most accurate from 1981 to 1984.

To test the third hypothesis, data was obtained from a sample of 58 long term offenders who were initially selected for a study of the validation of custody classification instruments. A sample of 500 offenders was randomly selected, while maintaining regional proportionality, from all admissions into the federal system in 1985. In addition to this sample group, 100 further subjects with a sentence length greater than 10 years including life sentences were randomly selected from all 1985 admissions. This group became known as the long term offender sample. Of the total 600 cases selected (500 initially and 100 long term sample), 58 fell within the category of first or second degree murderers. It is these cases which were utilized for the testing of the third hypothesis. The inmate files of each of these 58 cases were examined through the use of an established coding sheet with particular attention being paid to the Discipline and Dissociation information provided in the file. From these inmate files detailed information concerning the age of offender, offence type (first or second degree murder), previous criminal history, race, age at admission, previous

federal penitentiary time, type of incidents involved in while at the institution, etc were obtained. To supplement the file information further data was collected from the Offender Information System (OIS) for each of the 58 subjects.

Preliminary examination of the Offender Profile Reports record a total of 8,855 violent incidents and escapes during the time period 1979 - 1985 of which 1,014 incidents were classified as major incidents and 7,841 minor incidents. Information from the Yearly Average Population counts indicate that the percentage of life sentence inmates increased during the period in question, with dramatic increases at the multilevel/protective custody and maximum security institutions.

The Offender Information System (OIS) database reveals that there were 5,067 violent incidents and escapes during the 1981 - 1984 period to be examined in hypothesis two. Of these incidents, 3,424 were violent occurrences and 1,643 were escapes\attempts.

The sample selected from the custody classification study yielded 58 first and second degree murderers for analysis. Of these 17 subjects had no record of a discipline and dissociation file and 41 had a record of at least one incident during their incarceration history.

Taking into consideration these facts, hypothesis one tested all institutions where incidents occurred during the time frame 1979 to 1985. These incidents were studied in relation to:

- (1) The proportion of long term offenders in them.
- (2) The precise security level of the institution. Maximum security institutions fall into one group S-6 but medium security institutions fall into three groups, S-5, S-4 and S-3. Because of the unique nature of Kingston and Saskatchewan Penitentiaries, both are protective custody institutions housing a substantial number of life sentence inmates, they were examined as constituting separate categories.
- (3) The nature of the incident. These were categorized as major and minor incidents. A major incident was considered to be a staff murder, inmate murder, hostage taking, major disturbance suicide, major assault on staff, major assault on inmate, escape with violence, a single escape from a max.\med., or, multiple escape from an escort from any maximum institution. A minor incident was considered to be, a death by natural causes, minor disturbance, minor staff assault, minor inmate assault, attempted suicide, escape from a minimum institution, escape from an escort from a medium or minimum institution, attempted escape from a maximum or a medium institution, fire\suspected arson, use of gas, use of firearms, or use of physical force.

To test the second hypothesis, an analysis will be undertaken to determine if the length of sentence affects an inmate's involvement in incidents of prison violence and escapes. Studied were all inmates who were involved in at least one violent or escape incident during the 1981-84 period. To facilitate comparison a post sample stratification divided these individuals into three groups:

- (1) Group A, the most pertinent group for the purposes of this study comprising those individuals serving life sentences for first or second degree murder. This group is the experimental group.
- (2) Group B, consisting of those individuals sentenced to serve 7,670 days (21 years) or more and those individuals serving an indeterminate sentence (this includes those detained at the Pleasure of Lt. Governor, Habitual Criminals, Dangerous Criminals, Dangerous Sex Offenders) but does not include those individuals serving life sentences for first and second degree murder. This group is one of two control groups. These individuals are considered to be "without

any perceived hope of release" and will be referred to in the results chapter as "other long term offenders".

- (3) Group C will comprise those individuals serving a sentence of less than 7,670 days (21 years). They are the second control group "with some hope of release". They will be referred to as the "short term offender group".

The rationale for establishing the cut off point between short and long term offenders at 7,670 days or 21 years was that the parole eligibility (calculated to equal one third of inmate's actual sentence length) for anyone serving this length of sentence is seven years. Therefore it was decided that anyone serving a sentence whereby release was possible at or before seven years of incarceration would be considered a short term offender.

Violent and escape incidents were examined for each of the three comparison groups using rates of participation per 1000 inmates. Violent incidents were examined first, followed by escape incidents and finally, an examination of the two types of incidents combined. The reason for their initial separation was that it was not possible to differentiate between violent and non-violent escape incidents. It is however extremely important that these incidents be examined as the data indicates that escapes represent the second most frequently occurring incidents following assaultive incidents. To facilitate further analysis, violent incidents were sub-divided into four categories which included: (1) Assaultive incidents (inmate fights, murders, attempted murders, assaults on staff or inmates), (2) Self-directed incidents, (suicides, attempted suicides and self-

inflicted injury), (3) Property incidents (deliberate destruction against property or arson), (4) Other, (minor or major disturbances or hostage takings).

The testing of the third hypothesis called for the identification of specific characteristics within the long term offender population which may predispose certain individuals to commit violent or escape incidents. These characteristics included, age of offender, race, type of offence, previous criminal record, time spent in institutions, and type of institutional infractions.

Definitions

Long term offenders studied was defined as any inmate sentenced to a term of life imprisonment for first or second degree murder and are therefore compelled to serve a minimum of at least 10 years before parole eligibility. It is these individuals who have been affected by the abolition of capital punishment. Without the 1976 amendment to the legislation, many of these individuals would conceivably have been sentenced to death.

Violent incidents was defined according to the categorization of incidents used by the preventative Security Division of the Correctional Service of Canada. Among these incidents, the following were included: murder, attempted murder, assaults, inmate fights, hostage takings, major

disturbances, suicide, self-inflicted injury, arson, and damage to government property.

Escape incidents include all escapes and attempted escapes from penitentiaries or temporary absence escorts.

Limitations of Data

There are always problems inherent in any study. Of major concern with this study is the quality of the data selected for analysis. A major limitation surrounds the source of information from which the data is retrieved. Reporting and recording discrepancies make the maintenance and updating of the national data bank inconsistent. There is therefore the possibility that the number of incidents recorded may not be the true reflection of the actual number of incidents occurring.

A further drawback with this particular data base is the fact that it was not initially established for research purposes. Due to its administrative function, information that was gathered was often limited to serious prison incidents and not less serious incidents. To compensate for this deficiency, in 1983, the Preventive Security Division undertook a major overhaul of the database and consequently the information from 1981 to data is fairly accurate and information from 1983 is even further substantiated.

A further consideration when analyzing the institutional violent incident rates is the fact that 93% of first degree murderers and 60.2% of second degree murderers are held in

maximum security. Hence, due to the overwhelming majority of these individuals at this security level any analysis concerning the influence that these inmates may present on institutional incidents may be biased. One must take into consideration that it may be the atmosphere of maximum security institutions which influences violence.

Finally, the major drawback with the use of the 65 inmate files is the fact that the sample was selected from admissions into the federal system in 1985. Due to the short time frame that these individuals have been incarcerated the validity of the information provided may be in question. Often, and especially in the case of those inmates serving long prison sentences, the initial year or two years of their sentence is recognized as a "settling in/adjustment period". Therefore, there may be a higher number of incidents during this time period that will eventually level off. On the other hand, certain inmates may not present a problem to the management of the institution until later on in their incarceration. However, the question of whether disciplinary infractions are events that occur randomly during the course of a prison sentence was addressed by Flanagan (1980b). He concluded that long termers do not appear to pass through "critical stages" characterized by higher levels of misconduct followed by periods of lower incidence of infractions. Therefore, based on these conclusions we can be fairly confident that the disciplinary record of the first year of incarceration

is an adequate representation of what is to follow in the years ahead.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

DESCRIPTION OF THE FEDERAL PRISON POPULATION

As of December 31, 1985 there was a total of 12,572 federal inmates "on register"¹ within federal and provincial correctional facilities in Canada.²

The breakdown of this total inmate population by sentence length is as follows. The largest group of inmates, 5,766 (45.9%) are serving between 2 to 5 years of imprisonment followed by those serving 5 to 10 years, 2,873 (22.8%) and life sentence inmates, 1,645 (13.1%). Next were those inmates serving 10 to 20 years 1,210 (9.6%) followed by those serving under 2 years 760 (6.0%). Finally, those inmates serving over 20 years and a preventive detention/indeterminate sentence³ comprised the smallest group representing 318 (2.5%) of the population.

The life sentence population represents 1,645 (13.1%), of the entire prison population. This third largest sentence length

¹The number of inmates who are on register at the institution and includes those who are temporarily absent from the institution due to medical reasons, temporary absences (TA's), day parole, unlawfully at large, etc. On average, 8-9% of the inmates on register in federal institutions are temporarily out of the institution at any one time.

²This includes all federal inmates incarcerated in federal and provincial institutions, and provincial inmates incarcerated in federal institutions. Unlawfully at large inmates still on register are included.

³Includes Habitual Offenders, Dangerous Sex Offenders, Dangerous Offenders, and Lieutenant Governors Warrant cases.

group contains 1,519 first and second degree murderers. This represents 12.1% of the entire prison population and 92.3% of the life sentence population.

TOTAL INMATE POPULATION	12,572	
Sentence Length		
< 2 years	760	(6.0%)
> 2 - < 5	5,766	(45.9%)
> 5 - < 10	2,873	(22.8%)
> 10 - < 20	1,210	(9.6%)
20+	292	(2.3%)
Life	1,645	(13.1%)
Preventive Detention/Indeterminate	26	(0.2%)
	-----	-----
	12,572	100%
 LIFE SENTENCE POPULATION	 1,645	
Murder Population	1,519	(92.3%)
Non - Murder Population	126	(7.7%)
	-----	-----
	1,645	100%

As of December 31, 1985 the Correctional Service of Canada was responsible for 64 federal institutions. At the maximum security level (S7-S6) there were eight facilities in operation, sixteen at the medium security level (S5-S3) and thirty-three facilities at the minimum security level (S2-S1), this includes twenty community correctional centers at the S1 level. There were also seven multi-level institutions in operation of which three were psychiatric centers. Medium security institutions held the majority of inmates, 6,150 (48.9%), maximum security contained 4,061 (32.3%) of the population and minimum security 2,091 (16.6%). A further 270 (2.1%) inmates were held at the provincial level. On average these federal institutions operated

at 93% of their total capacity (Adult Correctional Services in Canada, 1984-85).

Most first and second degree murderers have been housed in maximum and medium institutions (Table 4). However, as of December 31, 1985, 165 life sentence inmates were being held in minimum security institutions and an additional 11 in provincial institutions. The proportion of life sentence inmates has almost doubled during the study period in question increasing from 9.0% in 1979 to 17.8% in 1985. This increase is most apparent in maximum security institutions (S-6) where the proportion of lifers has doubled from 1979 to 1985 from 8.1% to 18.7%. There has also been an increase in first and second degree murderers in protective custody institutions. Here, the percentage of lifers has increased from 9.4% in 1979 to 25.6% in 1985.

In the case of medium security institutions, the proportion of life sentence inmates has remained relatively stable and in actual fact decreased slightly over the seven year time period.

During the time period 1979-1985, a total of 8,855 violent incidents and escapes were reported in Canadian federal penitentiaries, 1,014 of which were classified as major incidents and 7,841 minor incidents.

Due to the large percentage of incidents occurring at the maximum security level it was necessary to examine the types of incidents taking place more closely.

TABLE 4

**PROPORTION POPULATION OF FIRST AND SECOND
DEGREE MURDERERS BY YEAR, INSTITUTION AND SECURITY LEVEL**

INSTITUTION	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Maximum Security							
Dorchester (S-6)	7.6	15.3	21.1	21.0	17.9	19.2	20.9
Archambault (S-6)	4.6	16.5	15.3	12.8	12.9	16.6	15.3
Laval (S-6)	7.5	23.5	19.2	19.4	18.3	20.3	18.8
Millhaven (S-6)	12.1	36.3	39.1	34.3	33.3	28.7	25.8
Edmonton (S-6)	16.6	20.8	20.5	18.8	26.5	28.7	30.9
Kent (S-6)	----	23.1	20.6	22.1	18.6	22.8	19.5
AVERAGE MAXIMUM	8.1	19.3	19.4	18.3	18.2	19.5	18.7
Medium Security							
Leclerc (S-5)	6.8	2.6	3.0	5.1	5.1	7.1	5.6
Collins Bay (S-5)	18.6	7.8	9.2	8.7	11.8	15.2	15.0
Stoney Mountain (S-5)	4.2	9.7	12.8	8.3	8.5	8.7	8.2
Matsqui (S-5)	14.6	10.6	11.3	7.1	9.7	11.3	13.0
Springhill (S-4)	6.6	8.1	5.0	4.5	6.5	7.7	8.2
Federal Training (S-4)	6.2	7.6	9.3	8.4	11.3	14.8	16.6
Cowansville (S-4)	5.2	11.4	8.8	5.3	4.0	5.9	5.0
Joyceville (S-4)	8.0	7.8	8.0	7.2	7.1	6.3	5.3
Warkworth (S-4)	11.6	15.2	15.4	12.7	11.6	10.0	9.5
Drumheller (S-4)	4.2	21.9	6.9	6.4	5.0	5.1	6.3
Mission (S-4)	10.6	8.0	14.2	15.9	13.1	12.1	13.5
La Macaza (S-3)	9.1	1.4	2.7	4.4	4.5	6.4	4.9
Bowden (S-3)	11.1	7.6	5.6	5.9	7.4	4.8	5.1
Mountain (S-3)	10.4	11.5	12.1	11.1	11.3	10.1	8.0
William Head (S-3)	13.9	15.2	15.8	14.0	12.4	12.1	10.7
AVERAGE MEDIUM	9.4	9.8	9.3	8.3	8.6	9.2	9.0
Multilevel Security							
Kingston Penitentiary	10.4	14.1	17.8	21.8	23.7	27.4	27.3
Saskatchewan Penitentiary	8.4	15.4	14.1	16.4	17.1	23.7	23.8
AVERAGE MULTILEVEL	9.4	14.8	16.0	19.1	20.4	25.6	25.6
OVERALL AVERAGE	9.0	14.7	14.9	15.2	15.7	18.1	17.8

---- indicates that the percentage was unable to be calculated due to the fact that the institution was only opened in that year

As illustrated in Figure 1, the most prevalent type of major incident occurring in maximum security institutions were major assaults on inmates or staff. These incidents represented 59.4% of all major incidents followed by suicide (12.3%), escapes (10.4%), murder of inmate or staff (9.5%), hostage taking (5.3%) and finally, major disturbances (3.1%).

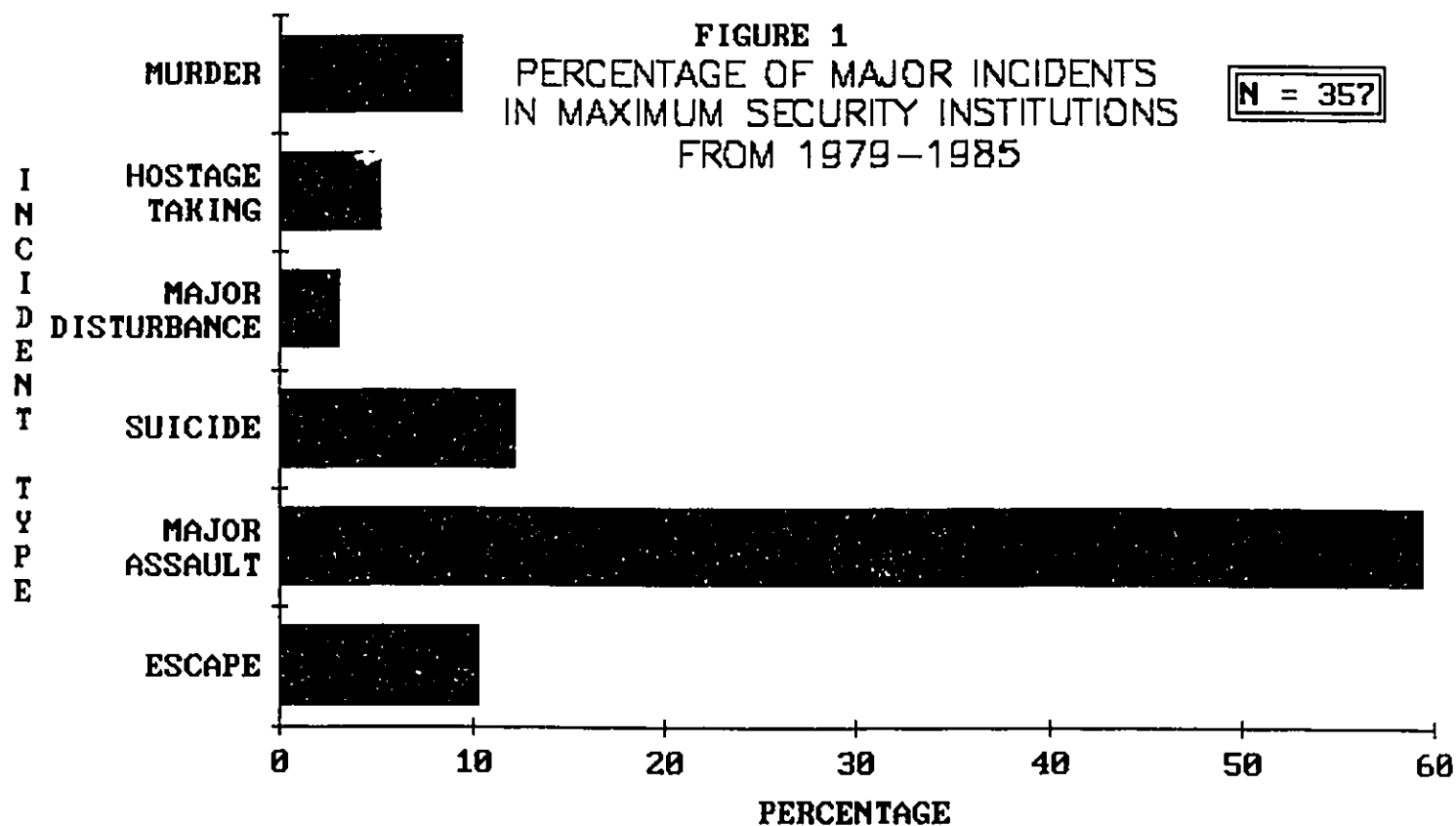
When minor incidents were examined (Figure 2), minor assaults on inmates or staff was once again the most prevalent type of incident representing 34.9% of all minor occurrences taking place in maximum security. This was followed closely by attempted suicide/self inflicted injury (31.6%), minor disturbances (15.5%) use of gas, firearms, or physical force (7.2%), fire/suspected arson (5.8%), escape (4.5%) and death by natural causes (0.7%).

These results indicate that assaultive incidents are the most prevalent type of occurrences in maximum security institutions followed by attempted/suicide/self inflicted injury incidents.

When major and minor incidents were examined by maximum security institutions (Figures 3, 4), Millhaven had the highest percentage of major incidents (25.8%). This was due largely to the high number of murders and major assaultive incidents as compared to the other five maximum security institutions. Laval had the highest percentage of minor incidents (27.0%). In particular there was an extremely high number of attempted suicide/self inflicted injury incidents.

