

McGILL UNIVERSITY

THE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES OF A GROUP OF PAROLEES

A Descriptive Study of the Post Release
Employment Experiences of Forty Five
English-Speaking Male Parolees in the
Greater Montreal Area

A Thesis Submitted to

The Faculty of Arts and Science

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for

The Master's Degree in Social Work

by

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"While there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

— Eugene V. Debs

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF APPENDIX TABLES.	viii
LIST OF APPENDIX ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
Introduction	
Theoretical Aspects of the Study	
Definition of the Problem	
Methodology of the Study	
Limitations of the Study	
Summary and Plan of the Study	
II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE	17
Introduction	
Residential Locality and Living Arrangements	
Marital Status	
Age	
Education Level	
Type of Offence	
Length of Sentence	
Length of Parole and Length of Time Since Release	
Previous Convictions	
Discussion	
III. THE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES OF THE PAROLEES.	28
Introduction	
Job Frequency and Unemployment Since Release	
Level of Employment and Level of Income	
Attitude Towards Working Conditions	
Interrelationships of the Aspects	
Discussion	

Chapter	Page
IV. AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PAROLEES (PART 1).	43
Introduction	
The Age of the Parolees	
Education of the Parolee	
The Occupational Role Models of the Parolees'	
Fathers and Siblings	
The Pre-Parole Work Record	
The Parolee's Family of Orientation and Procreation	
Living Arrangements	
The Parolee's Peer Group	
Summary	
V. AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PAROLEES (PART 2).	61
Introduction	
Marital Status	
The Parole Process	
Discussion	
VI. EXPRESSED EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF MEN ON PAROLE (RESPONSES TO AN "OPEN-END" QUESTION).	71
Introduction	
The Criminal Record as an Occupational Handicap	
Proposed Solutions to the Problem of Having a Criminal Record	
The Family as a Factor in Employment and Parole	
The Importance of Parole Supervision in the Employment Experience	
Summary	
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	85
Introduction	
Reliability of the Study	
Major Findings	
Implications of the Study for Social Work Practice	
Recommendations of the Study for Future Research	

	Page
APPENDICES	
A. THE CERTIFICATE OF PAROLE	93
B. THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.	97
C. A TABLE OF DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATIONS OF THE FORTY FIVE PAROLEES	103
D. MAP OF METROPOLITAN MONTREAL SHOWING THE RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF THE PAROLEES IN THE SAMPLE	105
E. CLASSIFICATION OF THE PAROLEES ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT.	107
F. TABLES OF CHI-SQUARE VALUES	109
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	112

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Marital Status of the Parolees Compared with the Marital Status of all Convicted Adults in Canada, 1960, and Quebec, 1959.	18
II. Ages of the Parolees Compared with the Ages of all Convicted Adults in Canada, 1960, and Quebec, 1959	19
III. Age of the Parolees Compared with the Ages of all those Granted Parole in Canada, 1961	20
IV. Distribution of the Level of Education of the Parolees	21
V. Level of Formal Education of the Parolees Compared with that of the Male Populations of Canada, Quebec and Metropolitan Montreal not attending School, 1961	22
VI. Type of Charge Received by those in the Sample Compared with Those Released on Parole in Canada (1961), and all Adult Convictions in Quebec (1959).	23
VII. Distribution of the Length of Sentences.	24
VIII. Distribution of the Frequency of Jobs Since Release.	29
IX. Weighted Scores for Job Frequency Since Release.	30
X. Distribution of the Total Number of Months Unemployed Since Release	31
XI. Weighted Scores for Time Unemployed Since Release.	32
XII. Employment Functioning Scores.	33
XIII. Distribution of the Level of Employment.	35
XIV. Distribution of the Weekly Wages and Salaries. . .	36
XV. Comparison of Weekly Salaries of Men in the Sample, Excluding and Including Earnings of Wives	37

Table	Page
XVI. Expressed Attitude Towards Working Conditions	38
XVII. Relationship between Level of Income and Level of Employment.	39
XVIII. Age of Parolees and Income Level	45
XIX. Education Level and Employment Level	46
XX. Education Level and Attitude Toward Working Conditions	49
XXI. Occupation Level of Parolees and Fathers	51
XXII. Pre-Parole Work Record and Employment Functioning.	53
XXIII. Pre-Parole Work Record and Job Frequency Since Release.	54
XXIV. Pre-Parole Work Record and Unemployment Since Release.	55
XXV. Pre-Parole Work Record and Attitude Towards Working Conditions	55
XXVI. Living Arrangements and Level of Income.	59
XXVII. Relationship between Marital Status and Weekly Income Level.	62
XXVIII. Pre-Release Employment Planning and Employment Functioning	65
XXIX. Relationship between Job Discussion in Parole Supervision and Level of Employment.	66
XXX. Relationship between Job Discussion in Parole Supervision and Level of Income.	66
XXXI. Relationship between Job Discussion in Parole Supervision and Attitude Towards Working Conditions	67