FIGURE 1
PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR INCIDENTS
IN MAXIMUM SECURITY INSTITUTIONS
FROM 1979-1985

N = 357



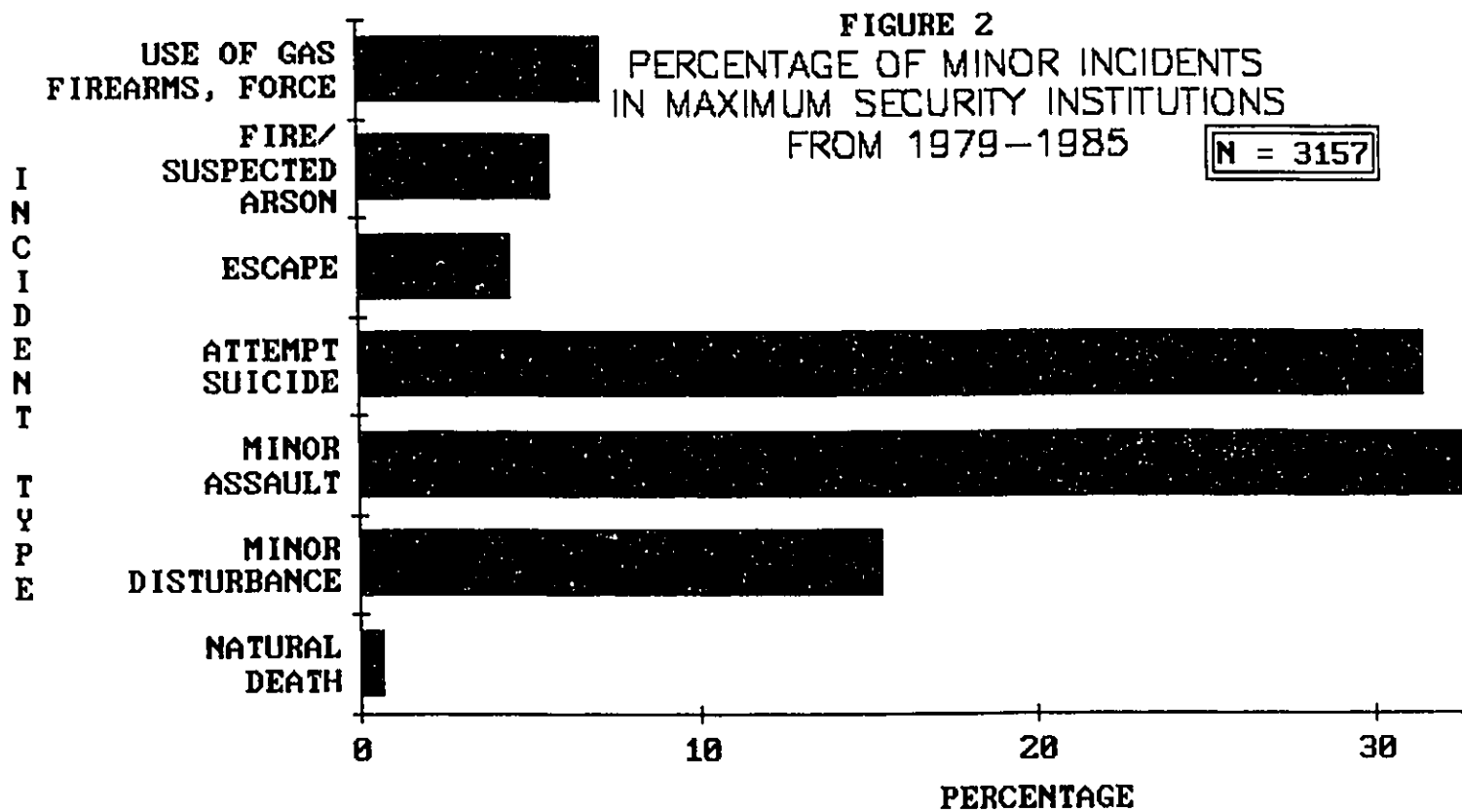


FIGURE 3
PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR INCIDENTS
BY MAXIMUM SECURITY INSTITUTION
1979-1985

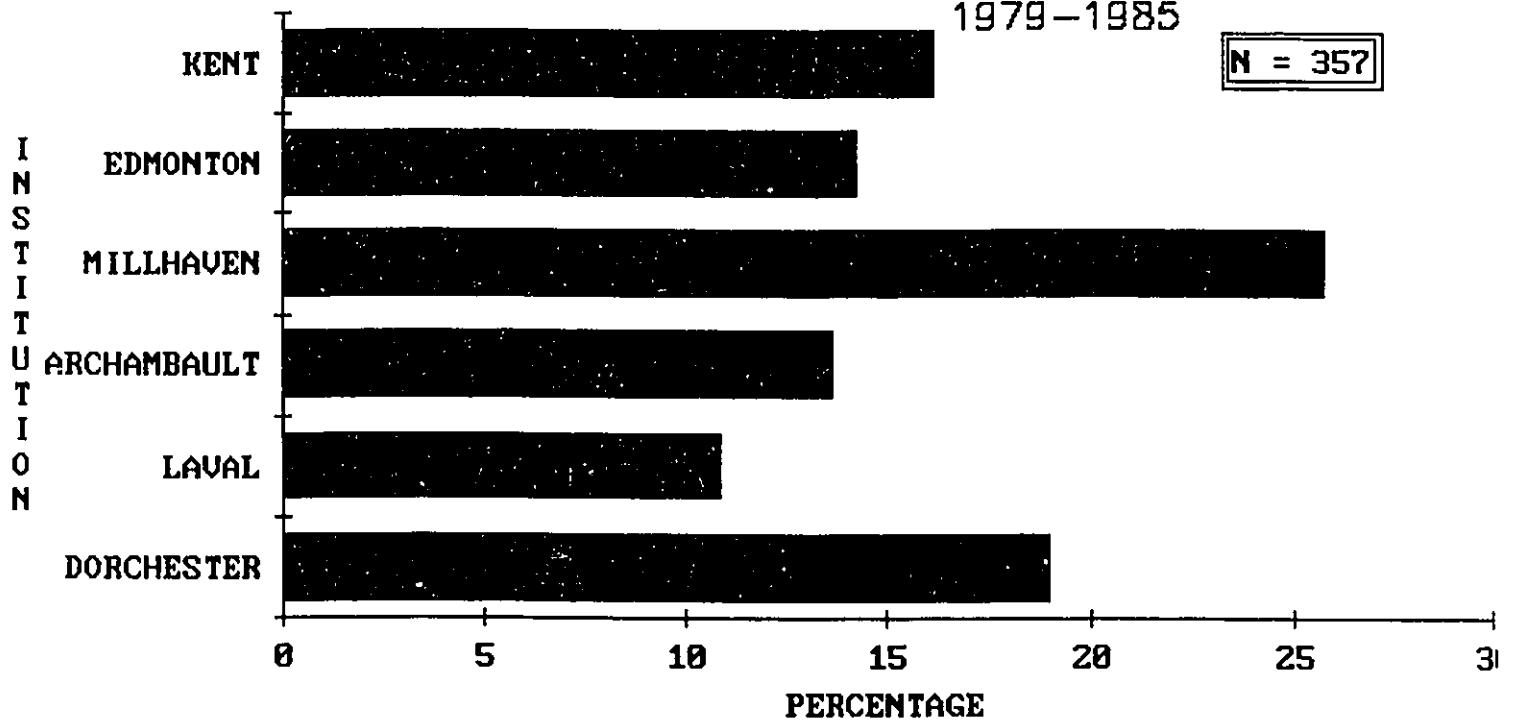
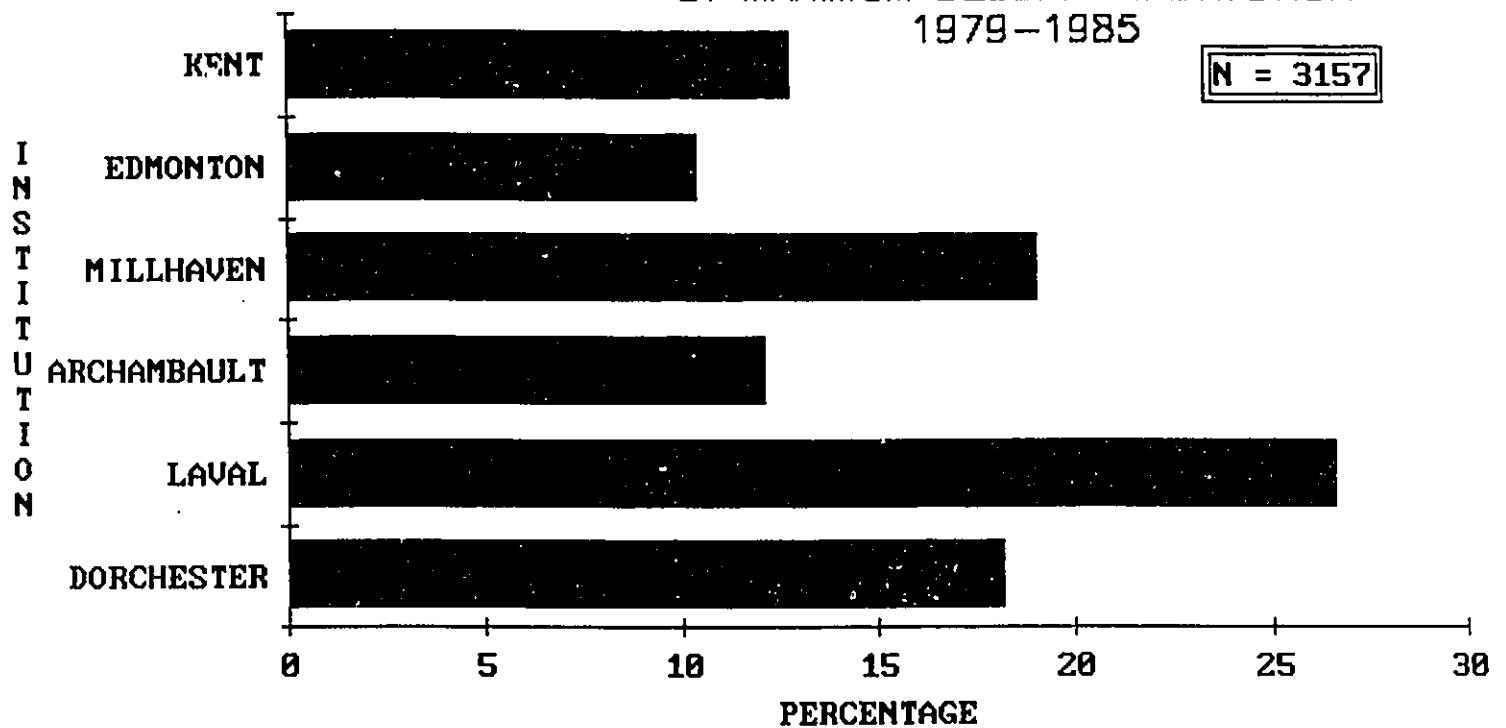


FIGURE 4
PERCENTAGE OF MINOR INCIDENTS
BY MAXIMUM SECURITY INSTITUTION
1979-1985



Overall, Laval has the highest percentage (24.8%) of incidents when major and minor incidents were combined.

HYPOTHESIS ONE

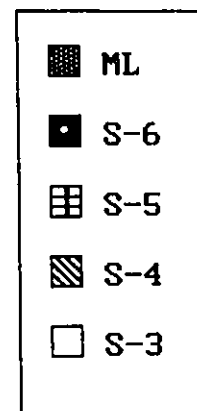
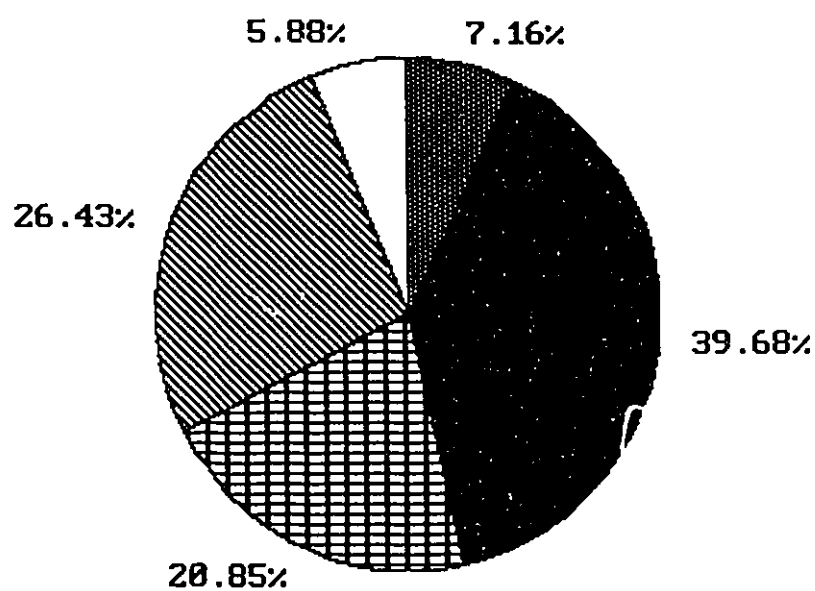
The first hypothesis to be tested was, institutions that house long term inmates do not have disproportionately higher rates of violent incidents or escapes. This was done in three ways, (1) A comparison of the total number of incidents over the seven year period were examined in terms of the security level where these incidents occurred; (2) The yearly rate of incidents per 1000 inmates compared to the yearly proportion of lifers at each security level from 1979 to 1985; (3) An overall rate of participation per 1000 inmates compared to the overall percentage of life sentence inmates during the seven years in question.

As illustrated in Figures 5, 6 and 7, the greatest percentage of incidents, 39.7% occurred at the maximum security (S-6) level. When separated by major and minor incidents the same trend emerges, 35.2% of major incidents and 40.2% of minor incidents occurred at the maximum security level.

These data support the hypothesis that the greater the proportion of lifers the higher the number of incidents.

Protective custody institutions, which also house a high percentage of life sentence inmates were responsible for only 7.2% of the total reported incidents. When these incidents are examined in terms of major and minor incidents, protective custody institutions report the smallest percentage 6.5%, of

FIGURE 5
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCIDENTS
BY SECURITY LEVEL



N = 8855

FIGURE 6
PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR INCIDENTS
BY SECURITY LEVEL

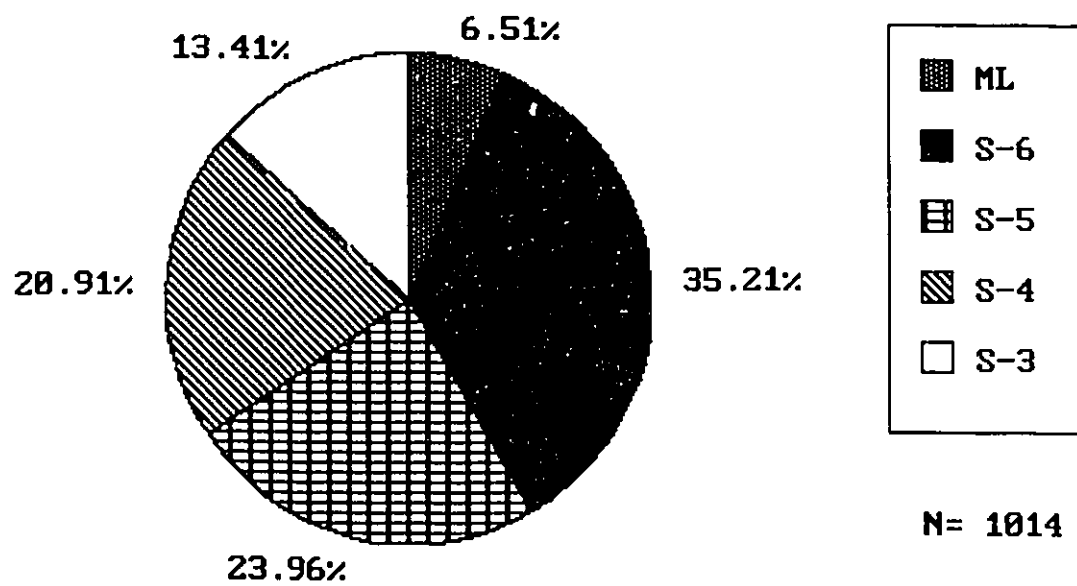
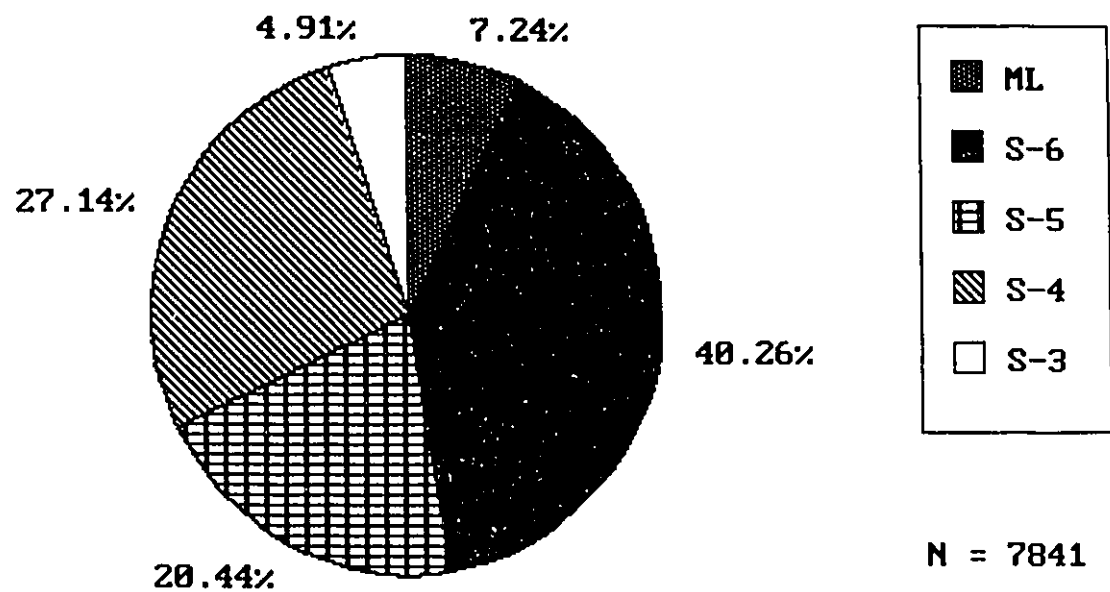


FIGURE 7
PERCENTAGE OF MINOR INCIDENTS
BY SECURITY LEVEL



major incidents and 7.2% of minor incidents. Therefore even though the proportion of life sentence inmates was high in the two protective custody institutions, the percentage of incidents, particularly the most serious types of incidents remained low. These data do not support the hypothesis.

When the rate of participation in incidents per 1000 inmates was examined for the different institutions compared to the proportion of lifers by year no significant pattern emerges. From 1979 to 1985, the rate of involvement in incidents at the maximum security level has increased from 176/1000 to 356/1000 (Figure 8). The proportion of life sentence inmates has also increased over the same time period from 9.68 in 1979 to 21.87 in 1985. A substantial increase occurred in 1980 increasing the percentage of lifers from 9.68 to 28.08. From that point on the proportion decreased yearly to 21.87% in 1985. Although both variables do increase over the time period in question, the changes that have occurred are not concomitant. No pattern emerges between the percentage of life sentence inmates and the rate of incidents per 1000 inmates at those institutions.

When considering medium security facilities (Figure 9), the rate of total incidents has increased over the study period from 70/1000 in 1979 to 198/1000 in 1985. The proportion of lifers in medium security has remained fairly stable only decreasing from 9.89 to 8.99 over the seven years in question. If the hypothesis that long term offenders have a direct or indirect impact on the number of prison incidents that occur is valid, medium security

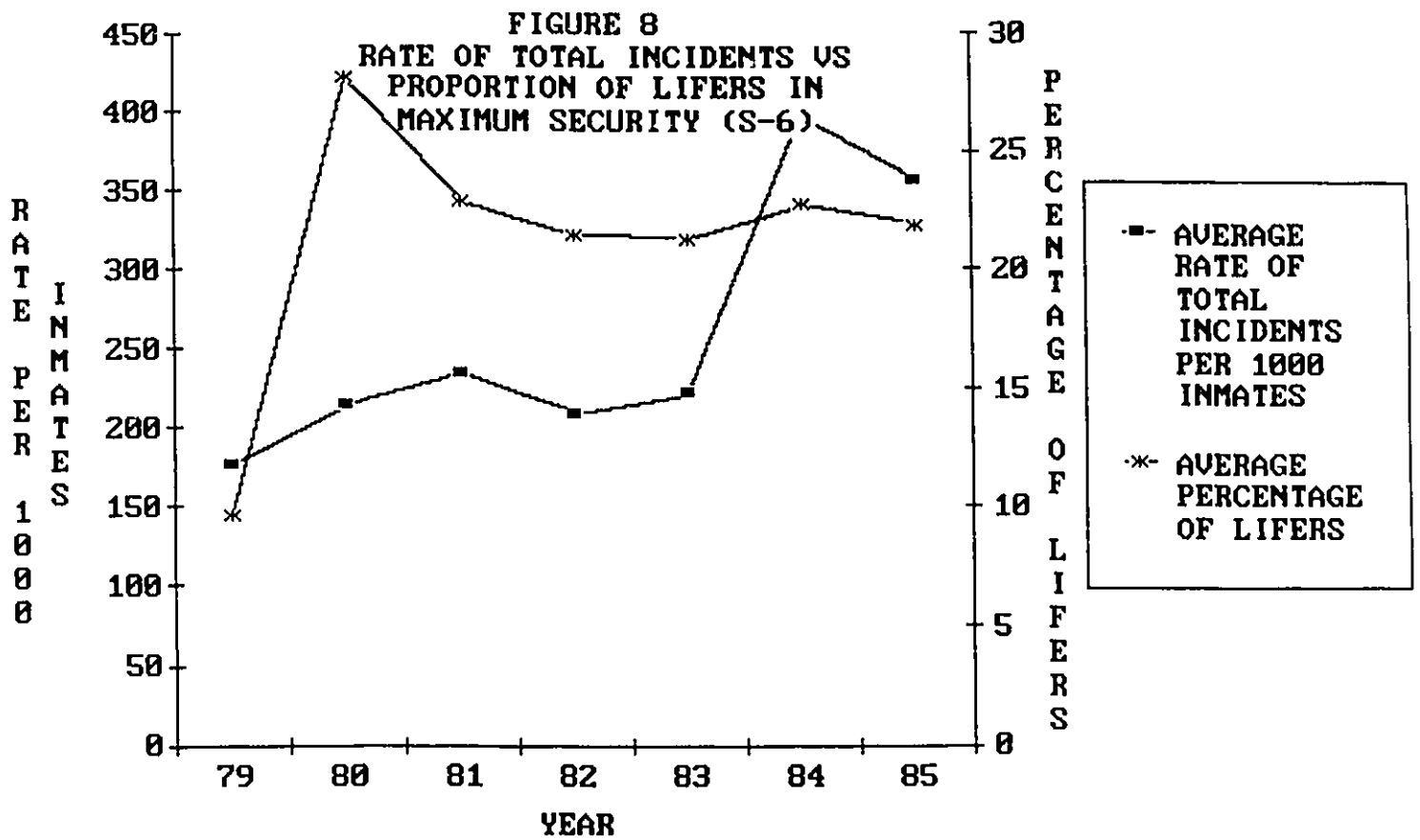
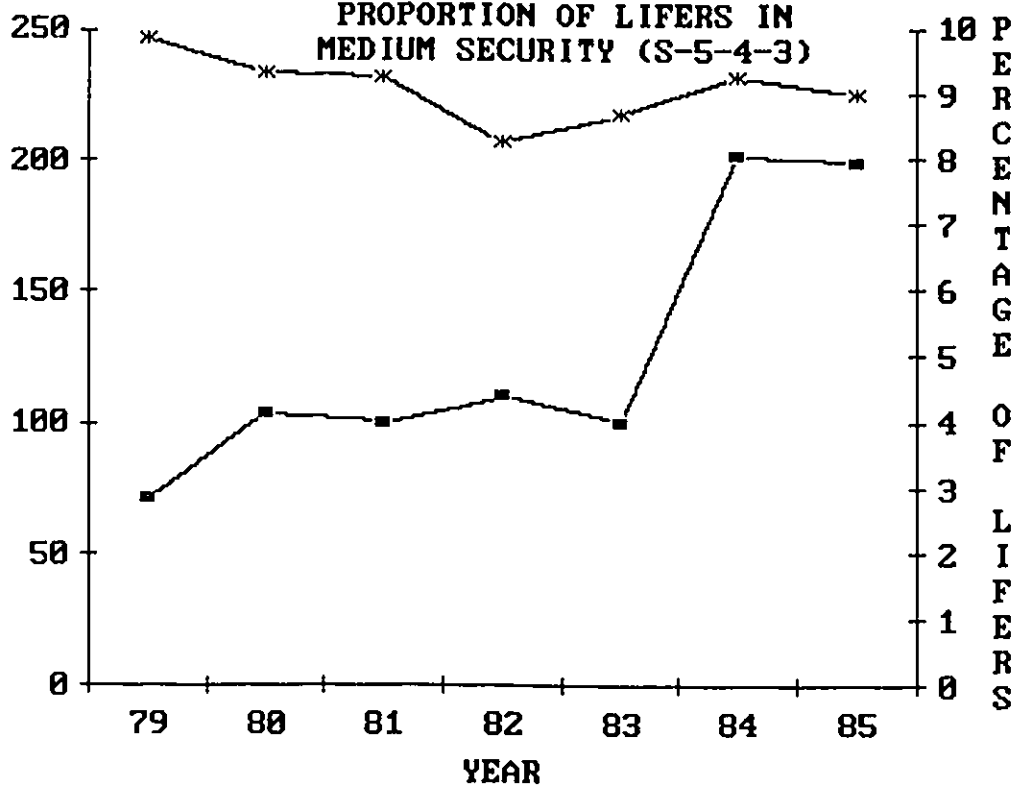


FIGURE 9
RATE OF TOTAL INCIDENTS VS
PROPORTION OF LIFERS IN
MEDIUM SECURITY (S-5-4-3)



■- AVERAGE
RATE OF
TOTAL
INCIDENTS
PER 1000
INMATES

*- AVERAGE
PERCENTAGE
OF LIFERS

institutions should report approximately half of the number of incidents in comparison to maximum security and protective custody institutions due to the fact that they have half of the proportion of lifers that maximum security and protective custody institutions do. Furthermore, the number of these incidents should not have increased over the time period in question. This is not the case. These data do not support the hypothesis.

It is only in the case of protective custody institutions that we see a pattern emerge. The rate of incidents increased considerably from 63/1000 in 1979 to 221/1000 in 1985 (Figure 10). Similarly, the proportion of life sentence inmates in protective custody rose from 9.40% in 1979 to 25.53% in 1985.

Incidents were examined in terms of rates of participation per 1000 inmates. When these rates are examined by year and security level (Figure 11), maximum security institutions maintained a consistently higher rate of incidents than did medium security or protective custody institutions. These two latter security types remained fairly similar in rates over the seven year period and all three security levels had substantial rate increases during 1984 and 1985.

Overall, maximum security institutions had an average rate of 260/1000 over the seven year time period followed by medium security institutions with 126/1000 and protective custody institutions at 116/1000. Interestingly, maximum security institutions also maintained the highest average proportion of lifers at 21.12% followed by protective custody institutions at

18.67% and medium security at 18.67% (Table 5).

Once again a pattern emerges, as the security level decreases, so does the average proportion of life sentence inmates and the average rate of incidents except in the case of protective custody institutions. Although the average proportion of lifers over the seven year period remained high in these particular institutions, the rate of incidents remained lower than that of level four security institutions.

FIGURE 10
RATE OF TOTAL INCIDENTS VS
PROPORTION OF LIFERS IN
PROTECTIVE CUSTODY (ML)

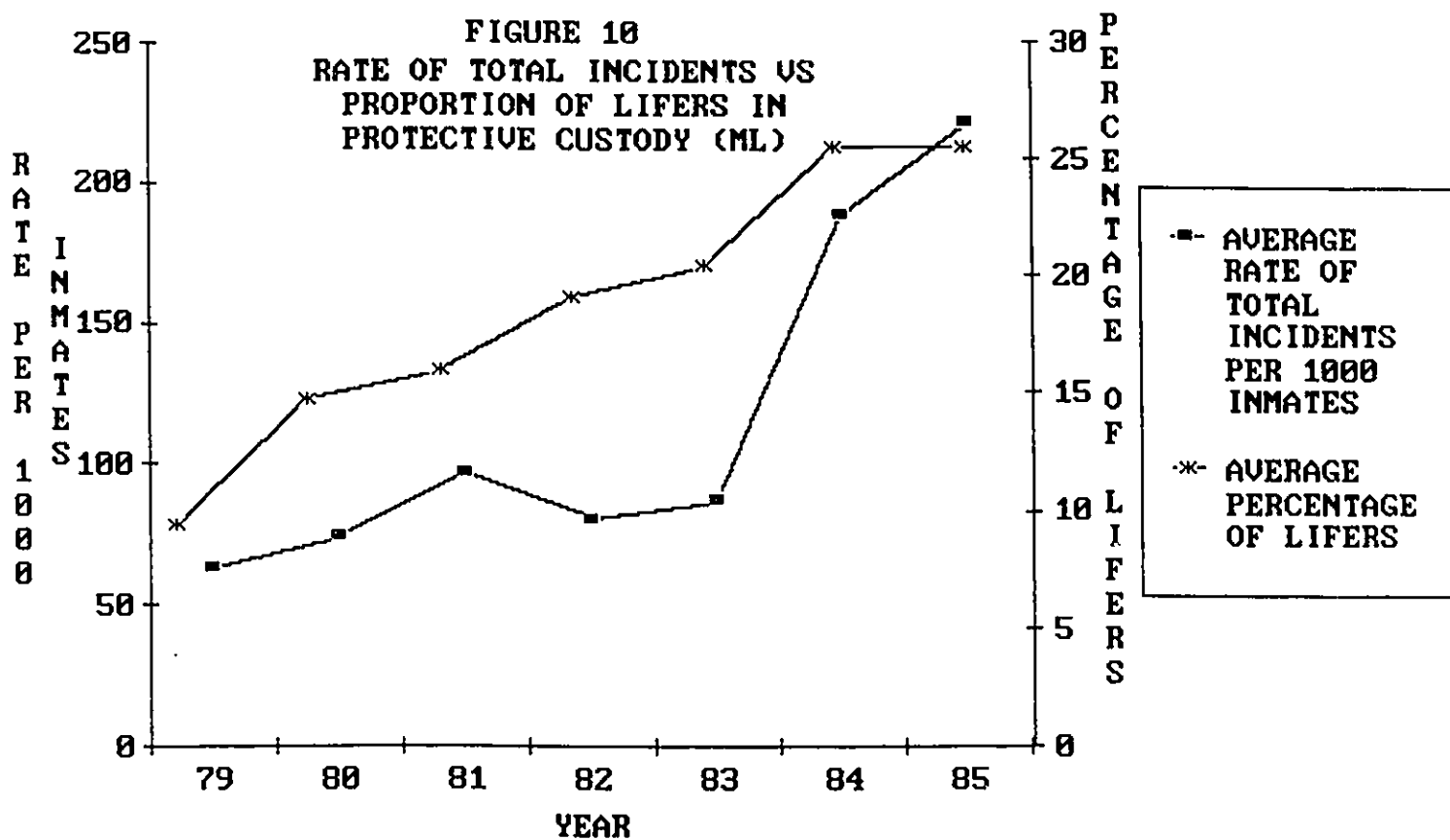


FIGURE 11
RATES OF INVOLVEMENT IN INCIDENTS
BY SECURITY LEVEL AND YEAR
(1979-1985)

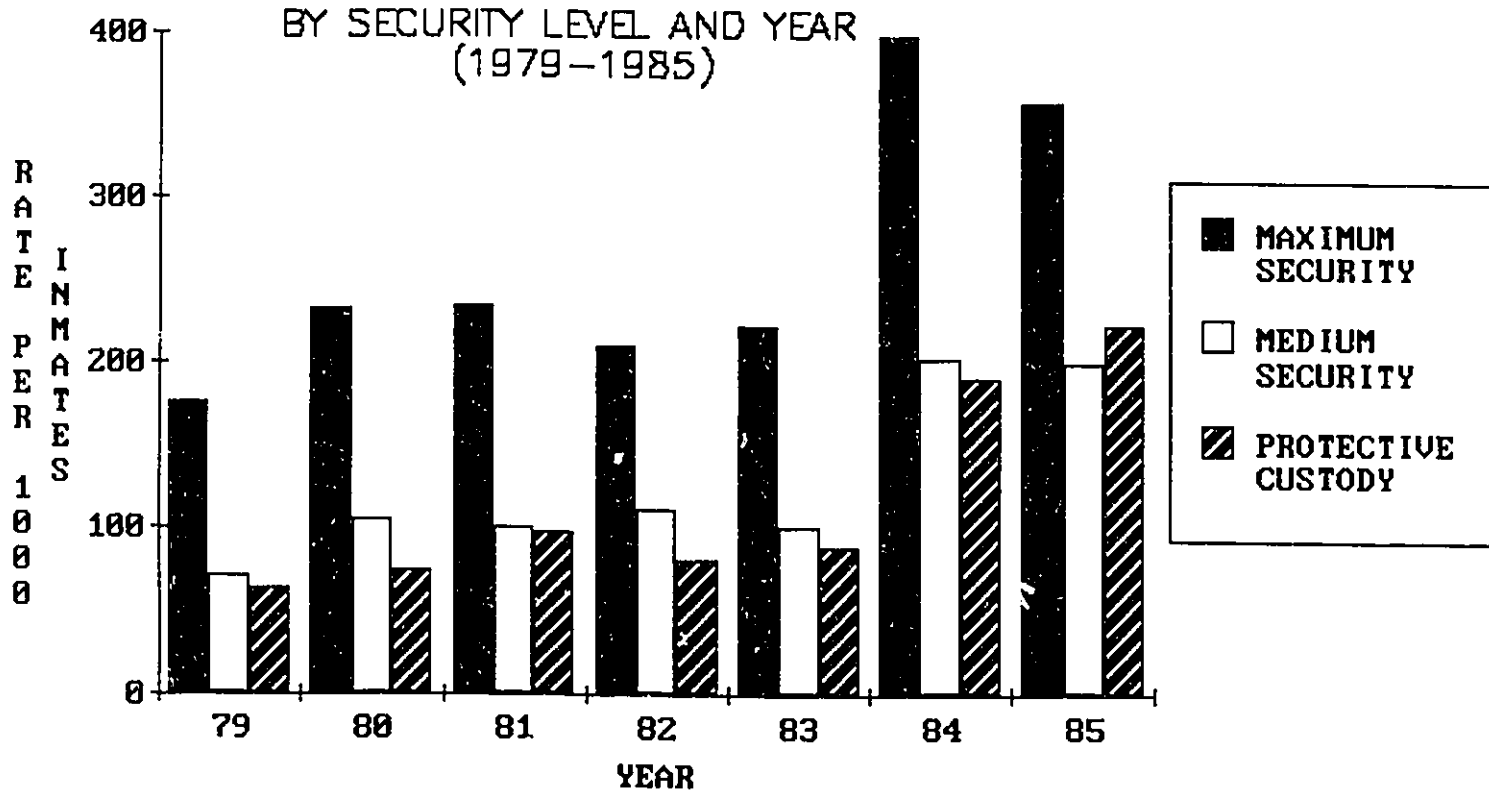


TABLE 5

AVERAGE PROPORTION OF LIFE SENTENCE INMATES AND
AVERAGE RATE OF MAJOR, MINOR AND TOTAL INCIDENTS PER 1000
INMATES FROM 1979 - 1985

SECURITY LEVEL	PROP. OF LIFERS	MAJOR INCIDENTS	MINOR INCIDENTS	TOTAL INCIDENTS
ML	18.67	11.64	104.47	116.11
S-6	21.12	30.97	229.46	260.60
S-5	9.27	21.61	136.63	158.24
S-4	9.10	11.15	111.77	122.92
S-3	8.81	27.51	69.60	97.11
Overall	12.69	20.50	128.52	149.02

NOTE: When the three medium security levels (S-5-4-3) are considered together, the average proportion of life sentence inmates is 9.06% and the average rates of participation per 1000 inmates in major, minor and total incidents are 20.09, 106.0 and 126.09 respectively.

HYPOTHESIS TWO

The second hypothesis to be tested was that long term inmates are not disproportionately involved in violent incidents or escapes. As shown in Table 6, there has been a consistent upward trend in the number of incidents occurring yearly during the study period in question. The prison population also increased over the same period, 10,148 in 1981 increasing to 12,141 in 1984. The increase in prison population has not been commensurate with the increase in prison violence hence, rates of prisoner participation in violent incidents (measured per 1000 inmates) has increased substantially over the four year interval from 60.4 in 1981 to 92.4 in 1984.

The inmate population has been divided into three groups (1) first and second degree murderers; (2) other long term offenders; (3) short term offenders, for the purposes of this study. The second hypothesis has also been tested by comparing (1) the three comparison groups by their rate of participation and percentage involvement in violent incidents only; (2) the three comparison groups by their rate of participation and percentage involvement in escape incidents only, and finally; (3) the three comparison groups by their rate of participation and percentage involvement in both violent and escape incidents combined.

When the percentage distribution of violent incidents was examined for each of the three comparison groups (Figure 12) first and second degree murderers were responsible for 6.6% of all violent incidents occurring between 1981 and 1984. Other

long-term offenders were involved in 4.8% of all violent incidents and the short term offender's involvement comprised 88.6% of all violent incidents.

Tables 7, 8 and 9, list the number of incidents and the rate of participation per 1000 inmates for each of the three comparison groups. In 1981, first and second degree murderers had the highest rate of participation at 64.9 incidents per 1000 inmates followed by short term offenders with a slightly lower rate at 61.3 per 1000 inmates and finally, the other long term offender group with a substantially lower rate of 49.0. By 1984 however, the short term offenders significantly led the two other comparison groups with a rate of participation of 97.2. First and second degree murderers have a significantly lower rate at 74.6 and the other long term group remained consistently low with a rate of 54.6 per 1000 inmates.