LIST OF APPENDIX TABLES

Table	Page
1. Diagnostic Evaluation of the Forty Five Parolees	104
2. Classification of the Parolees According to Level of Employment	108
3. Values of X^2 in the Relationship of the Background Social Characteristics to the Aspects of the Employment Experiences.	110
4. Values of X^2 in the Interrelationships of the Aspects of the Employment Experiences of the Parolees.	111

LIST OF APPENDIX ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Map of Metropolitan Montreal Showing the Residential Location of the Parolees in the Sample	106

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

by Charles Talbot

1. Introduction

This thesis is a descriptive study of the post-release employment experiences of forty five English-speaking male parolees¹ in the greater Montreal area.

The objective of this study was to examine various aspects of the parolees' employment experiences, as well as to describe some of the social characteristics which might be related to employment functioning. More specifically, the study was primarily concerned with the number of jobs the parolee had since his release, the number of months unemployed since his release, the level of his employment, the level of income, and the parolee's attitude towards his working conditions.

In addition to describing the parolees' employment experiences, the study explored the extent to which these experiences might be associated with selected social characteristics of the sample of parolees. The aim here was not to test any specific hypotheses, but

¹The study defines parole as: "The conditional release of a selected convicted person before completion of the term of imprisonment to which he has been sentenced. It implies that the person in question, continues in the custody of the State or its agent, and that he may be reincarcerated in the event of misbehavior. It is a penological measure designed to facilitate the transition of the offender from a highly controlled life in the penal institution to the freedom of community living. It is not intended as a gesture of leniency or forgiveness." United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, Parole and Aftercare (ST/SOA/SD/4, July, 1954)(New York, 1954), p. 1.

rather to derive some fruitful hypotheses for future research.

2. Theoretical Aspects of the Study

The increasing rate of criminal recidivism in Canada¹ is a problem which deeply concerns the profession of social work, particularly these social workers who are involved in the rehabilitation problems of former offenders.

The present study, based upon the presumed relationship between adult offences and economic conditions^{2,3} suggests that success in the employment role is a necessary factor in the rehabilitation of the former offender.

Several writers^{4,5,6} have stressed the relationship between economic factors and juvenile delinquency. Cohen⁷ pointed out that the formation of the delinquent subculture, composed primarily of workingclass children, appeared to be a reaction against middle class standards these children could not meet. Following Cohen, Cloward

¹Canada, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, March, 1962), p. 51.

²Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology (Chicago: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1955), p. 25.

³Daniel Glazer and Kent Rice, "Crime, Age and Employment", The American Sociological Review, Vol. XXIV, No. 5, Oct., 1959, pp. 697 - 698.

⁴Albert Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

⁵Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961).

⁶Charles Frigmore, Mobilization for Youth: A Progress Report (New York: Corrections Project Council on Social Work Education Pamphlet, 1963).

⁷Claire Selltitz, et. al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1959), p. 488.

and Ohlin¹ pointed out the discrepancies between the aspirations and legitimate chances which exist to realize these aspirations in the lower economic classes. They state that because of the complexity of the occupational structure in our society, the successful pursuit of many occupational roles requires years of postponing the rewards of adult status in order to acquire sufficient training. Such postponement requires a degree of economic security which the majority in the lower classes do not enjoy. Therefore, Cloward and Ohlin conclude, those who feel the most pressure to engage in deviant behavior will be the working class children.²

Merton³ and Lazarsfeld⁴ also stress these economic disadvantages.

The occupations of people in these lower class areas are largely confined to manual and lesser white collar jobs. Given the American stigmatization of manual labor, which has been found to hold rather uniformly for all social classes, and the absence of realistic opportunities for advancement beyond this level,⁵ the result is a marked tendency towards deviant behavior.

Growing up in such a situation, an individual's whole life style will be affected by such economic disadvantages. His family's

¹Cloward, op. cit., p. 86.

²Ibid., p. 86.

³R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 145 - 146.