With the exception of 1982 for both the murder group and the other long term offender group, there has been a steady increase in the participation rate of each of the three comparison groups. It is apparent however, that while the short term offenders had a lower rate of participation in violent incidents than the murder group at the beginning of the study period, their rate of participation has increased at a faster rate indicating that this particular group is becoming more of a management problem. The first and second degree murder group has had an increasing rate of participation over the four year period but it has increased at a substantially lower rate than that of the short

TABLE 6
INMATES INVOLVED IN VIOLENT INCIDENTS BY
NUMBER AND RATE OF PARTICIPATION
(1981-1984)

YEAR	TOTAL INMATE POPULATION	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	10,148	613	60.4
1982	10,951	705	64.4
1983	11,494	984	85.6
1984	12,141	1122	92.4

FIGURE 12
Percentage Distribution of
Total Violent Incidents by Group
(1981-1984)

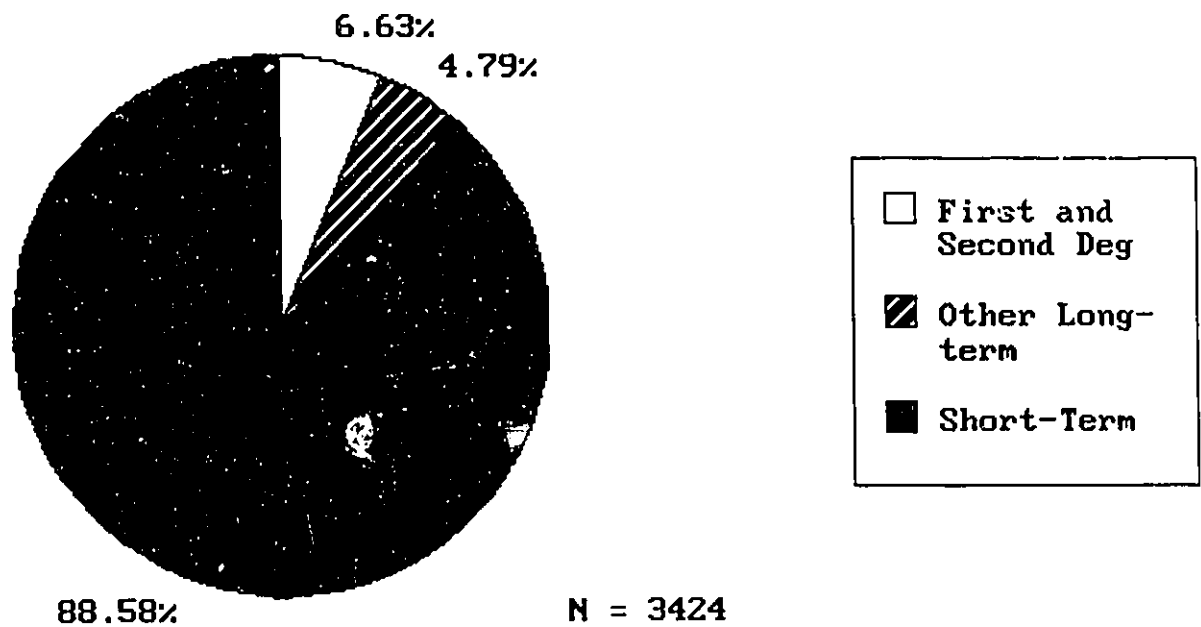


TABLE 7

**1st & 2nd DEGREE MURDERERS INVOLVED IN VIOLENT
INCIDENTS BY NUMBER AND RATE
OF PARTICIPATION (1981-1984)**

YEAR	TOTAL 1st & 2nd DEGREE MURDERERS	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	616	40	64.9
1982	753	39	51.8
1983	915	69	75.4
1984	1059	79	74.6

TABLE 8

**OTHER LONG TERM INMATES INVOLVED IN
VIOLENT INCIDENTS BY NUMBER AND
RATE OF PARTICIPATION (1981-1984)**

YEAR	TOTAL OTHER LONG TERM OFFENDER GROUP	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	939	46	49.0
1982	862	37	43.0
1983	829	37	44.6
1984	806	44	54.6

TABLE 9

**SHORT TERM INMATES INVOLVED IN
VIOLENT INCIDENTS BY NUMBER AND RATE
OF PARTICIPATION (1981-1984)**

YEAR	SHORT TERM OFFENDER GROUP	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	8593	527	61.3
1982	9336	629	67.4
1983	9750	878	90.1
1984	10276	999	97.2

TABLE 10

**RATES OF PARTICIPATION IN VIOLENT INCIDENTS
FOR THE TOTAL INMATE POPULATION AND THE
THREE COMPARISON GROUPS (1981-1984)**

YEAR	1st & 2nd DEGREE MURDERERS	OTHER LONG TERM GROUP	SHORT TERM GROUP	TOTAL
1981	64.9	49.0	61.3	60.4
1982	51.8	43.0	67.4	64.4
1983	75.4	44.6	90.1	85.6
1984	74.6	54.6	97.2	92.4

term offender group and their is evidence from the last two years in question that it appears to be levelling off. The other long term offender group has maintained a consistently low rate of participation throughout the study period. Table 10 summarizes all of the three group's rates of participation for the entire four year period.

For the purposes of further analysis, all violent incidents were sub-divided into four categories. These were: (1) Assaultive incidents which included inmate fights, murders, attempted murders, assaults on staff or inmates; (2) Self-Directed incidents included suicides, attempted suicides and self-inflicted injury; (3) Property incidents included any act of deliberate destruction against property or arson (4) Other incidents included any form of minor or major disturbances or hostage takings.

As illustrated in Figure 13, assaultive incidents comprised slightly more than half 55.1% (1,888) of all violent incidents which occurred in penal institutions between 1981 and 1984. Incidents related to property damage was the second most frequent occurrence representing 22.8% (782) of the total incidents. Following slightly behind was self-directed incidents at 19.9% (682) and finally, Other incidents represented 2.1% (73) of all incidents occurring over the four year time period.

When the four categories are analyzed by the percentage involvement of the three comparison groups in each type of incident, their involvement remained fairly consistent throughout

FIGURE 13
Percentage Distribution of
Total Violent Incidents by Category
(1981-1984)

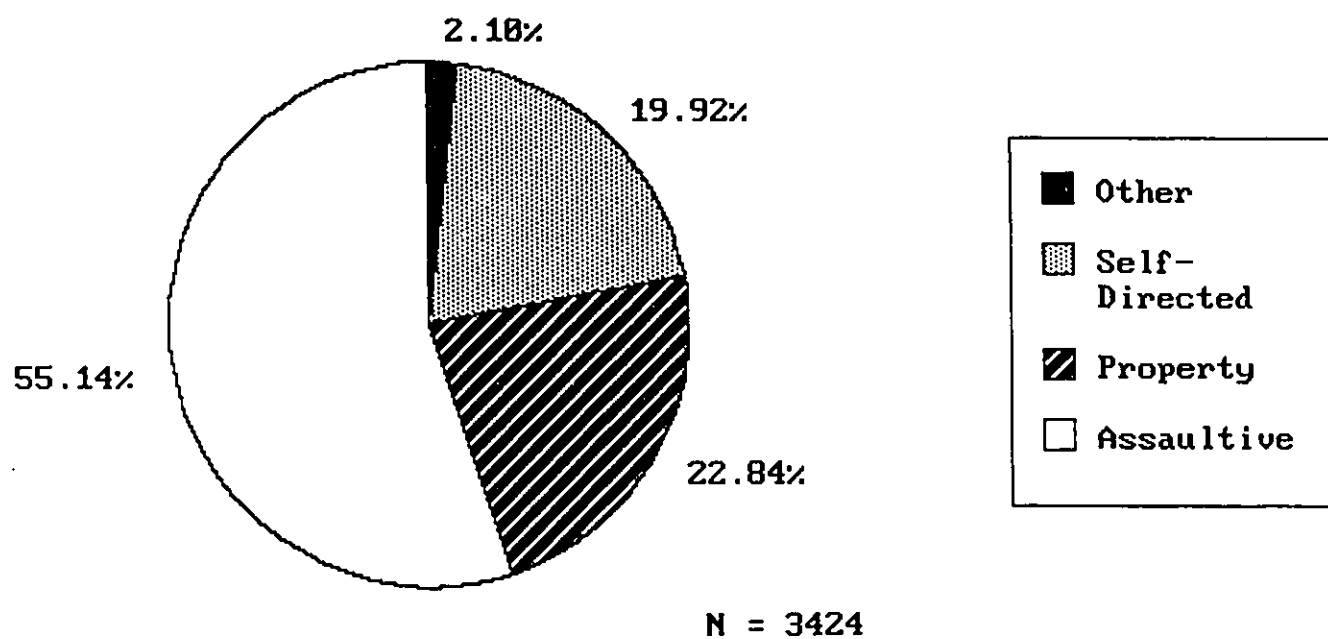
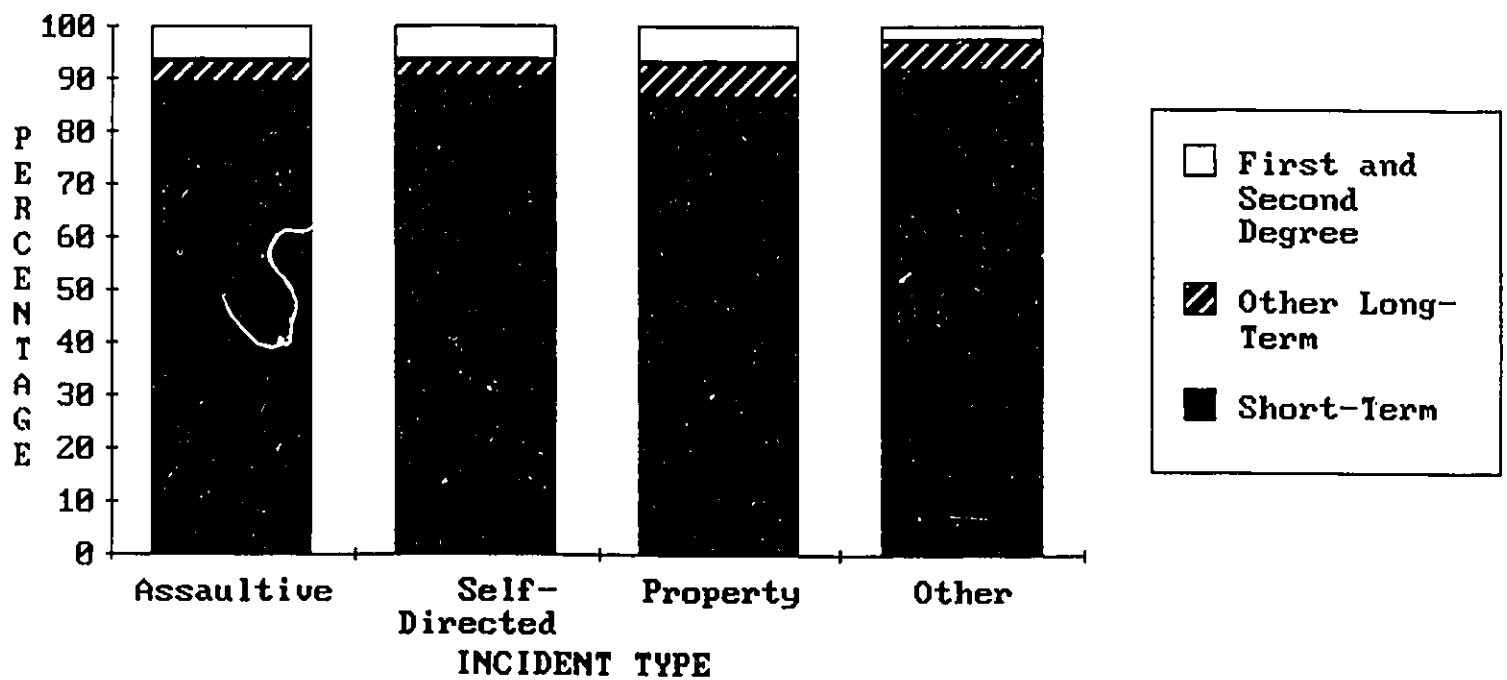


FIGURE 14
Percentage Involvement in
Incidents by Group & Incidents
(1981-1984)



each incident type over the four year time span. As indicated in Figure 14, first and second degree murderers were responsible for 6.7% of assaultive incidents, 6.5% of self-directed incidents, 7.1% of property incidents and 2.9% of all other incidents. The Other long-term offender group accounted for 4.4% of assaultive incidents, 3.7% of self-directed incidents, 6.5% of property incidents and 5.7% of other incidents. Short-term offenders comprised 88.9% of all assaultive incidents, 89.9% of self-directed incidents, 86.4% of property incidents and 91.9% of all other incidents. These figures appear to indicate that no one group tends to "specialize" in any particular form of disruptive behaviour. Inmates tend to have a fairly consistent involvement in all four sub-categories of incidents.

When each incident type is examined in terms of the three comparison groups by rate of participation over the four year period, as shown in Figures 15,16,17,18, and 19 it is clear that assaultive incidents have had a general increase for both first and second degree murderers and has leveled off at approximately 27.0 for Other long term offenders. Short-term offenders maintained a consistently high rate of involvement over the four year period (Figure 16).

When rates of participation for self-directed incidents are examined, of particular importance is the increase for first and second degree murderers from a rate of 6.6 in 1983 to 19.8 in 1984. This represents an increase of 300%. Other long-termers maintained a fairly consistent low rate of involvement in self-

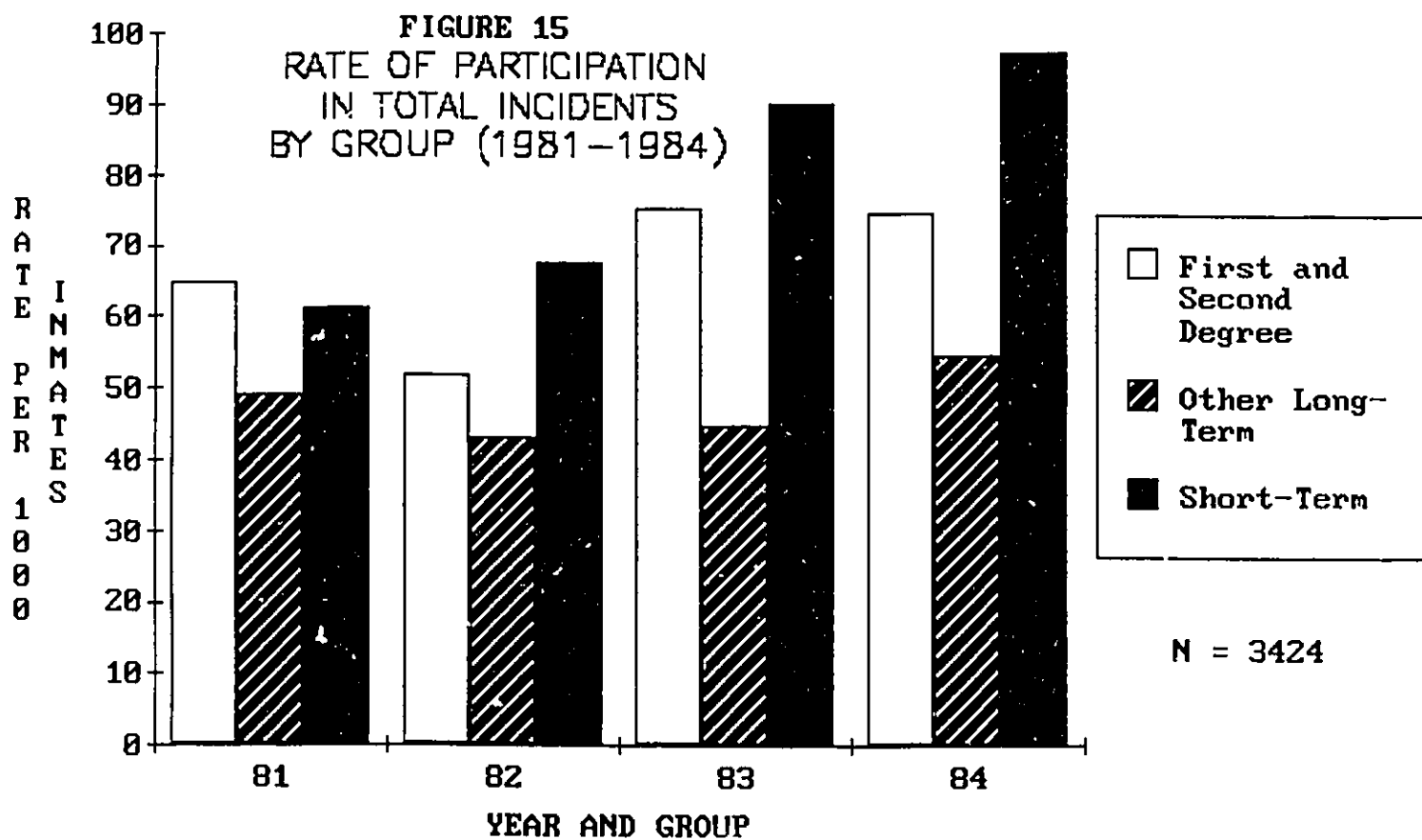


FIGURE 16
RATE OF PARTICIPATION
IN ASSAULTIVE INCIDENTS
BY GROUP (1981-1984)

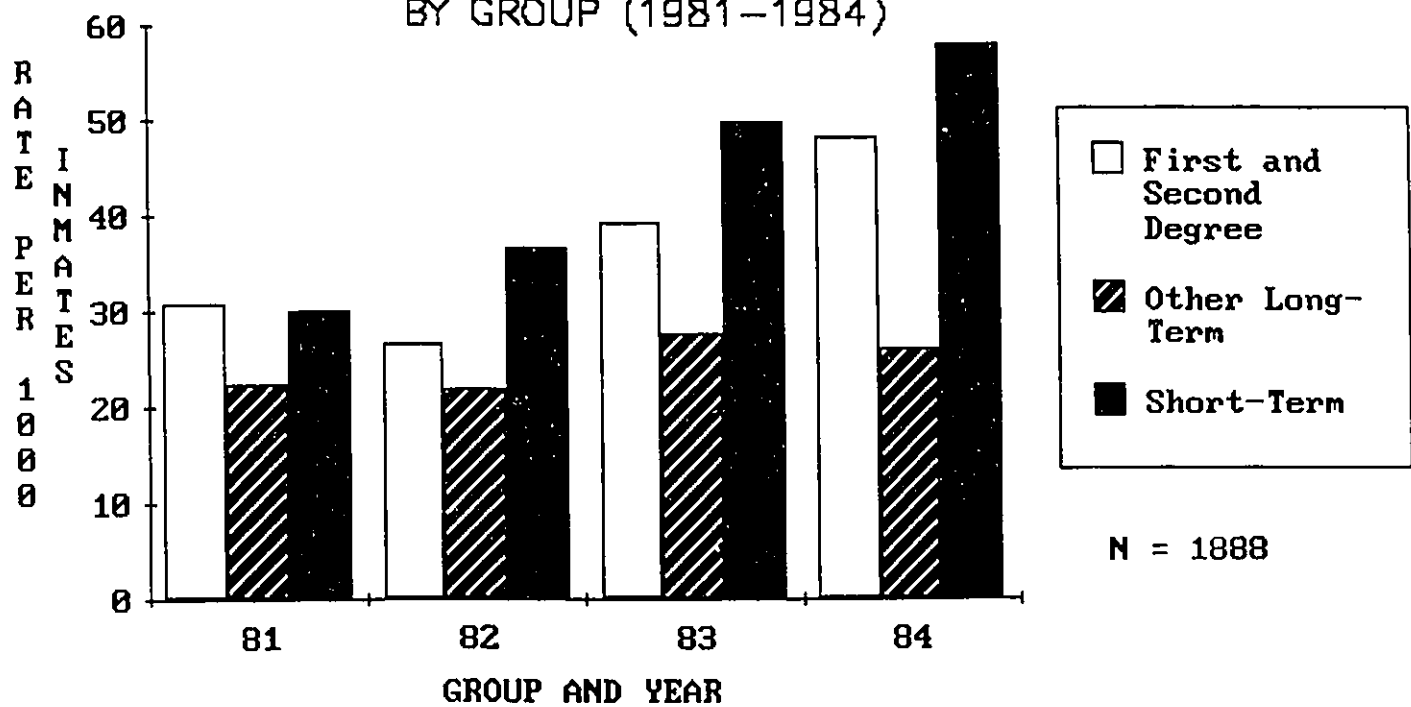


FIGURE 17
RATE OF PARTICIPATION
IN SELF-DIRECTED INCIDENTS
BY GROUP (1981-1984)

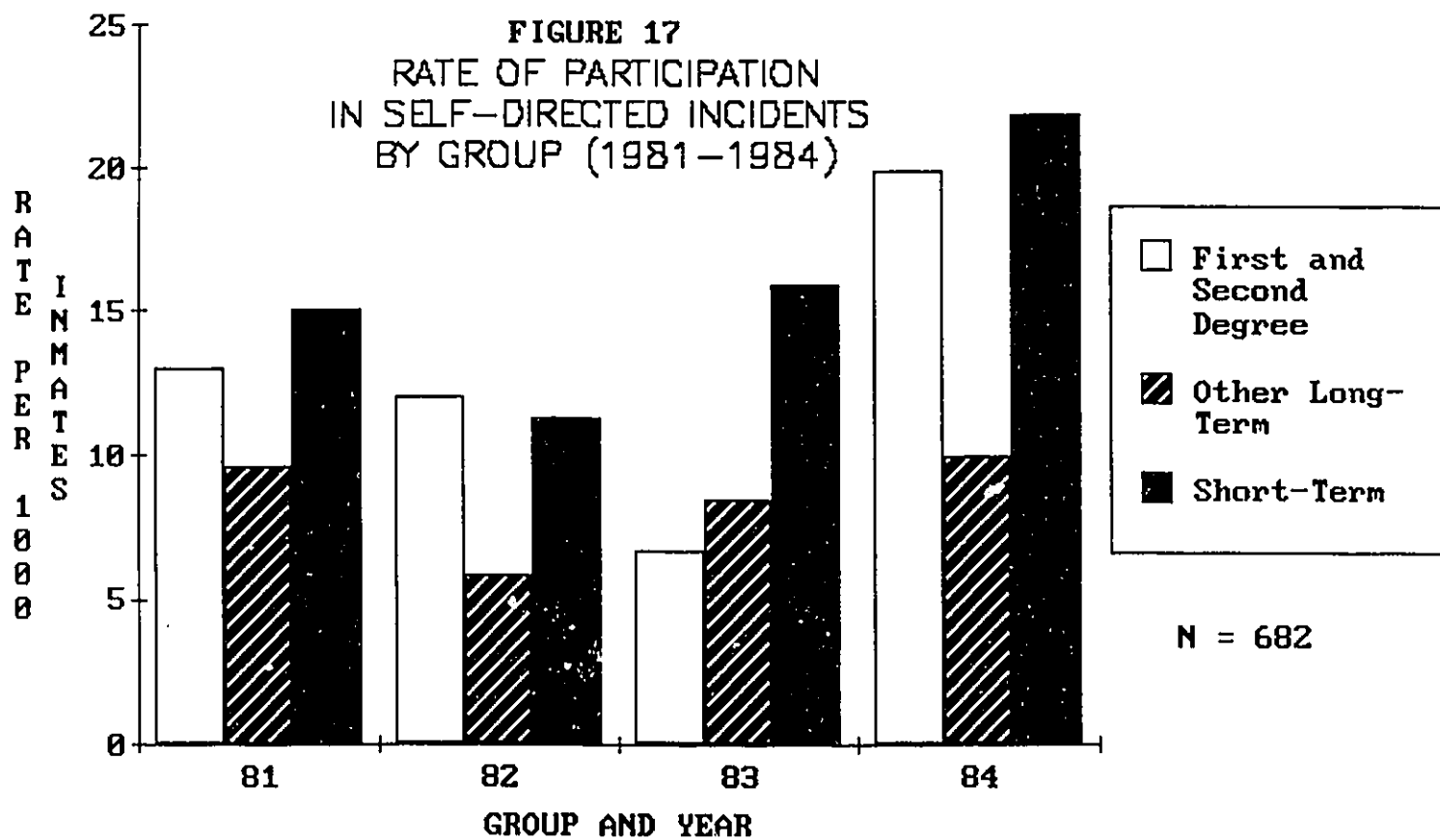


FIGURE 18
 Rate of Participation
 In Property Incidents
 By Group (1981-1984)

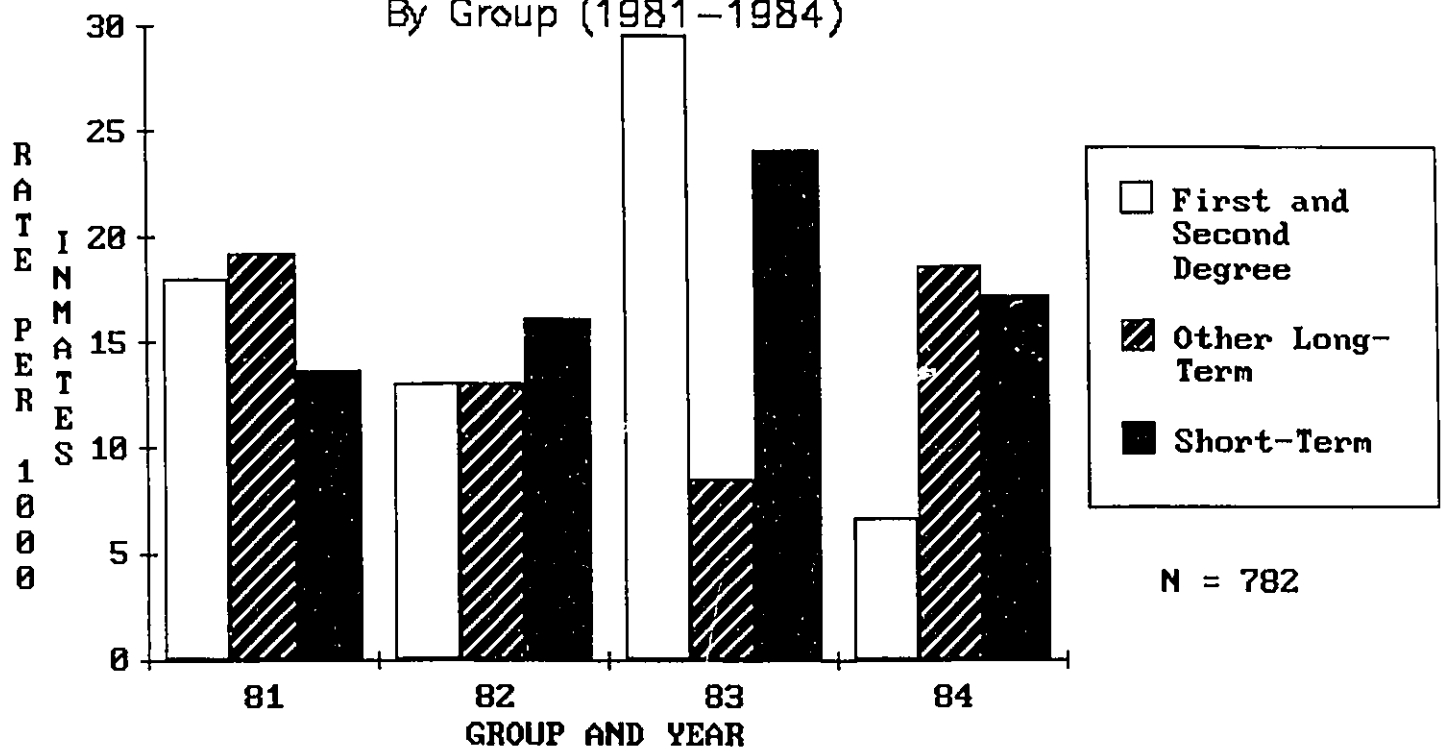
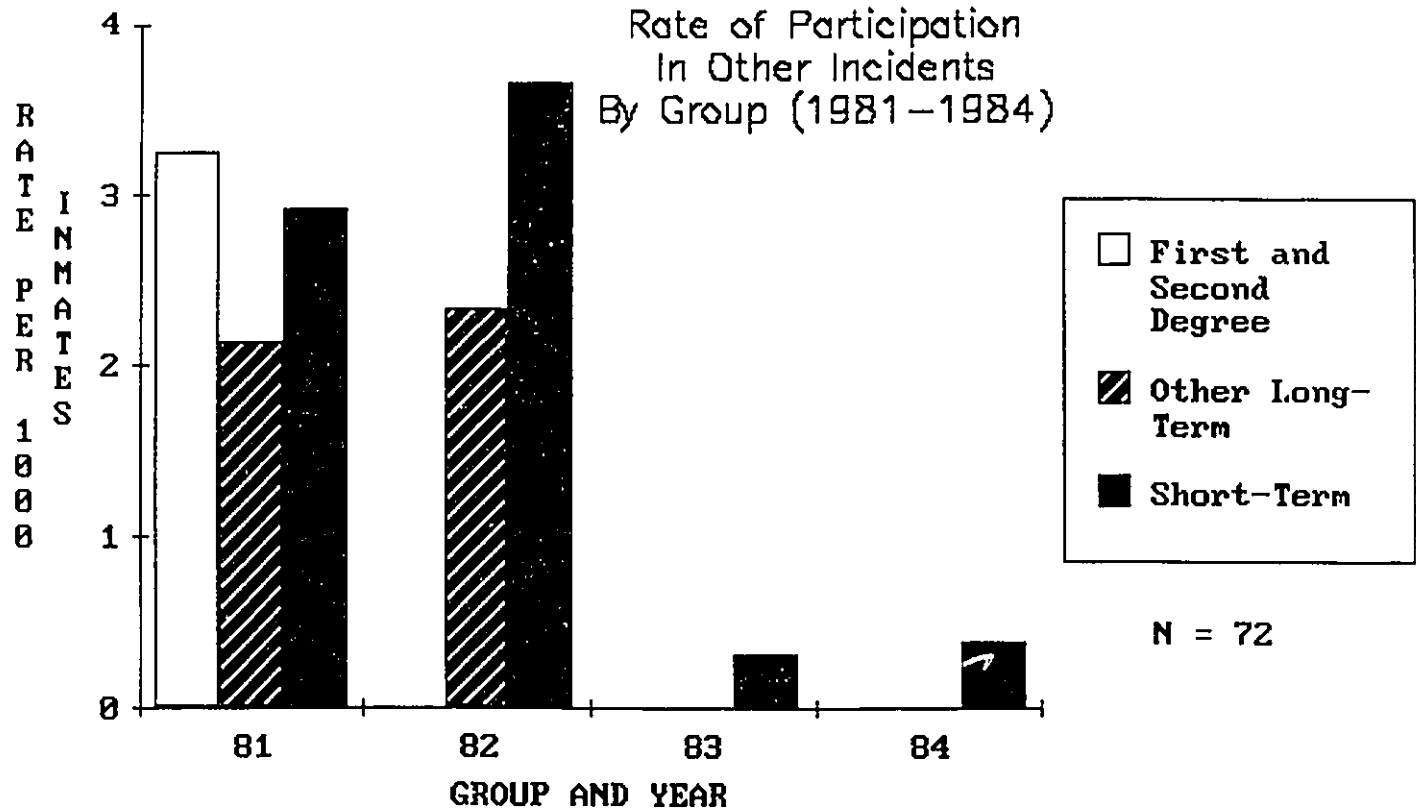


FIGURE 19
Rate of Participation
In Other Incidents
By Group (1981-1984)



directed incidents. Short-term offenders, with the exception of 1982, increased at a slow rate from 15.0 to 21.8 over the course of the four year period (Figure 17).

Property incidents decreased steadily for first and second degree murderers except for 1983 when their rate of participation more than doubled from 1982. The Other long-term offender group reported the highest rate of involvement in property incidents for 1981 and 1984 with rates of 19.2 and 18.6 respectively. Short-term offenders consistently increased their rate of participation from 13.5 in 1981 to 24.1 in 1983 and then had a sharp decrease in 1984 to 17.1 per 1000 inmates (Figure 18).

All rates of participation for Other incidents has decreased over the four year period for all three groups. In 1981, first and second degree murderers had a rate of 3.24 which then dropped to 0 for the remaining three years. Other long-termers were consistently low with a rate of 2.13 in 1981 and 2.32 in 1982 then dropping to 0 for 1983 and 1984. Short-term offenders maintained the highest rate of participation at 2.91 in 1981 and 3.64 in 1982, decreasing to 0.21 and 0.39 for the remaining two years respectively (Figure 19).

During the time period 1981-1984, a total of 1,643 attempted escapes and escapes were reported from federal penitentiaries in Canada. Unlike violent incidents, there has not been a consistent increase in the number of escapes during the time period in question. As indicated in Table 11, the number of escapes decreased from 381 in 1981 to 371 in 1982. This number

TABLE 11
INMATES INVOLVED IN ESCAPE INCIDENTS BY
NUMBER AND RATE OF PARTICIPATION
(1981-1984)

YEAR	TOTAL INMATE POPULATION	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	10,148	381	37.5
1982	10,951	371	33.9
1983	11,494	365	31.8
1984	12,141	526	43.3

further decreased in 1983 to 365 however there was a significant increase in 1984 to 526. The rate of participation for the entire prison population has increased slightly from 37.5 in 1981 to 43.3 in 1984 but saw a decrease during 1982 and 1983 to 33.9 and 31.8 respectively.

When the percentage distribution of escapes was examined by the three comparison groups (Figure 20) first and second degree murderers were responsible for 2.8% (45) of all escapes occurring between 1981 and 1984. Other long-term offenders were involved in 6.2% (101) and Short term offender's involvement comprised 91.1% (1,496) of all escape incidents. These percentages differ from the violent incident's trend where first and second degree murderers has a higher percentage involvement in prison disturbances than did the Other Long-Term offender group. When escape incidents are examined, the reverse seems to be true, Other Long-Term offenders had a higher percentage involvement in escapes than did the first and second degree murderers.

The same pattern holds true when rates of participation are analyzed for each comparison group. As demonstrated in Tables 12, 13 and 14, first and second degree murderers had a consistently low rate of participation at 24.4 in 1981 and decreasing substantially to 7.6 in 1984. Other Long-Term offenders had a markedly higher rate of involvement beginning at 36.2 per 1000 inmates in 1981 and decreasing slightly to 33.5 in 1984. The Short-Term offenders remained consistently high with a rate of participation of 38.6 in 1981 and rising to 47.8 in 1984.

FIGURE 20
Percentage Distribution of
Total Escape Incidents
by Group (1981-1984)

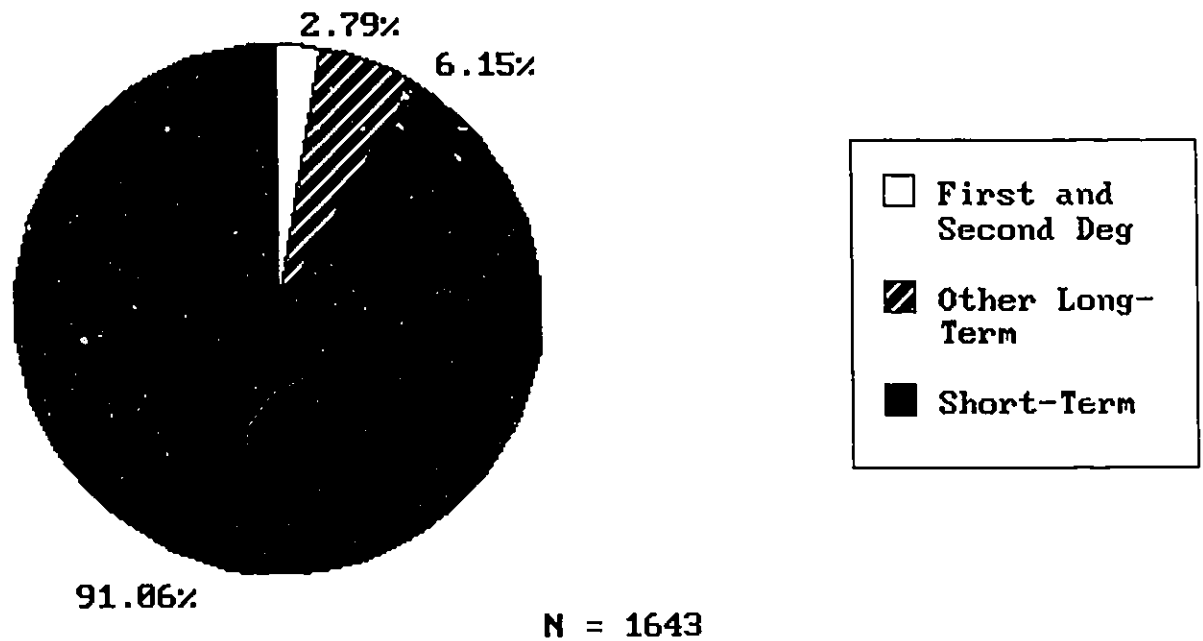


TABLE 12

**1st & 2nd DEGREE MURDERERS INVOLVED IN ESCAPE
INCIDENTS BY NUMBER AND RATE
OF PARTICIPATION (1981-1984)**

YEAR	TOTAL 1st & 2nd DEGREE MURDERERS	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	616	15	24.4
1982	753	10	13.3
1983	915	13	14.2
1984	1059	8	7.6

TABLE 13

**OTHER LONG TERM INMATES INVOLVED IN
ESCAPE INCIDENTS BY NUMBER AND
RATE OF PARTICIPATION (1981-1984)**

YEAR	TOTAL OTHER LONG TERM OFFENDER GROUP	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	939	34	36.2
1982	862	25	29.0
1983	829	15	18.1
1984	806	27	33.5

TABLE 14

**SHORT TERM INMATES INVOLVED IN
ESCAPE INCIDENTS BY NUMBER AND RATE
OF PARTICIPATION (1981-1984)**

YEAR	SHORT TERM OFFENDER GROUP	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	RATES OF PARTICIPATION (PER 1000 INMATES)
1981	8593	332	38.6
1982	9336	336	36.0
1983	9750	337	34.6
1984	10276	491	47.8

TABLE 15

**RATES OF PARTICIPATION IN ESCAPE INCIDENTS
FOR THE TOTAL INMATE POPULATION AND THE
THREE COMPARISON GROUPS (1981-1984)**

YEAR	1st & 2nd DEGREE MURDERERS	OTHER LONG TERM GROUP	SHORT TERM GROUP	TOTAL
1981	24.35	36.21	38.63	37.5
1982	13.28	29.00	35.99	33.9
1983	14.20	18.09	34.56	31.8
1984	7.55	33.50	47.78	43.3

Unlike the rate of participation in violent incidents, escape rates for first and second degree murderers have decreased substantially over the four year period. In each of the other two comparison groups, there was an initial decrease in rates of participation for the first three years followed by a definite increase in the final year under study. Table 15 summarizes all of the three group's rates of participation for the entire four year period.

These results appear to indicate that first and second degree murderers pose the least problems with regards to security (escape risk) concerns. Furthermore, the data indicates that they have become less of a security risk during the period under study. This may be largely due to the fact that the majority of first and second degree murderers are housed in maximum security setting making the possibility of escape more difficult. As indicated earlier in Table 4 the proportion of first and second degree murderers being held in maximum security has increased from 1979 to 1985. On the other hand, while Other long term offenders do not appear to pose as high a custody risk (involvement in incidents while in the institution), as do first and second degree murderers the data indicates that concerns of security are increasing for this portion of the prison population. Short-term offenders have the highest rates of participation and percentage involvement in both violent incidents and escapes. This is in keeping with other studies (Porporino, 1986; Flanigan, 1980; Wardlaw, 1980) that have

concluded that short term offenders pose the greatest managerial problems for the administrators of institutions.

A total of 5067 violent incidents and escapes occurred during the four year time period. The percentage distribution of all violent incidents and escapes is illustrated in Figure 21. When compared with Figure 13, Other incidents remain the smallest category of occurrences (1.4%), followed by Self-Directed incidents at 13.5%. Property incidents comprised 15.4% of all incidents. Of major difference is the fact that escape incidents represent the second highest occurring incidents in institutions at 32.4%. This is almost the equivalent of assaultive incidents at 37.3%.

When examined by group (Figure 22), first and second degree murderers and Other long term offenders have an almost equivalent involvement at 5.4% and 5.2% respectively. It is interesting to note that the percentage involvement in incidents dropped roughly 1% to 5.4% for first and second degree murderers when escape incidents are included. The percentage distribution for Short term offenders only increased by 1% to 89.4% when escapes were considered.