⁴Paul Lazarsfeld in Man, Work and Society, Sigmund Nesow and William H. Form, eds. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962), p. 304.

⁵Merton, op. cit., pp. 145 - 146.

income, a reflection of his father's occupation^{1,2} will determine to a great degree his education³ and training he will receive in preparation for the employment role. Children from such lower class families are often ill prepared to compete successfully on the employment market. It is fairly evident, then, that despite the presumed "open class" society, "... advance towards success goals is relatively rare and notably difficult for those armed with little formal education and few economic resources."⁴ Indeed, a major proportion of criminological research during the past thirty years has been focused upon the association between child rearing practices (reflecting in part the economic conditions of the family), subsequent juvenile delinquency and adult offences.⁵

While many students of penology^{6,7,8} have attached great importance to the rehabilitative processes of parole, there have been

¹Seymour Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 189.

²William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument" in Nesow and Form, op. cit., pp. 295 - 296.

³Seymour Lipset, et. al., "Job Plans and Entry into the Labor Market", Ibid., p. 300.

⁴Merton, op. cit., pp. 145 - 146.

⁵Sutherland, op. cit., p. 171.

⁶Mabel A. Elliot, Crime in Modern Society (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 729.

⁷Lloyd Ohlin, Selection for Parole (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1951), p. 9.

⁸George T. Street, "The National Parole System", in Canada Year Book, 1961 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1961), p. 373.

very few studies concerned with the economic conditions of parolees, especially their employment experiences.

The Gluecks,¹ in studying the post-parole employment experiences of five hundred and ten men, found that a majority of the former parolees were unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, possessing a minimal education, and existing in an economically marginal position. Ohlin² found that the highest violation rate among parolees were those parolees who ranked as "inadequate" under the factor "parole job".

Two recent studies^{3,4} concerned with the employment experiences of former offenders, including parolees, found that the possession of a criminal record in itself presents an employment role handicap.

Nagle⁵ reported that only one-third of the parolees in his sample informed their employers of their prison records. A majority of the parolees feared that if their prospective employers found out about their records, they would not be able to compete on equal terms with other job applicants who did not possess such a record.

Nagle's findings complement those of Melichercik, who

¹Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, 500 Criminal Careers (New York: Alfred H. Knopf, 1930), pp. 132, 199, 392.

²Ohlin, op. cit., p. 54.

³John Melichercik, "Employment Problems of Former Offenders" (Unpublished M.S.W. Thesis, University of Toronto, August, 1954).

⁴Harry N. Nagle, "Employment Problems of Male Offenders on Parole" (Unpublished M.S.W. Thesis, University of Toronto, August, 1957).

⁵Ibid., p. 146.

studied the employment policies of a sample of employers in the Toronto area.¹ Melichercik found that one-third of the employers asked the prospective employee about a criminal record, one-third enquired into the applicant's employment history of the past five years, and the remaining third did not ask any questions about the prospective employee's past at all. Most of the employers questioned did not appear to allow their decisions of whether or not to hire a former offender to be influenced by the degree of punishment the man had received (whether it be a suspended sentence or full-term sentence), but rather considered all men with criminal records in the category of "convicted offender".

As Melichercik found that employers spent much more time investigating the backgrounds of "skilled" and "white collar" job applicants for a past criminal record than they did for "semi-skilled" or "unskilled" applicants, he postulated that the more ambitious, better educated and trained the former offender is, the more difficult it will be for him to find employment, and consequently the more difficult will be his rehabilitation.

Nagle's and Melichercik's findings are disconcerting, because the current trend in penology² advocates that if an inmate is to be released at all, he should be released on parole. This trend, coupled with the expanding system of vocational training courses in Canadian penitentiaries³ has far reaching implications for social workers concerned with the rehabilitation of the

¹Melichercik, op. cit., p. 52.

²Sutherland and Cressey, op. cit., p. 569.

³Canada, op. cit., p. 8.

offender, for rehabilitative efforts will be useless unless these parolees can find suitable employment in society.

In part, the present study was concerned with finding out to what extent, if any, the forty five parolees in the sample were experiencing such an occupational role handicap.

3. Definition of the Problem

The study investigated the following aspects of the parolees' employment experiences:¹

Job Frequency and Unemployment Since Release.- When inmates are released on parole, they move from a highly protected environment into a fast moving industrial community where competition for scarce jobs is very keen. Because of economic, psychological² and legal³ circumstances, the parolee is forced to find work as soon as possible after his release. Assuming that the restrictive employment practices described by Nagle and Melichercik⁴ exist in Montreal, one would expect that these practices and policies would have the effect of increasing the unemployment and the number of temporary jobs in the present sample.