FIGURE 21
Percentage Distribution of
Total Violent Incidents and Escapes
(1981-1984)

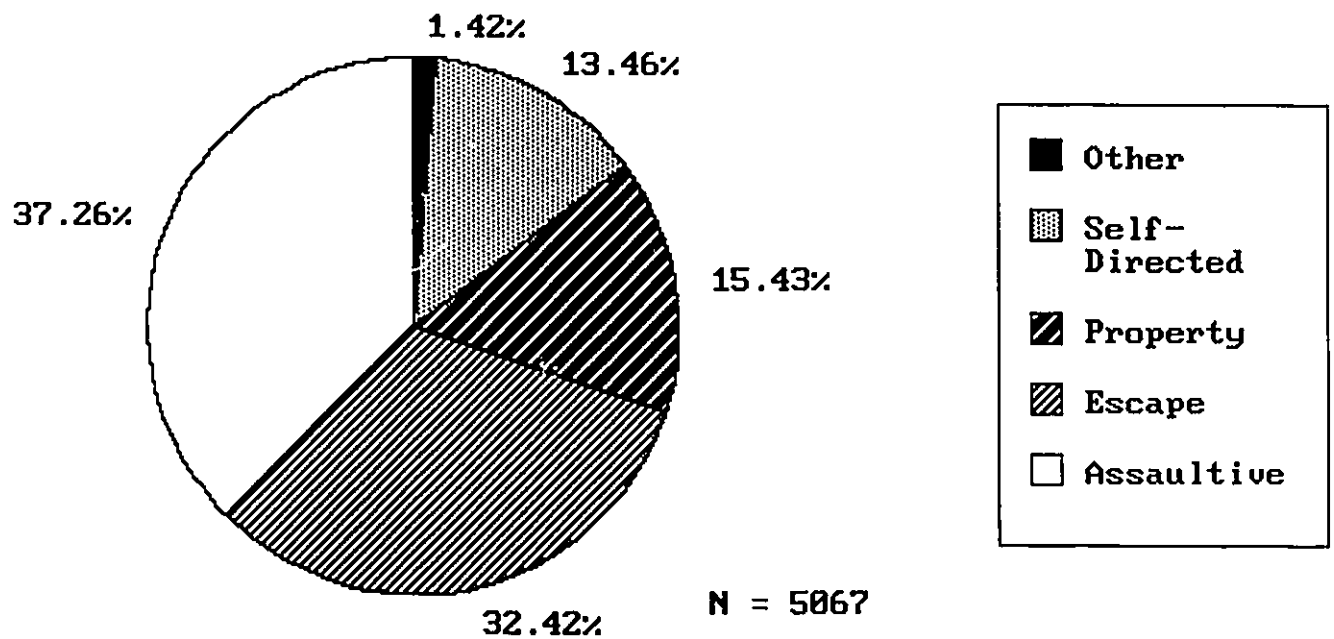
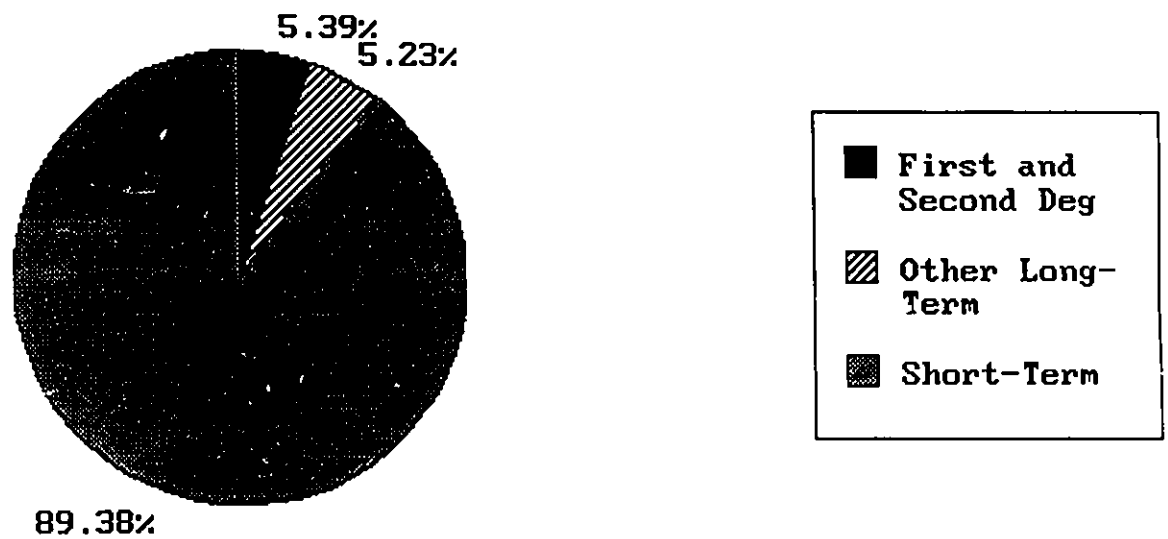


FIGURE 22
Percentage Distribution of
Total Incidents by Group
(1981-1984)



N = 5067

HYPOTHESIS THREE

The third hypothesis stated that long term offenders are not a homogeneous group, hence, certain characteristics within this population predispose selective individuals to become involved in prison incidents or escapes. For the purposes of testing this hypothesis a sample of inmates was selected as outlined in chapter two. Table 16 illustrates the present location of all the subjects selected for the sample by region and institution. The greatest percentage of life sentence inmates was from the Ontario region (39.6%) followed by Quebec (29.3%), the Prairie region (15.5%), Pacific region (8.6%) and finally the Atlantic region (6.9%). This distribution is fairly consistent with the regional variation in prison population size thereby indicating that the sample is proportional across all five regions. The Ontario and Quebec regions represent the two largest of the five regions with 27.7% and 28.3% of the entire penitentiary population, followed by the Prairie region with 20.0%, the Pacific region with 14.5% and finally the Atlantic region with 9.6% (Correctional Services of Canada, 1986. pg.16).

As might be expected, most of the sample, 67.2%, had been placed in maximum security (S-6) at the time of the study. A further 29.3% were being held in medium security and only 3.5% in minimum security (Table 17). These figures reflect the Correctional Service's policy of placing the vast majority of life sentence inmates in particular, first degree murderers in high security institutions.

TABLE 16

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SUBJECTS BY
OFFENCE TYPE, REGION AND INSTITUTION

REGION/ INSTITUTION	1ST DEGREE		2nd DEGREE		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
ATLANTIC REGION						
Springhill	1	5.88	0	0	1	1.72
Atlantic	1	5.88	2	4.88	3	5.17
Region Total	2	11.76	2	4.88	4	6.89
QUEBEC REGION						
Donnacona	2	11.76	4	9.76	6	10.34
Que. RRC	0	---	3	7.32	3	5.17
Archambault	1	5.88	2	4.88	3	5.17
Laval	1	5.88	0	---	1	1.72
Fed. Training	1	5.88	0	---	1	1.72
Leclerc	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Montee St.Franc.	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Drummond	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Region Total	5	29.40	12	29.28	17	29.28
ONTARIO REGION						
Warkworth	1	5.88	3	7.32	4	6.89
Kingston	0	---	7	17.07	7	12.07
Millhaven	4	23.53	4	9.76	8	13.79
Collins Bay	0	---	2	4.88	2	3.45
Joyceville	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Frontenac	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Region Total	5	29.40	18	43.91	23	39.64
PRAIRIE REGION						
Saskatchewan	2	11.76	1	2.44	3	5.17
Prairie RPC	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Edmonton	1	5.88	3	7.32	4	6.89
Drumheller	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Region Total	3	17.64	6	14.64	9	15.50
PACIFIC REGION						
Matsqui	1	5.88	2	4.88	3	5.17
Mission	0	---	1	2.44	1	1.72
Kent	1	5.88	0	---	1	1.72
Region Total	2	11.76	3	7.32	5	8.61
TOTAL SAMPLE	17	100.00	41	100.00	58	100.00

TABLE 17
SECURITY LEVEL OF SUBJECTS BY
OFFENCE TYPE

SECURITY LEVEL	1st DEGREE NO.	%	2nd DEGREE NO.	%	TOTAL NO.	%
MAXIMUM S-6	13	76.47	26	63.41	39	67.24
MEDIUM						
S-5	1	5.88	7	17.07	8	13.79
S-4	3	17.65	6	14.63	9	15.51
S-3	0	---	0	---	0	0
	4	23.53	13	31.70	17	29.30
MINIMUM						
S-2	0	---	2	4.88	2	3.45
S-1	0	---	0	0	0	0
	0	---	2	4.88	2	3.45

NOTE: Included in the S-6 (maximum security level) were three inmates from Quebec RRC, seven inmates from Kingston Penitentiary, three inmates from Saskatchewan Penitentiary and one inmate from RPC Prairie. In actual fact, these institutions are considered multi-level facilities, however, they have been coded as S-6 (maximum security) for the purposes of this analysis.

i) DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

A) ADMISSION OFFENCE: All 58 subjects selected for the study were admitted into the federal penitentiary system during 1985 for either first or second degree murder. Of those 58 subjects selected, 29.3% (17) had been convicted of first degree murder and 70.7% (41) had been convicted of second degree murder (Table 18).

B) AGE AT SENTENCING: At the time of sentence for the index offence (murder), 25% (15) of the total sample were 21 years of age or younger and a further 24% (14) were between the ages of 22 to 25. Only 9% (5) of the subjects were between the age of 26 to 35. Subjects over the age of 30 at the time of sentencing represented 41% (24), the largest group of the sample (Table 18).

C) RACE: The race of 86.2% (50) of the life sentence inmates was Caucasian, followed by 6.9% (4) inmates of native ancestry. Of the two remaining subjects, one was black and the other Asiatic each representing 1.79% of the sample (Table 18).

D) MARITAL STATUS: The marital status at the time of admission of 60.3% (35) of the sampled subjects was single, followed by 13.8% (8) married subjects and 10.3% (6) which had common law arrangements. The remaining 15.5% (9) were either widowed, separated or divorced (Table 18).

TABLE 18

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE BY OFFENCE TYPE,
AGE AT SENTENCING, RACE AND MARITAL STATUS
(N = 58)

DESCRIPTION	1st DEGREE (N=17)	2nd DEGREE (N=41)	TOTAL (N=58)
<u>ADMISSION OFFENCE</u>			
First Degree Murder	100.0	---	29.3
Second Degree Murder	---	100.0	70.7
<u>AGE AT SENTENCING</u>			
1 - 17	---	4.9	3.5
18 - 21	17.7	24.4	22.4
22 - 25	23.5	24.4	24.1
26 - 29	11.8	7.3	8.6
30 - 35	23.5	17.1	19.0
36 and over	23.5	22.0	22.4
<u>RACE</u>			
White (Caucasian)	88.2	85.4	86.2
Black (Negroid)	---	2.4	1.7
Asiatic (Monoloid)	5.9	---	1.7
*Native	5.9	12.2	10.3
<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>			
Single	58.8	61.0	60.3
Married	11.8	14.6	13.8
Common Law	5.9	12.2	10.3
Widowed	5.9	4.9	5.2
Separated	5.9	7.3	7.0
Divorced	11.8	---	3.5

* Native includes all inmates considered to be North American Indian Status, North American Indian Non-Status, North American Indian status not indicated, and Metis

ii) INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR

On the basis of information obtained from their Discipline and Dissociation file⁴ each subject was assigned to one of two groups. Those with no record of institutional infractions or time in dissociation were assigned to Group One. Those with one or more institutional infractions or time spent in dissociation were assigned to Group Two. Seventeen subjects (29.3%) were assigned to Group One while 41 subjects were assigned to Group Two. The breakdown of these two groups was the same as the breakdown of first and second degree murders admitted to the sample. This is purely coincidental as the two issues are not necessarily related.

DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF COMPARISON GROUPS

When some of the major descriptive characteristics for each group are compared (Table 19), that there is very little that distinguishes the two groups.

Overall, the mean age at the time of sentencing was 28.8 (s.d. = 10.9). Compared by group, the mean was substantially higher for Group One, 34.7 (s.d.= 15.8) compared to 26.4 (s.d.= 7.0) for Group Two. Almost half (41.2%) of the subjects in Group

⁴ The Discipline and Dissociation file is a record of the inmate's institutional disciplinary behavior while incarcerated. This includes all institutional incidents, time spent in protective custody or administrative/punitive dissociation, and a copy of all disciplinary committee hearings.

One were over 35 years of age at the time of sentencing while the largest proportion of subjects from Group Two were between the ages of 22-25 at the time of sentencing (31.7%).

The bulk of the subjects selected for analysis were white (86.2%) although there was some indication of native ancestry in the sample (10.3%) with the majority of these individuals being in Group Two (12.2% compared with 5.9% in Group One).

Marital status varied little between the two groups. Most subjects were single at the time of admission (58.8% and 61% for Group One and Group Two respectively). Group One did however contain a larger percentage of inmates who were divorced or separated (17.7% compared to 7.3% in Group Two).

The educational backgrounds of both groups were similar in that both had a mean education of 8.3 (s.d.= 3.3) and 8.9 (s.d.= 4.1) years respectively. A large number of subjects (48.3%) reported having had between 8-10 years of schooling. This was especially true for Group Two subjects who reported 56.1% having received between 8-10 years of schooling versus 29.4% in Group One. It is interesting to note that in Group Two, 12.2% of the inmates reported 0-3 years of education, all of these inmates (5) had in actual fact reported zero years of schooling. Yet interestingly, Group Two also had a slightly higher percentage of

TABLE 19
DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS BY GROUP
(N = 58)

DESCRIPTION	GROUP ONE (N = 17)	GROUP TWO (N = 41)	TOTAL (N = 58)
ADMISSION OFFENCE			
First Degree	29.4	29.3	29.3
Second Degree	70.6	70.7	70.7
AGE AT SENTENCING			
1 - 17	----	4.9	3.5
18 - 21	23.5	22.0	22.4
22 - 25	11.8	31.7	25.9
26 - 29	11.8	9.8	10.3
30 - 35	11.8	17.1	15.5
36 and over	41.2	14.6	22.4
Mean	34.7	26.4	28.8
S.D.	15.8	7.0	10.9
RACE			
White (Caucasian)	88.2	85.3	86.2
Black (Negroid)	----	2.4	1.7
Asiatic (Monoloid)	5.9	----	1.7
*Native	5.9	12.2	10.3
MARITAL STATUS			
Single	58.8	61.0	60.3
Married	11.8	14.6	13.8
Common Law	5.9	12.2	10.3
Widowed	5.9	5.0	5.2
Separated	5.9	7.3	6.9
Divorced	11.8	----	3.4
HIGHEST GRADE ACHEIVED			
0 - 3	11.8	12.2	12.1
4 - 7	29.4	4.9	12.1
8 - 10	29.4	56.1	48.3
11 - 13	29.4	26.8	27.6
% post secondary educ.	5.9	7.3	6.9
Mean	8.3	8.9	8.7
S.D.	3.3	4.1	3.8

Table 19 (con'd)

STREET STABILITY			
Below Average	23.5	29.3	27.6
Average	52.9	51.2	51.7
Above Average	23.5	19.5	20.7

*Native includes all inmates considered to be North American Indian Status, North American Indian Non-Status, North American Indian status not indicated, and Metis

inmates who attended some form of post secondary education than did Group One (5.9% compared with 7.3% respectively).

Ratings of overall street stability concluded similar scores for each of the two groups. This variable was scored based on an overall assessment of the inmate. Factors that were taken into consideration included employment, marital status, stable supportive family unit, criminal associations etc. It is important to note that street stability was judged in comparison to other offenders and not the non-offender population. Overall, 51.7% of the sample rated "average" in terms of street stability and this trend held true for each of the two comparison groups (52.9% and 51.2% respectively). Group One had a slightly higher percentage (29.4%) of inmates receive an "above average" rating than did Group Two with only 19.5% of the group receiving the same score. Both groups were similar on the "below average" rating (23.5% and 29.3% respectively).

Table 20 illustrates some of the characteristics of the admission offence for each of the two groups. As earlier discussed, the sample is comprised of 29.3% of first degree murderers and 70.7% second degree murderers. When this is examined by group, the distribution remains almost identical. Group One is comprised of 29.1% of first degree murderers and 70.6% of second degree murderers. Group Two has 29.3% of its subjects as first degree murderers and 70.7% second degree murderers. Offence type obviously does not preclude involvement in institutional incidents as both Group One and Group Two have

equal number of each type of offender.

A high percentage of inmates from both groups used some form of weapon during the commission of their offence. Overall, 86.2% of the subjects made use of a weapon to commit their offence. This varied little between the two groups. A weapon was used by 82.4% of the Group One offenders and 87.8% of Group Two offenders. Knives were the most commonly used weapon (32.7%) followed by shotguns (21.4%).

The two groups were roughly equal with respect to their being under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of their offence. More than half (57.1%) of Group One reported being under the influence of alcohol and 41.7% under the influence of drugs. Group Two had a slightly lower percentage of alcohol and drug influence at the time of their offence with 54.8% and 38.7% respectively.

Group Two was three times as likely to be involved in the criminal justice system at the time of their offence (Bail-Remand, Probation, Parole, Mandatory Supervision, Incarcerated, Escapee). Only in 11.8% of the cases in Group One was the offender currently involved in the system and all of those cases involved a term of probation. In the case of Group Two, 35% of the subjects were currently involved in the system in some form or another.

Table 20
CURRENT OFFENCE DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION	GROUP ONE (N = 17)	GROUP TWO (N = 41)	TOTAL (N = 58)
ADMISSION OFFENCE			
First Degree	29.1	29.3	29.3
Second Degree	70.6	70.7	70.7
USE OF WEAPON*	82.4	87.8	86.2
INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL	57.1	54.8	55.6
INFLUENCE OF DRUGS	41.7	38.7	39.5
STATUS OF OFFENDER:			
Bail-Remand	----	2.5	1.8
Probation	11.8	15.0	14.0
Parole	----	10.0	7.0
Mandatory	----	7.5	5.3
Incarcerated	----	----	----
Escape	----	----	----

* The most commonly used weapon during the commission of the current offence was Knives (32.7%) followed by shotguns (21.4%).

Table 21 presents background data describing the sample's criminal history. Group Two inmates had a much higher proportion of juvenile convictions (28.6% for Group One compared to 55.6% for Group Two) and this remains consistent when only juvenile indictable offences are examined (28.6% and 46.7% respectively for Groups One and Two).

When age at first adult conviction was analysed, the consistent pattern of earlier involvement in criminal activity for Group Two inmates holds true. Group One inmates report a mean age of first conviction to be 25.2 while Group Two reports a mean age of 19.6.

A large proportion of inmates in both groups had prior adult convictions, 58.8% and 82.9% for Groups One and Two respectively. These proportions drop to 41.1% and 73.2% respectively when only indictable offences are considered. Interestingly however, the mean number of offences does not change significantly. Group One had an average of 5.9 prior convictions and 5.0 prior indictable offences. Group Two had an average of 7.0 prior convictions and 5.2 prior indictable offences. Group Two therefore had a slightly higher number of prior conviction and prior indictable offences. In addition individuals in Group Two were almost twice as likely to have received prior provincial and federal terms of incarceration than their Group One counterparts.

There appears to be no great significant difference when prior history of violence is considered (29.4% versus 39.0% respectively). However, when prior use of weapon was examined

Group Two inmates were almost four times as likely (7.1% versus 29.4%) to have made use of a weapon than did Group One inmates.

Of further interest, when type of prior offences are examined, Group One has a significantly higher involvement (11.8%) in sexual assault related offences than did Group Two (2.4%).

Prior history of substance abuse did not convincingly amount to any differentiation between each of the two groups. Both groups reported a fairly high percentage (77.8% and 61.5% respectively) of alcohol/drug abuse as a juvenile. Interestingly, Group One reported a higher proportion of inmates experiencing no life problems due to alcohol or drug use (29.4%) than did Group Two (20.5%), yet they also reported a higher proportion of inmates as experiencing several life problems due to alcohol/drug involvement (52.9%). Group Two inmates reported a significantly higher problem of abuse affecting one life area (43.6%). Finally, both groups report roughly equal involvement in treatment for alcohol or drug abuse problems (29.4% and 23.1% respectively).

Table 22 outlines some aspects of institutional history for both groups. As was explained at the beginning of this section institutional history was the factor upon which the inmates selected in the sample were placed into the two comparison groups; Group One being incident free while institutionalized and Group Two having at least one record of a disciplinary incident. It therefore stands to reason that Group One will not

Table 21
DESCRIPTION OF CRIMINAL HISTORY
(N = 58)

DESCRIPTION	GROUP ONE (N = 17)	GROUP TWO (N = 41)	TOTAL (N = 58)
<u>JUVENILE</u>			
Conviction before age 16	28.6	55.6	48.0
Inditable offence before age 16	28.6	46.7	40.9
Substance abuse as as juvenile	77.8	61.5	68.2
<u>ADULT</u>			
Age at first conciction			
MEAN	25.2	19.6	21.3
S.D.	10.8	4.3	7.3
Prior convictions	58.8	82.9	75.9
MEAN	5.9	7.0	6.6
S.D.	13.5	8.5	10.1
Prior Inditable offences	41.1	73.2	63.8
MEAN	5.0	5.2	5.2
S.D.	9.6	6.0	6.9
Prior Incarcerations 90 - 729 days	29.4	51.2	44.8
MEAN	2.1	1.7	1.8
S.D.	3.9	2.2	2.6
Prior Incarcerations 2 years +	11.8	24.4	20.7
MEAN	0.4	0.4	0.4
S.D.	1.2	0.8	0.9
Prior History of violence	29.4	39.0	36.2

Table 21 (con'd)

DESCRIPTION	GROUP ONE (N = 17)	GROUP TWO (N = 41)	TOTAL (N = 58)
Prior use of weapon	7.1	29.4	22.9
Prior Violence Against a Person	29.4	39.0	36.2
Prior Break, Enter Theft	41.1	51.2	48.3
Prior Sexual Assault	11.8	2.4	5.2
Prior Drug Related	11.8	12.2	12.1
Degree alcohol/drug problems			
No problems	29.4	20.5	23.2
Affecting one life area	17.7	43.6	35.7
Affecting 2+ life areas	52.9	35.9	41.1
Treatment for Alcohol/Drugs	29.4	23.1	25.0

have any individuals to compare in the categories listed in Table 22. However, it is important to note that the 17.7% of Group One inmates who reported an Escape/Attempts ever, which represents three individuals in that particular group, were escapes which occurred at the Bail/Pretrial level of processing through the criminal justice system and therefore these incidents would not be recorded as part of the inmate's institutional discipline and dissociation file. Therefore, this analysis is not a comparison of the two groups under study but an attempt to ascertain the degree of Group Two's involvement in institutional infractions and the type and severity of these infractions.

Of all Group Two inmates, 36.6% had been involved in an escape/attempt ever during their incarceration history. This represented 15 escape/attempts of which 10 occurred while in custody in an institution, 1 on day parole and 4 at the bail/pretrial status. In addition, 41.9% of Group Two inmates had been involved in an escape/attempt during the last five years of institutional confinement with 35.5% of these offenders having attempted or successfully completed one escape during this time frame and 6.5% reported two such attempts or completed escapes. The definition of escape for this variable was broad and included attempting to evade criminal justice supervision while in custody, on parole or MS, on a temporary absence, on probation, or while on bail or other pre-trial status.

When prior institutional offences were examined, Group Two inmates were more likely to be instigators or participants

Table 22

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY
(N = 58)

DESCRIPTION	GROUP ONE (N = 17)	GROUP TWO (N = 41)	TOTAL (N = 58)
<u>Escape History</u>			
Escape/Attempts ever	17.7	36.6	31.0
Escape/Attempts in the last 5 years	----	41.9	30.2
Number of escape/ attempts last 5 years			
ONE	----	35.5	25.6
TWO+	----	6.5	4.7
<u>Prior Institutional Involvement (offences)</u>			
As instigator/participant	----	17.1	12.1
As victim	----	12.5	10.0
2 or more contraband dealing or assaultive infractions resulting in time in segregation	----	2.4	1.7
Incidents in Greater or High Category = segregation or transfer to higher security	----	7.3	5.2
<u>Serious Incidents in Last 5 years of incarceration</u>			
Assault	----	10.7	8.3
Assault (with weapon/injury)	----	----	----
Riot/ Institutional disturb	----	7.1	5.6

(17.1%) in these incidents than they were victims (12.5%). A very small percentage (2.4%) were involved in more serious types of incidents involving contraband or assaults which led to time in segregation. Interestingly however, when the most serious types of incidents were analysed (see Appendix B for a categorization of prison incidents by severity) 7.3% of Group Two reported involvement in these type of incidents.

When only the last five years of incarceration are considered, documented involvement in serious incidents was limited to a relatively small number of inmates in Group Two. They reported 10.7% of their offenders as having been involved in simple assault incidents and 7.1% in institutional riots and disturbances.

Upon selection of the sample, a questionnaire was sent to each of the subject's classification officers and they were asked to rate the offender on a number of dimensions outlined in Table 23. This information was considered to be very valuable, as the majority of information collected was based solely on the information recorded in case files and not necessarily the personal opinion by those with daily contact with the offender.

Classification officers were asked to rate the inmate's demonstrated level of responsibility (in terms of poor, average, good or excellent) taking into consideration the inmate's general demeanour as reflected in peer group association, job performance, degree of program involvement, level of dependability and nature of interaction with staff and other

Table 23

INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR ASSESSMENT
(N = 58)

DESCRIPTION	GROUP ONE (N = 17)	GROUP TWO (N = 41)	TOTAL (N = 58)
Inmates level of Demonstrated Responsibility			
Poor	12.5	19.5	17.5
Average	18.8	51.2	42.1
Good	56.3	22.0	31.6
Excellent	12.5	7.3	8.8
Inmates participation in Gang Activities	----	19.5	13.8
Inmates level of Family/Community Ties			
None or Minimal	37.5	36.6	36.8
Average	37.5	26.8	29.8
Good	25.0	36.6	33.3
Positive Support Network within 50 miles	25.0	25.0	25.0
Would inmate present a problem/danger to staff?			
Not at all	62.0	31.7	40.4
A little	25.0	46.3	40.4
Some	12.5	19.5	17.5
Quite a lot	----	2.4	1.8
Would inmate present a problem/danger to inmates?			
Not at all	81.3	32.5	46.4
A little	12.5	25.0	21.4
Some	6.3	40.0	30.4
Quite a lot	----	2.5	1.9

Table 23 (con'd)

Would Inmate present a risk for escape?			
Not at all	12.5	12.5	12.5
A little	31.3	37.5	35.7
Some	43.8	20.0	26.8
Quite a lot	12.5	30.0	25.0
Would inmate present a risk for disruption in the institution?			
Not at all	62.5	22.5	33.9
A little	31.3	30.0	30.4
Some	6.3	35.0	26.8
Quite a lot	----	12.5	8.9
Loss of Earned Remission			
0 days	91.7	31.7	51.1
1 - 10 days	6.7	42.9	34.0
11 - 20 days	----	14.3	10.6
21 - 30 days	----	2.9	2.1
31 - 40 days	----	2.9	2.1

inmates. Group One had the greatest proportion of inmates rate in the "good" category (56.3%) while Group Two had the largest percentage of inmates in the "average" category.

Classification officers were next asked to determine if there was any evidence that the inmate actively participates in gang activities within the institution. There was considered to be no involvement by Group One inmates however 19.5% of Group Two inmates were considered to be involved in such activities.

Other factors such as inmates level of family/community ties and positive support networks within 50 miles of the institution were also assessed but provided no significant differences between the two groups.

Classification officer's opinion of the possibility of the inmate presenting a problem/danger to staff and to inmates, their risk of escape and risk of disruption in the institution yielded some interesting results. Inmates were rated on a scale of not at all, a little, some and quite a lot. With respect to being a problem or danger to staff Classification officers rated 62.0%, the largest percentage of Group One inmates as presenting no problem or danger to staff versus 31.7% of Group Two inmates. The largest percentage of Group Two inmates was rated in the "a little" category (46.3%). When rated in terms of their presenting a problem or danger to other inmates, Group One was overwhelmingly rated as presenting no problem or danger to other inmates (81.3%) while Group Two inmates were only represented by 31.7% of the inmates in this category. The greatest percentage

of Group Two inmates were assessed as presenting "some" problem or danger to other inmates (40.0).

As a group, Group One inmates rated higher in terms of their risk of escape than in any other dimension. They had the greatest percentage (43.8%) of their inmates rate in the "some" category while Group Two had the largest percentage in the "a little" category. However, 30.0% of Group Two inmates were rated as "quite a lot" risk for escape versus 12.5% in Group One.

Of Group One inmates, 62.5% were considered to be no risk for disruption in the institution versus 22.5% in Group Two. The largest percentage of Group Two inmates were rated as presenting "some" risk for disruption (35.0%).

Overall, in all four factors examined, Group Two inmates consistently had inmates who rated in the "quite a lot" category. Only in the case of risk of escape did any Group One inmates fall into that categorization.

Finally, when loss of earned remission was examined not surprisingly, the great majority of Group One inmates (91.7%) had not lost any days of "good time" while 42.9% of Group Two inmates had lost between 1 - 10 days.

When type of incidents were examined and types of disposition received for these incidents, the following results were achieved.

Group Two was responsible for 97 incidents during the course of their incarceration history. This represents an average of 2.37 incidents per inmate. Furthermore, 104 dispositions were

attached to these incidents indicating that more than one penalty was handed down in certain cases.

Incidents were ranked into five different categories based on their level of severity. These levels included (1) Greatest, (2) High, (3) Moderate, (4) Low Moderate and (5) Lowest (see Appendix B). The most commonly occurring incidents were of moderate severity (Figure 23) (42.2%) and included such offences as fighting, destroying government property, refusing orders and failing to stand count or interfering with the count etc. This was followed by offences in the low moderate category (26.8%), the lowest category (22.7%), the high category (7.2%) and finally the greatest category (1.0%). The single most common incident however was in the low moderate category and was possession of contraband. This occurred in 25.8% of the instances.

The most common disposition (Figure 24) was punitive dissociation (28.9%) followed by loss of privileges (24.0%), warned and advised (18.3%), fine (16.4%), suspended sentence (6.7%) and finally not guilty (5.8%).

In summary then, there are a number of variables which may characterize those long term offenders who become involved in prison incidents. Typically, Group Two inmates were younger at the time of the sentence for their index offence (murder) and they were three times as likely to have been involved in the criminal justice system at the time of their offence (bail, probation, parole etc.) Group Two had a much higher proportion of individuals with juvenile convictions and juvenile indictable

convictions. Continuing with the same pattern, this group also became involved in the criminal justice system as an adult at a younger age than did group one. They were also almost twice as likely to have received prior provincial or federal terms of incarceration and although there was no real difference in prior history of violence Group Two was four times as likely to have made prior use of a weapon. Based on their classification officer's rating, Group Two was more likely to be involved in gang activities within the institution, were considered to be a greater danger or problem to both staff and particularly other inmates, and it was felt that they were a higher risk for escape and disruption within the institution.

Figure 23
Percentage of Institutional Incidents by
Severity Level

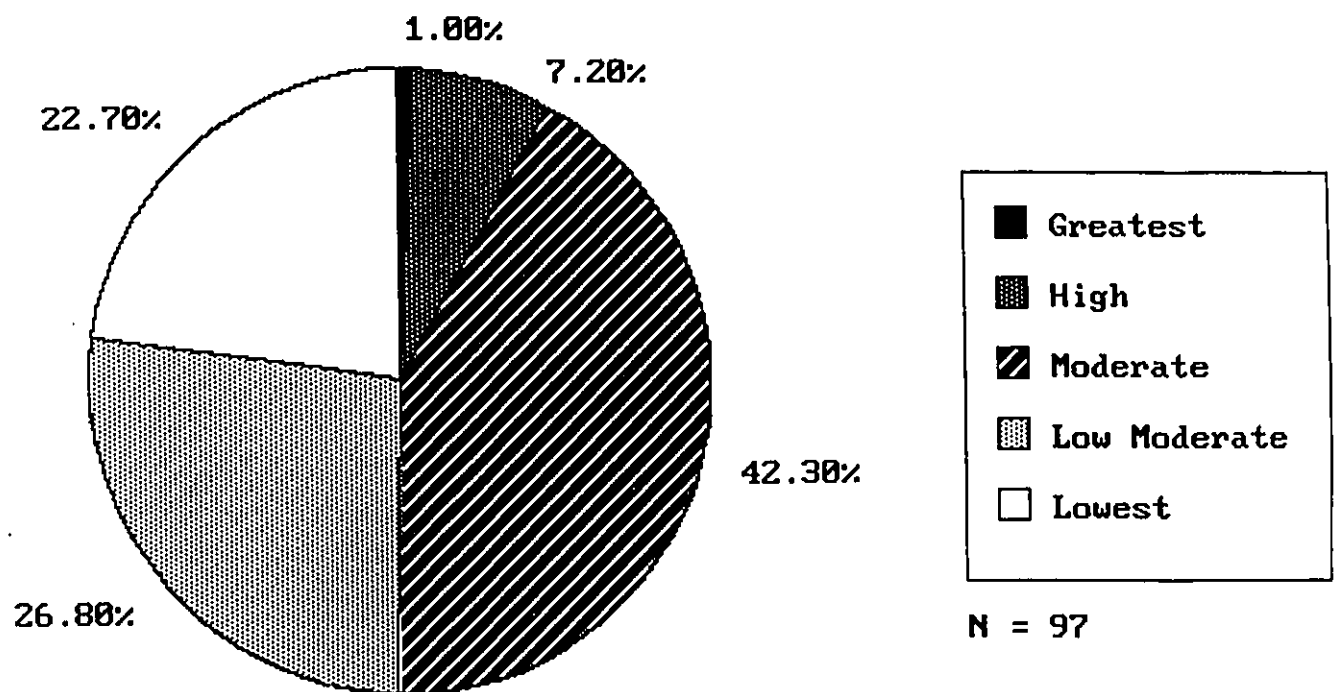
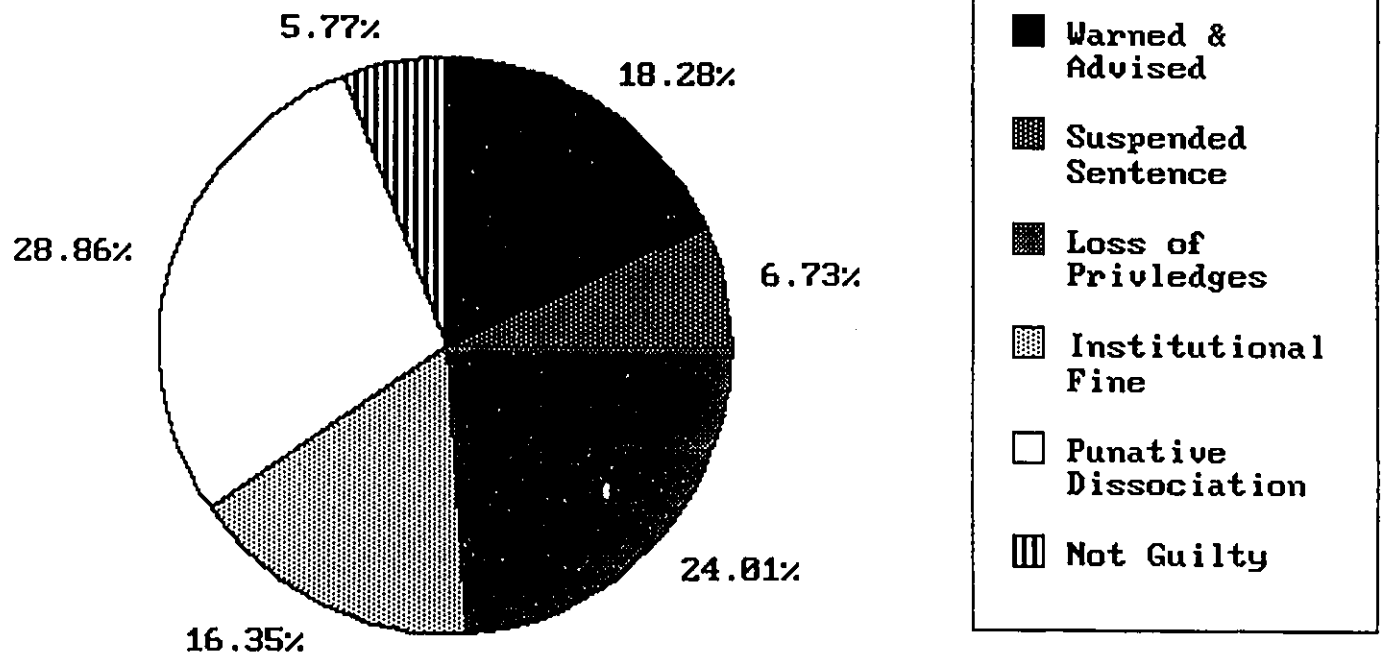


Figure 24
Percentage of Dispositions for
Institutional Incidents



N = 104

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

Management procedures for dealing with long term offenders have generally revolved around two competing models. First, is the dispersal model, which proposes that long term inmates be separated across a variety of facilities. The underlying assumption here, is that these long term offenders provide a calming effect on the institutional climate which thereby lowers the number of violent incidents. Second, is the concentration model, which advocates the use of one separate, special facility for long term offenders. Proponents of this model, consider long term offenders to be too high a security and custody risk and therefore must be segregated in a high security institution.

The purpose of this study has been to ascertain the contribution that the long term prisoner makes to the disciplinary problems for the correctional system in order to assess which management model might best suit the Canadian correctional system.

The Earl of Burma, Lord Mountbatten has been the chief proponent of the concentration model. He based his support of this model on three principle factors: (1) the abolition of the death penalty, hence the diminution of the notion of "eventual release"; (2) long terms of imprisonment were in keeping with the push towards treatment/rehabilitation models; (3) long termers were

most likely to attempt escape.

Specifically, Mountbatten classified prisoners into four groups. Group A were those individuals who required special facilities due to their high security risk. Group B were prisoners who required a fairly secure setting but not as high as Group A. Group C required some structure but were not considered an escape risk. Finally, Group D inmates could remain in an open custody setting.

Alternatively, Radzinowicz was in favour of a dispersal system whereby "Group A" type prisoners would be spread out among a number of facilities designated as "dispersal institutions" and the perimeter security of these facilities would be increased.

The dispersal model has been the most commonly adopted management strategy of the two. Although attempts have been made to use a concentration method (i.e. Alcatraz and Marion Institutions in the United States and Peterhead, Scotland) this model remains less popular. It is of interest to note however, that the United States Federal Bureau of Prisons has returned to a system of concentration using Marion Penitentiary in Illinois as their super-maximum concentration facility.

The main reason for the popularity of the dispersal model does not lie so much in the strength of the arguments in favour of this model but more so by those against the concentration model. These arguments include, (1) the high cost of establishing a high security concentration prison; (2) the reluctance of classifying inmates to a categorization based solely on security factors; (3)

the very repressive nature of a "fortress" , concentration prison;
(4) the possible severe effects of labelling an entire group of inmates as "the worst" of the entire population and having to deal with them as a concentrated group.

Due to the climate in which the dispersal system was founded, (a number of high security, high profile prisoners had escaped British prisons) emphasis for these new facilities was directed towards security. More recently it has been revealed that while this method has been successful in preventing escapes, the same cannot be said for the maintenance of control. It has only begun to become clear that security and control while related are not the same issues and therefore must be dealt with individually. King and Morgan (1980) conceding that there may be some overlap between issues of security and control, maintain that those prisoners considered as security problems and those causing control problems are two very distinct groups and must be dealt with accordingly. The only exception to this is the "terrorist group" who, they believe are both a security and control problem.