Level of Employment and Level of Income.- Recent research has indicated that the number of unskilled jobs available are

¹For the purpose of this study, employment is defined as that activity with a market value which a person pursues for three or more days per week for the purpose of gaining an income.

²Nancy C. Morse and Robert Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work on the Job", The American Sociological Review, Vol. XX, No. 2, April, 1955, pp. 191 - 198.

³Infra., Appendix A, "The Parole Agreement".

⁴Supra., pp. 5 - 6.

rapidly decreasing, and more and more unskilled laborers are joining the ranks of the unemployed.¹ If unskilled labor is the only work readily available to the parolees,² then one might suspect that more and more parolees will be unemployed in the future. The levels of employment and income were therefore studied in the present sample in order to determine what problems, if any, the parolees experienced in these areas.

Attitude Towards Working Conditions.- The study explored the expressed attitudes of the sample of parolees towards their jobs to find out whether or not they were satisfied with their working conditions. One would suspect that the parolees might exhibit considerable frustration at having to endure adverse employment conditions because of the legal requirements of the parole agreement³ and the possible handicap of possessing a criminal record.

In addition to describing the above five aspects of the employment experiences of the sample of parolees, the study also examined selected social characteristics of the men which might be associated with the parolees' employment experiences. Again, the purpose of this examination was not to test any specific hypotheses, but rather to derive possible hypotheses for future

¹Nesow and Form, op. cit., p. 86.

²Melichereik, op. cit., p. 52.

³"... To endeavor to maintain steady employment and to report at once ... any change or termination of employment ... To abide by all instructions which may be given by my supervisor or by the Regional Representative through my supervisor, and especially with regard to employment, companions, hours, intoxicants, operation of motor vehicles, medical or psychiatric attention, family responsibilities, court obligations." Infra., Appendix A, "The Parole Agreement".

study. The social characteristics examined in relation to the parolees' employment experiences included:

Age and Education of the Parolees.- In view of the importance which the National Parole Board¹ places in the employment performance, the study was interested in investigating the many facets of the employment experience, including the parolees' age and education.

One could speculate that employers might prefer to hire younger men at a lower salary, rather than having to pay for the experience of older men. However, one might also speculate that the older, more experienced men would require less training than the younger men, and therefore be preferred by employers.

Similarly, the parolee's educational level might be expected to be associated with his employment experiences. In a complex society, the successful fulfilment of any "white collar" and "skilled" occupational roles requires many years of education and training. As such training requires some degree of economic security, one could expect that the children in higher socio-economic classes would enjoy considerable advantages over children from lower socio-economic classes.

The Occupational Role Models of the Parolees' Fathers and Siblings.- The study was interested in investigating the association, if any, between the parolee's employment experiences and those of his family. The interest of the researchers was based upon the assumption that the occupation of the parolee's father (particularly the level of employment and work record) and the

¹Ibid.

work record of the parolee's siblings would act as a role model for the parolee. The study was also interested in investigating the degree of occupational mobility which the parolee exhibited.

The Pre-Parole Work Record.- Ohlin¹ has placed a great deal of emphasis on a satisfactory work performance as a necessary requirement for the successful completion of parole.

The violation rate for those men classified as having an inadequate parole job prospect, was 65 per cent²... Parolees are so classified at the time of the pre-parole interview if it was apparent that they had only a very vague notion of parole job possibilities, or if they had made arrangements for a parole job that is inconsistent with their previous work history, ability and social type.³

In view of the importance which the employment experience appears to assume in the parole experience, the researchers were interested in investigating whether or not the pre-parole work record was associated with the post-incarceration employment experiences. Such an investigation could perhaps lead to limited generalizations regarding the employment prospects of parole applicants.

Social Relationships.- As the family has almost exclusive contact with the child during his period of greatest dependency and greatest plasticity,⁴ its influence on the child's growth and later development can never be underrated. Thus, the influence of the parolee's family must be taken into account in any study exploring the employment experiences of parolees.

¹Ohlin, op. cit., p. 54.

²These findings were based on Ohlin's system of parole prediction. For a description and criticism of parole prediction methods, see Sutherland, op. cit., pp. 582 - 583.

³Ohlin, op. cit., p. 54.

⁴Sutherland, op. cit., p. 171.

One would suspect that as the parolee's family probably played an important role in his former deviant behavior, the family will also play an important role in his eventual success or failure in his rehabilitation.

In this regard, recidivism¹ has been found to be much less among former parolees who were reported to have had favorable family relationships and social contacts than those parolees who had unfavorable relationships.

Similarly, Ohlin has found that:

Parole workers have often observed the controlling and supporting effect of close family ties. Theoretical and research results have emphasized the importance of the parolee's family in easing the transition between prison life and life in the outside community.²

In view of the apparent importance of the parolee's family and other social relationships in his development and present functioning, the study examined his family and peer group relationships³ in relation to his employment experiences.

Pre-Release Employment Planning and Parole Supervision.- The study assumed that the preparation for the employment role prior to release and the availability of employment counselling during parole would be two important factors in the employment experiences

¹Glueck, op. cit., pp. 111, 219.

²Ohlin, op. cit., p. 49.

³These relationships were probed by enquiring into and examining the marital status of the parolees, the contact the parolees had with their families while incarcerated and at the time of the interview, the living arrangements of the parolees, and the social contacts the parolee reported to be experiencing with his peer group on and off the job.

of the parolees. The study therefore investigated these factors in relation to the parolee's employment experiences.

The study, then, using the above mentioned dimensions, will describe the employment experiences of the forty five parolees.

4. Methodology of the Study

The selection of the sample and the construction of a measuring instrument which would adequately describe the employment experiences were carried out.

The Sample.- Parolees included in the sample had to be: (1) male; (2) currently on parole under the authority of the National Parole Board for at least one month;¹ (3) able to understand and speak English;² (4) possess sufficient ego strengths to discuss their employment problems; and (5) prepared to volunteer for the study.

The John Howard Society of Quebec, the Catholic Rehabilitation Services, the Correctional Services of the Salvation Army, the Societe d'Orientation et de Rehabilitation Sociale, and the Quebec Regional Office of the National Parole Board of Canada were contacted and their cooperation was requested in the study.

The researchers then outlined the study to the Executive

¹The study stipulated this time period in order to minimize the bias which could occur in comparing men who had just been released with those who had been on parole for a longer period. A month's time was considered sufficient for the parolees to orient themselves to the community.

²The study assumed that bilingual French-speaking parolees could compete at least on par for jobs with English-speaking parolees.

Directors of the above agencies and requested that they be allowed to interview those parolees who met the criteria for selection. The Executive Directors, in consultation with their staffs, recommended those parolees whom they felt met the above requirements. Interview appointments were made with the parolees through the parole supervisors, who briefed the parolees on the study prior to the interview. Because of time factors and other limitations imposed by the criteria for selection, it was not possible to interview all the English-speaking parolees in the greater Montreal area; however, the sample used in the study represented a sizeable majority of those parolees.¹

Methods of Data Collection.-- A pre-tested interview schedule² was used by the researchers as a guide to interview each of the parolees in the sample. Basically, the interview schedule was constructed to elicit "closed-end" answers about the parolee's employment experiences; however, the parolee was invited to qualify any responses. The interview schedule also included an "open-end" question.³

In the initial phase of the interview, the researcher explained briefly the nature of the study and assured the parolee that complete confidentiality would be observed.

¹It was estimated that of the 250 men on parole in the greater Montreal area at the time the interviews were held (this estimate was given by G. Tremblay, Regional Representative of the National Parole Board in a personal interview, March 18, 1963), approximately sixty were English-speaking. If these estimates are correct, then the sample used in the study represents almost seventy five percent of the possible sample.

²Infra., Appendix B, "Interview Schedule".

³Ibid., Question 43.

In addition to recording the parolee's responses to the questions from the interview schedule, the researchers were required to make certain clinical judgments based on the observed behavior of the parolee during the interview. These judgments included a tentative diagnostic evaluation of the parolee's cooperation in the interview, the reliability of his responses, his intellectual level, and an appraisal of his role functioning at the time of the interview. In addition, the researchers were required to make a tentative prognosis as to the parolee's chances of successfully completing his parole.¹

Analysis of the Data.- Data from the interview schedules were coded on McBee data cards.² The coded data were used to describe the characteristics of the sample in addition to describing the employment experiences of the parolees.

Chi-square tests of statistical significance were employed to test for possible associations between the employment experiences of the parolees and selected social characteristics. No specific causal hypotheses were tested, however.

An examination was made of the responses to the "open-end" question, and certain characteristic responses were described.