Even with the overwhelming popularity of the dispersal model, it is argued that this method has failed to distinguish between these two issues. Critics of the model have cited the following reasons for its failure to prevent control problems. (1) the criteria for entry into a dispersal prison is too broad and hence admittance is too easy and random; (2) the overall security level of the institution, regardless of designated level appears to increase in dispersal prisons thereby subjecting lower security

inmates to unnecessary security constraints; (3) it is unrealistic to assume that the dispersal prison regime is suitable for all prisoners, in particular long term prisoners; (4) provisions for prisoners who persistently disrupt the system are inadequate.

By the early 1980's the English dispersal system comprised eight prisons. Since its establishment in 1969, only two of these eight facilities have remained "trouble free". Moreover, the large scale incidents occurring in dispersal prisons were only a small indicator of the considerable tension in the day to day management of these facilities. Furthermore, the addition of a more restrictive policy for the paroling of long-term prisoners in England established in 1983 has only served to increase these tensions further.

The issue of a dispersal versus concentration management model in Canada has taken a different flavour from the debate which remains in Britain. In Britain, their policy is based on the underlying assumption that long term offenders are a management problem and therefore the question becomes what system is more effective for controlling problem inmates. Should all the troublemakers be housed together in a super maximum institution (concentration) or should they be dispersed so that each institution only has to deal with a small number of these individuals?

In Canada, the issue is somewhat different. It is not immediately assumed that long term offenders are a management problem. This thesis has attempted to shed further light on this

highly controversial question so that a more informed decision can be made as to the management structure that would best suit the Canadian correctional system. In the case where long term offenders are found to be a disruptive influence, a system of concentration may be adopted. Should they be found not to be a management problem a system of dispersal might be more feasible.

This thesis has sought to determine which management model would be most appropriate for the Canadian Correctional Service. It was hypothesized that:

- (1) Institutions that house long term offenders do not have disproportionately higher rates of violent incidents or escapes;
- (2) Long term offenders are not disproportionately involved in violent incidents or escapes;
- (3) Long term offenders are not a homogeneous group, hence certain characteristics within this population predispose selective individuals to become involved in prison incidents or escapes

Institutions that house long term offenders do have disproportionately higher rates of violent incidents and escapes. During the seven year study period the proportion of first and second degree murderers in maximum security institutions more than doubled from 8.1 in 1979 to 18.7 in 1985. During that same time period, maximum security institutions were responsible for 39.7% of all incidents. When separated by major and minor incidents, maximum security institutions were responsible for 35.2% of major incidents and 40.2% of minor incidents.

Examined in another way, by rate of incidents per 1000 inmates, maximum security institutions have an average rate of 260/1000 overall over the seven year time period followed by medium security institutions with 126/1000 and protective custody institutions at 116/1000. When the rate of participation in incidents per 1000 inmates is examined by security level compared to the proportion of lifers by year no significant pattern emerges. From 1979 to 1985, the rate of involvement in incidents at the maximum security level has doubled from 176/1000 to 356/1000. The proportion of life sentence inmates has also doubled over the same period from 9.68 in 1979 to 21.87 in 1985. However, when these figures are examined closely, it is clear that there was a drastic increase in the proportion of first and second degree murderers in 1980 from 9.68% to 28.08% however from that point until 1985 the percentage decreased yearly to 21.87%. Meanwhile the rate of incidents appears to have increased at fairly consistent rate (except for a slight decrease in 1982) until 1983 where it jumps drastically from 220/1000 to approximately 400/1000 in 1984. It is clear that no significant pattern between these two variables appear.

Interestingly however a pattern does emerge when protective custody institutions are examined. Here both the rate of incidents and the proportion of murderers increased. The rate of incidents increased from 63/1000 in 1979 to 221/1000 in 1985. Similarly the proportion of life sentence inmates in protective custody increased from 9.40% to 25.53% during the same time period.

Through a closer examination of the type of incidents taking place at maximum security institutions it was found that the most prevalent type of major incident was assaults on inmates or staff. These represented 59.4% of all major incidents occurring in maximum security during the seven year study period. Furthermore, minor assaults on inmates or staff were found to be the most prevalent minor incident (34.9%). It is clear that the majority of incidents taking place in these types of institutions are of an assaultive nature.

When specific maximum institutions were examined it was found that Millhaven institution had the highest percentage (25.8%) of major incidents and Laval had the highest percentage (27.0%) of minor incidents and combined had the highest percentage of incidents overall (24.8%).

Based on these results it is clear that maximum security institutions do house the highest percentage of first and second degree murderers and it is also clear that they have the highest percentage and rate of violent incidents. The results further indicate that these incidents are most often assaultive in nature and occur most often in Laval and Millhaven institutions. However, the pattern of increased incidents yet decreased proportion of lifers in maximum security, particularly towards the latter part of this study's time period seriously put the relationship of increased violent incidents and involvement of lifers into question. A more comprehensive explanation would appear to have to include the varying nature of institutions due to their security

level. While it is clear that maximum institutions have experience more incidents it is not clear that these incidents are being caused by first and second degree murderers.

The second hypothesis examined this question. The results are overwhelmingly conclusive, short term offenders (those serving a determinant sentence of less than 21 years) are responsible for the greatest number of violent incidents in institutions. From 1981 to 1984, they participated in 88.68% of all violent incidents in Canadian institutions. Alternatively first and second degree murderers were responsible for only 6.63% of all incidents during the same time period. Other long term offenders were responsible for the least number of incidents representing only 4.89% of the entire number of incidents taking place.

When rates of participation per 1000 inmates were examined for the four year period it was found that for all three groups their participation rate increased. It is important to note that the largest increase can be found in the short term offender group. In 1981 the rate of participation in violent incidents was actually slightly higher for first and second degree murderers than for the other two groups. However, by 1984, the short term offender group had well surpassed the 74.6/1000 rate of the first and second degree murderers and was found to have a rate of 97.2/1000.

Violent incidents were sub-divided into four categories. Once again assaultive incidents were found to comprise slightly more than half (55.1%) of all violent incidents occurring between 1980 and 1984. Property damage incidents were the second most frequent

occurrences (22.8%) followed by self-directed incidents (19.9%) and other incidents (2.1%). The results further indicated that short term offenders had, except for 1981 a consistently higher rate of involvement in violent incidents overall and this trend was maintained when these incidents were examined by the four individual sub-categories.

Similar results were obtained when only escape incidents were examined. Short term offenders were responsible for 91.1% of all escapes during the 1981 - 1984 period. Other long term offenders were found to be the second most frequent group representing only however 6.2% of escapes and first and second degree murderers were only responsible for 2.8% of all escapes during that time period.

When rates of participation were examined for the four year period unlike in the case of violent incidents, rates of escape incidents actually decreased for the two long term offender groups and increased moderately for the short term offender group.

It is significant to note that first and second degree murderers had a consistently low rate of participation in escape incidents during the four years in question. Most interesting is the fact that their participation rate in escapes decreased substantially over the four years from 24.4/1000 in 1981 to a extreme low of 7.6/1000 in 1984. This is compared to a small decrease for other long term offenders who had a rate of 36.2/1000 in 1981 and dropped to 33.4/1000 in 1984. The short term offender group is once again found to be the largest contributor to prison

escapes. Furthermore this rate is not decreasing. In 1981 for example, their rate of participation was 38.6/1000 this increased to 47.8/1000 in 1984.

When both violent incidents and escapes are examined together the same pattern emerges. Short term offenders are responsible for the majority of both incidents (89.4%) followed by first and second degree murderers (5.4%) and finally other long term offenders (5.2%). Most importantly is the fact that when considered together, escapes comprise the second most frequently occurring incident (32.4%) following assaultive incidents (37.2%).

These results indicate that first and second degree murderers pose the least problems with regards to security (escape risk) concerns. Furthermore, the data indicates that they have become less of a security risk during the period under study. This may however be largely due to the fact that the majority of first and second degree murderers are housed in maximum security settings making the possibility of escape more difficult. As indicated in Table 4, the proportion of first and second degree murderers being held in maximum security has increased from 1979 to 1985. On the other hand, while Other long term offenders do not appear to pose as high a custody risk (involvement in incidents while in the institution), as do first and second degree murderers the data suggests that these individuals pose a greater security problem. Short term offenders have the highest rates of participation and percentage involvement in both incidents and escapes and can thus be considered both a security and a control problem. This is in

keeping with other studies (Porporino, 1986; Flanigan, 1980b; Wardlaw, 1980) that have concluded that short term offenders pose the greatest managerial problems for the administrators of institutions.

The final component of this study attempted to identify those potential "troublemaker" lifers. If one were to describe an inmate sentenced to life imprisonment for first or second degree murder who additionally could be considered to be a potential institutional management problem, one would be hard pressed to distinguish this group of individuals from those lifers who are not considered management problems. Both groups are similar in terms of marital status, educational backgrounds and rated street stability. Offence type (first or second degree murder) does not appear to effect their involvement in prison incidents. Not surprisingly in both groups the use of a weapon during the current offence was very high (86.2%). Similar as well is the use of drugs and/or alcohol at the time of the current offence. When prior history of violence is considered no significant differences are found either.

There were a number of factors which could be seen as differentiating the two groups however. The mean age at the time of sentence was noticeably lower for group two (26.4) as compared to group one (34.7). Furthermore there was a slightly higher concentration of natives within the second group (12.2% compared to 5.9% in group one). A more significant comparison was found when involvement in the criminal justice system at the time of

their current offence was examined. The individuals in Group Two were three times as likely to be involved in the criminal justice system at the time of their current offence in comparison to Group One (11.8% in the case of Group One and 35% in the case of Group Two). Group Two had double the percentage of inmates with juvenile convictions compared to group one (28.6% and 55.6% respectively) and this also remained true when only juvenile indictable offences were considered. Not only did Group Two subjects have a more extensive juvenile record, they also had an earlier adult record. Group One inmates reported a mean age of first adult conviction to be 25.2 while Group two reported a mean age of 19.6. Prior number of adult convictions was relatively high for both groups however Group Two was significantly higher with 82.9% of offenders indicating prior convictions while in Group One 58.8% had prior adult convictions. When prior use of weapon was examined, Group Two inmates were almost four times as likely to have made use of a weapon during their criminal history (7.1% versus 29.4% respectively).

The profile of first and second degree murderers who are potential problems for the management of an institution emerges as follows:

- (1) Young at the time of the commission of their offence.
- (2) Involved in the criminal justice system at the time of the commission of their offence.
- (3) Extensive juvenile record of convictions, not only summary conviction offence but for indictable offence as well.
- (4) Earlier and greater number of adult convictions which

often included the use of a weapon.

These individuals were responsible for 97 incidents during the course of their incarcerations. This represents an average of 2.37 incidents per inmate. In these 97 incidents 104 dispositions were handed down indicating that some of the incidents received more than one penalty. The most commonly handed down penalty was punitive dissociation, given out in 28.9% of the cases. The most frequently occurring incident grouping were of the moderate severity level (42.2%) which included such offence as fighting, destroying government property, refusing orders and failing to stand count or interfering with count. The single most common incident was possession of contraband (25.8%). These results dispel the commonly held notion that although long term offenders are not involved in many incidents, when they are involved in an incident it is usually quite severe. It does not however resolve the issue of life sentence inmates contribution to prison violence without being directly involved.

Classification officer's opinion of these two groups, revealed that Group Two was more likely to be involved in gang activities within the institution, were considered to be a greater danger or problem to both staff and particularly other inmates, and it was felt that they were a higher risk for escape and disruption within the institution compared to Group One inmates.

The data clearly indicates that institutions that house the largest proportion of long term offenders have a higher percentage and rate of incidents occurring in them. More alarming is the fact

that the most prevalent type of incidents taking place are of an assaultive nature. However, when the actual inmates involved in these incidents are examined, it is clear that first and second degree murderers are minutely involved in prison incidents. This trend is true when violent incidents and escapes are examined separately and when combined. In giving even further consideration to security concerns, first and second degree murderers had the most significant decrease in escape/attempts during the study period in question. This must seriously question any attempts to increase the present security levels of these individuals. A closer examination of the lifer groups revealed that these lifers likely to be involved in prison incidents are younger at the time of their offence, and have an extensive criminal background.

It is expected that by the turn of the century one inmate in five in federal correctional institutions will be serving a life sentence (Let's Talk, 1983). Given this trend, it is imperative that the Correctional Service of Canada find ways of dealing with such an increasing long term population in an effective (secure) and economic manner. Both of these factors are often seen as being at competing ends of the spectrum. On one hand the public demands the protection that institutions are suppose to provide against perpetrators of such heinous crimes. On the other hand government policy cries out for restraint on spending. In order to increase security, one must generally increase costs. The solution lies in creating a system where only those who really require maximum security receive it. Thus the end result is a reduction

of both economic and humanitarian costs of incarceration and public safety is still maintained while offenders are not overclassified.

It has often been argued that maximum security incarceration is extremely expensive in human terms, both to inmates and to staff.

It is also extremely expensive relative to alternatives in terms of both day to day operating expenses and long-term capital requirements. At the same time the public demands protection from these individuals which usually translates into increased security.

It is therefore recommended that a system of concentration-dispersal be established as the most feasible management option. What is proposed here is a more diversified method of classification which maintains security levels yet also allows for more diversity. It can be argued that the Correctional Services of Canada's policy of corresponding perimeter and unit security severely handicaps the present classification process. This practice limits our current system to three major security divisions: maximum, medium and minimum security. Furthermore the current classification system is most often dictated by cell availability rather than actual security needs. A system which allowed for small concentrated units within larger perimeter-secure confines would allow for a greater diversity of programming, a more manageable approach to custody concerns, a more conducive atmosphere to developing long-term goals and prison careers and considerable less and would be considerably less expensive than our present system of housing these individuals at maximum security

levels. Here, inmates would be concentrated in these dispersed units according to their overall good institutional behaviour not because it was felt that they would cause more problems if left dispersed.

In other words, concentrated units would be a reward for appropriate institutional behavior. Once established in such a unit, inmates could draw upon the experiences of fellow lifers to help adapt to prison life but would also have the influence of the general population close at hand if they so desired. Alternatively, the supposed "calming influence" that long termers have been found to have on the general population would still exist because they would be housed within the same confine and would have access to activities run in the larger, traditional institution.

This approach differs substantially from the initial concentration and dispersal methods proposed by Mountbatten and Radzinowicz respectively. Both of these policies were based on the notion that long term offenders needed to be housed uniquely due to their poor institutional behavior. This may very well be the case with British long term offenders and therefore either of these two methods may be justified. The Canadian situation is somewhat different and therefore requires the development of procedures unique to its own situation.

The key issue in Canada becomes developing accurate and efficient classification procedures for identifying inmates prior to placement. Palmer (1984) argues for what he calls "maximum effectiveness." This he explains occurs when "inmates who can

safely be cascaded through the system and placed in lower cost alternatives such as minimum security or parole supervision are so - handled expeditiously". In this respect the proper identification and classification of inmates becomes of utmost importance. The data indicates that these individuals are for the most part, not a security or control problem. Therefore, the current CSC policy of classifying these individuals to maximum security is unnecessary. There is no feasible reason why some of these individuals cannot be dispersed to lower security institutions. Considerable evidence exists which confirms that it is possible to define some objective procedures to at least initiate the process of identifying and dealing with inmates who are considered a control problem. The National Institute of Corrections (NIC) has developed a custody (reclassification) rating scale which is aimed at identifying those inmates, based on a number of variables, who are potential custody problems.

The Correctional Service of Canada has itself developed a new Custody Classification Rating Scale. This instrument once tested could prove to be an effective means of identifying potential disruptive offenders.

These inmates would obviously not be initial candidates for these special units as their behaviour would require assessment prior to placement. The current policy of requiring that these individuals spend one year minimum in a maximum security unit could therefore be continued. Upon completion of that one year time period the offender would then be reassessed to determine if indeed

his behavior warranted his transfer to a special unit established for long term offenders.

Conversely, despite positive attitudes, good behavior, etc. many long term inmates do not want to be placed in a minimum security facility. Palmer (1984) reports that "in those few instances where we have transferred good long term inmates to minimum security relatively early in their sentences, for example before the halfway point, we have had virtually a 100% failure rate."

This adds further fuel to the fire for the argument in support of a facility which departs from the "normal" institutional setting and security levels yet at the same time will provide enough of a structure and incentive for the inmates to remain "manageable".

The organisational model developed by William Palmer at Warkworth Institution is a model that should be seriously considered.

The model that he has developed calls for the establishment of unique units restricted only to long term offenders (which he defines as those inmates serving life sentences). An extensive review and evaluation of all possible candidates would take place prior to admittance to such a unit. In addition, it was felt that special consideration should be given to all young offenders under the age of twenty and those offenders convicted of being an accomplice to a murder offence. This special unit would be contained within the confines of an existing maximum, medium or minimum security institution and would be based on the "living unit

concept". This model was selected as the optimal model to encourage positive inmate\staff relationships which was deemed essential to the success of this kind of management style. By establishing such a unit within the confines of an existing traditional penal facility, offenders housed here would still have access to the "parent institution" and once outside of their unique confines, they would be subject to the same rules and regulations as those offenders in the general population.

Palmer's goal was to establish a system which would foster feelings of responsibility, individuality and dignity and which in turn would encourage feelings of self-worth and respect. Ideally, this management structure would serve to define and establish "prison careers" and prepare the long term inmates for eventual movement to lower security levels.

Long term inmates would commence their sentence at the maximum security level as do all or most life sentence inmates. Based on a number of prediction scales (previously discussed) and a rigorous screening process, inmates could if deemed suitable be transferred to a "Maximum Security Long Term Unit" which would be a self contained unit with a lower perimeter security however would still be maintained within the confines of a maximum security perimeter. When it was felt that an offender had gained optimal benefit from his stay in this type of unit he would be transferred to a regular medium security unit. Palmer (1984) considered it essential that such inmates not be places directly into a "Medium Security Long Term Unit" until such a time as staff at the medium security

facility had sufficient time to familiarize themselves with the offender and the offender himself had a chance to adjust and become familiar with the atmosphere, routine, rules etc. of a medium security institution. This he felt would take a minimum of one year. Only after this time period and sufficient scrutiny should an inmate be transferred to the special unit at the medium security level. The structure of this unit, would be a minimum security setting amongst a medium security perimeter.

It could be argued that in effect what this model serves to develop a system of concentrating all long term offenders within one confine as proposed by Mountbatten. However, there are a number of important differences between the "concentration model" developed in Britain and the model being proposed here. While a separate unit is being established for these particular inmates, the basis for their establishment is not security and control. The fundamental principles are by no means repressive in nature. On the contrary, this system serves to give long term inmates more "freedom" to establish a way of life within the prison setting. Indeed there would be a great deal more flexibility to address specific concerns unique to those inmates serving long sentences. Of equal importance is the fact that offenders being housed in such units would be placed there voluntarily. This in itself allows for a very different atmosphere as oppose to a regime which forces the segregation of a particular group of offenders.

This thesis has shown that institutions that house long term offenders have a higher rate of prison incidents. Yet it still

remains to be shown that this is caused by the presence of the long term offender. Evidence based on the second hypothesis in this study would indicate that this is not the case. When involvement in prison incidents was examined it was shown that long term offenders had minimal involvement in these incidents. Indeed it was those offenders serving short sentences who were found to be the greatest culprits of prison incidents. Furthermore, based on the third part of this study, various characteristics among the long term offender group were identified as predisposing certain individual amongst this group to become involved in such incidents. Such individuals exhibiting these characteristics might not be suitable candidates for the system being proposed.

Clearly we have sufficient evidence to support the development of an alternative prison setting for long term inmates. Given our increasing long term prison population it is becoming more difficult for prison administrators to ignore this specific group of inmates. New perspectives on the management of long term offenders must be found both for the good of this unique group of prisoners and for the correctional system in Canada.

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