¹These tentative diagnostic evaluations were undertaken in order to give the study some means of check on the reliability of the answers to the interview schedule. Infra., Appendix C, "A Table of Diagnostic Evaluations of Forty Five Parolees".

²Every fifth card was checked to determine the accuracy of coding. The coding error was found to be less than two percent of the total information coded.

5. Limitations of the Study

Because of the present level of criminological research,¹ the present study must assume the tentative characteristics of a pilot study and any findings must be considered as relating only to the present sample.

The data were collected during February and March, 1963. Consequently, any generalizations regarding employment will have to take the seasonal variation of employment into account.

The sample was restricted to those parolees whom the agency Executive Director recommended on the basis of the parolee's ego strengths and the parolee volunteering to participate in the study. Such a sample could be accused of being skewed in favor of more conforming parolees.

The study had to assume the reliability of the parolees' responses, as there was no attempt made to check the accuracy² of these responses, either through an examination of case records or case conferences with the parole supervisors.

Finally, the research procedures included comparing men who had been on parole after varying lengths of time; such comparisons cannot be held as being truly matched.

6. Summary and Plan of the Study

The object of this study, then, based on the theoretical concepts, on the definition of the problem, on the methodology and

¹United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, The Selection of Offenders for Probation (ST/SOA/SD/7, 1959)(New York, 1959), p. 63.

²Results from the social diagnostic statements indicated that in the judgment of the researchers, only six parolees in the sample ranked low in the accuracy of their responses.

subject to the limitations outlined above, was to examine various aspects of the employment experiences of forty five men released on parole, and to examine the relationships between these employment experiences and selected social characteristics.

The study will be divided into the following chapters:

Chapter One has described the objectives, the theoretical concepts, the definition of the problem, the methodology of the study and the limitations of the study.

Chapter Two will describe some characteristics of the sample, and will compare these characteristics with other selected populations.

Chapter Three will describe the employment experiences of the sample of forty five parolees.

Chapters Four and Five will discuss associations between certain social characteristics and the employment experiences of the parolees.

Chapter Six will present a description of the responses to the "open-end" question, which encouraged the parolee to freely discuss his employment and parole experiences. This analysis included a description of certain characteristic responses the parolees made.

Chapter Seven will present a summary of the findings, the conclusions and implications for future research.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

by Keith Wright.

1. Introduction

This chapter presents certain characteristics of the sample of forty five parolees and compares some of these with other populations. The particular concern is with the parolees' residential locality, their marital status, age and educational level, the type of offence, and previous convictions.

As the nature of the sample is important for generalizing to the parole population of Canada, statistical tests of significance were performed to establish what differences and similarities might exist between the two groups. However, as only limited data were available from the National Parole Board, the sample was also compared with the adult populations receiving convictions in Quebec and Canada, as well as with selected regional and national populations, to see how these groups differed from the sample.

2. Residential Locality and Living Arrangements

Almost half of the men interviewed (twenty) were living in the core of the city,¹ the old industrialized, downtown sections with an ample supply of rooming houses and cold water flats, much of which has been designated for slum clearance projects. Another

¹Infra., Appendix D, areas two and four.

fifteen lived in the comparatively newer districts,¹ while the remainder lived in the outlying municipalities.

Practically three-quarters of the parolees in the sample lived in the same homes as their families - eighteen with their parents and fourteen with their own wives and children. However, slightly more than twenty five percent were living by themselves, invariably in single rooms with few privileges.

3. Marital Status

Of the sample, twenty two men were single, thirteen were married and living with their wives, while ten were separated. Of

Table I.— Marital Status of the Parolees Compared with the Marital Status of All Convicted Adults in Canada, 1960, and Quebec, 1959

Marital Status	Sample		Canada ^a	Quebec ^b
	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Single	22	49	67	74
Married	13	29	27	25
Separated, divorced, widowed	10	22	6	1
Total	45			

^aPercentage figures based upon: Canada Year Book, 1962 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 357.

^bPercentage figures based upon: Quebec, Dept. of Industry and Commerce, Statistical Year Book, 1961 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 206.

the married and separated men, ten had no dependent children, whereas

¹Infra., Appendix D, areas three, five and six.

thirteen had one or more.

A much lower proportion of the sample was found to be single than all those receiving convictions in Canada and Quebec (see Table I). However, many of the convicted single persons would tend to be in the young, "first offender" category, and would be eligible for a suspended sentence or probation, rather than being incarcerated, which would account at least in part for the difference in proportions.

4. Age

Although the age range extended from seventeen to sixty nine

Table II.— Ages of the Parolees Compared with the Ages of All Convicted Adults in Canada, 1960, and Quebec, 1959

Age Range	Sample		Canada ^a	Quebec ^b
	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
15 - 19	1	2	32	40
20 - 24	17	38	23	21
25 - 44	24	53	36	32
over 44	3	7	9	7
Total	45			

^aPercentage figures based upon: Canada Year Book, 1962 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 357.

^bPercentage figures based upon: Quebec, Dept. of Industry and Commerce, Statistical Year Book, 1961 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 206.

years, just over two-thirds of the parolees in the sample were below the age of thirty five, the age group tending to have greater

employment opportunities.

As shown in Table II, the age group in the sample tended to be older than that of the other two population groups, with a much larger proportion in the middle ranges. However, the figures for the province and the country include more than those persons receiving incarcerations. Were it possible to exclude all those with suspended sentences or probation, differences between the sample and the other populations would probably be lessened.

Table III.— Age of the Parolees Compared with the Ages of All Those Granted Parole in Canada, 1961

Age Range	Sample		Canada ^a
	Number	Percent	Percent ^b
15 - 19	1	2	14
20 - 29	28	62	53
Total, 15 - 29	<u>29</u>	<u>64^c</u>	<u>67^c</u>
over 29	16	36 ^c	30 ^c
Total	45		

^aSource: Canada, National Parole Board, Annual Report, 1961, p. 29.

^bThree percent of those granted parole in 1961 did not state their ages.

^cValues for t are all less than 1.960, thus are not significant at the five percent level.

Table III shows that the age range in the sample is similar to the age range of all paroles granted in 1961, particularly when examined in terms of the two age groups, fifteen to twenty nine and over twenty nine years, as the differences in the respective

proportions can occur only by chance alone, and are therefore not significant. The average (mean) age of those granted parole in 1961 was twenty eight, whereas in the sample the mean age was slightly over thirty years.¹

5. Education Level

The formal education received by those in the sample varied from grade five to university training, with the bulk of the respondents completing grade nine or less. Table IV indicates the distribution.

Table IV.-- Distribution of the Level of Education of the Parolees

Grade last attended or completed	Frequency
1 - 6	8
7 - 9	23
10 - 12	12
university	2
Total	45

Although one would expect that most of the men, because of this generally low level of formalized education, would be ill-equipped for skilled or white collar jobs, seventeen of the total sample had completed some form of specialized training for such occupations as machinist, electrician or accountant. Eleven of these had grade nine or less, thus leaving twenty one men with a

¹It is unknown if this difference between the two means is a statistically significant one, as the value for the variance of all paroles granted is not available.

low educational level and no specialized training.

Table V indicates that the level of schooling attained was somewhat less than that of the general population, although not so much as one might expect.

Table V.-- Level of Formal Education of the Parolees Compared with that of the Male Populations of Canada, Quebec and Metropolitan Montreal not attending School, 1961

Grade	Sample		Canada ^a	Quebec ^b	Metropolitan Montreal ^c
	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1 - 9	31	69	53	60	48
10 - 12	12	27	40	34	43
university	2	4	7	6	9
Total	45				

^aSource: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Population: School Attendance and Schooling (Bulletin 1.2-10)(Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963), p. 1.

^bSource: Ibid.

^cSource: Ibid., pp. 11 - 12.

As with the general male population, the parolees in the sample were somewhat below the educational level of all convicted adults in Canada.¹ Surprisingly, however, they were considerably above the educational level of those convicted in Quebec, with the province having eighty eight percent in the grades one to nine category, and only eleven percent receiving high school.²

¹Source: Canada Year Book, 1962 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 357.

²Quebec, Department of Industry and Commerce, Statistical Year Book, 1961 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 206.

6. Type of Offence

About half of the parolees in the sample (twenty) were convicted on charges of offences against property with violence.¹ Offences against property without violence and offences against

Table VI.— Type of Charge Received by Those in the Sample Compared with Those Released on Parole in Canada (1961), and All Adult Convictions in Quebec (1959)

Type of Charge	Sample		Canada ^a (paroles)	Quebec ^b (convictions)
	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Offences against property with violence	22	49 ^c	51 ^c	26
Offences against property without violence, and against currency	13	28 ^c	21 ^c	50
All others	10	23 ^c	28 ^c	24
Total	45			

^aSource: Canada, National Parole Board, Annual Report, 1961, p. 29.

^bSource: Quebec, Dept. of Industry and Commerce, Statistical Year Book, 1961 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 204.

^cValues for t are all less than 1.960, thus are not significant at the five percent level.

the person accounted for eleven and ten men, respectively, while two of the subjects had been incarcerated for forgery.

¹The Canada Year Book classifies convictions into the following categories: Class I - offences against the person; Class II - offences against property with violence; Class III - offences against property without violence; Class IV - malicious offences against property; Class V - Forgery and other offences relating to currency; Class VI - other offences; Federal Statutes - offences under the opium and narcotics acts. Canada Year Book, 1962, op. cit., p. 356.

As indicated in Table VI, the proportions for the first two types of charges (against property with violence and against property without violence) were approximately reversed from the sample to the Quebec population. However, similar percentages were found between the parolees in the study and the Canadian parole population in all the categories of offences.¹

7. Length of Sentence

The range of the length of sentences of the parolees in the sample extended from six months to twenty seven years, excluding four persons who received life sentences.

Table VII.— Distribution of the Length of Sentences

Length (in years)	Frequency
1 - 3	23
4 - 6	11
7 - 9	4
10 - 12	1
13 - 15	1
over 15	1
life	4
Total	45

The distribution is shown in Table VII. The mean length of time of the sentences was four years and seven months (excluding life),

¹The values for t indicate no significant differences between the two proportions, other than those occurring by chance factors alone.

compared with a mean sentence of twenty five months received by all those persons released on parole in 1961.¹

8. Length of Parole and Length of Time Since Release

The length of parole received by the men in the sample varied from one month to slightly more than twelve years, not including the four men on life parole. The distribution showed that somewhat more than half of the men were serving two years or less of their sentences outside the institution, with sixteen of these having one year or less of parole.

Well over fifty percent of the sample (twenty seven men) were released from incarceration less than twelve months prior to the time of the interviews, with twenty of these gaining their conditional liberation within the six months prior to the interviews. The shortest period of time any one person had been out of prison was one month, while the longest was over nine years.

Twenty four men had twelve months or less remaining before their parole was to be terminated.

9. Previous Convictions

Of the parolees in the sample, twenty five had no prior criminal record, while of the remaining twenty, only fourteen had actually been previously incarcerated, with the others receiving suspended sentences or probation. With almost seventy percent of the total having no prior incarceration, then, there would seem to

¹Canada, National Parole Board, Annual Report, 1961, p. 29.
(Note: Because of the lack of N.P.B. statistics, it is impossible to determine whether or not the differences between the means for the sample and the parole population are significant.)

be an indication that this type of offender is selected for parole over those who have been in prison previously.

Nine of the men had one previous incarceration, and only five had two or more. The total length of sentences for this group varied from one year to six, with most of the men receiving two years or less. Practically all of them (seventeen out of twenty) had been convicted of offences against property with and without violence.

10. Discussion

From the characteristics described, one might expect that this group of parolees would face some type of difficulty in their employment experiences.

Two groups of men - the one quarter of the sample living alone and the one quarter who were separated - were lacking the close, supportive familial ties which are particularly important for the adjustment of the offender to life in the community.

Half of the men in the sample were living in the economically depressed areas of the city, which is indicative of a low income. The educational level of the parolees was generally low, with almost half of them having nine years or less of schooling and no form of specialized training. These men, then, could only be employed primarily in the unskilled and low income jobs, and would probably tend to have many job changes with a number of periods of unemployment.

However, the sample was predominantly young, with almost two-thirds of the men under thirty years and hence in the optimum age group for finding job placements. Yet this one advantage

would probably not be enough to offset the disadvantages for successful employment experiences, particularly the major one of having a criminal record.

Half of the parolees were convicted of offences against property with violence, a much higher proportion than that of all convictions in Quebec. As the sample percentage was found to be similar with that of all those granted parole in Canada, it would appear that the men convicted of this type of offence are selected for parole as the least parole risk.

The marital status and educational level of the parolees were not compared with the parole population of Canada, as these statistics were unavailable from the National Parole Board. However, while the proportions of single and separated men were reversed between the sample and all convicted adults in Canada, the percentage of married men was comparable in both groups. Furthermore, the level of formal education achieved appeared to be fairly similar between the parolees and the general male population of Quebec.

In terms of age and the type of charge, no significant differences were found between the proportions in the sample and the general parole populations, so that definite similarities in these areas were indicated between the two groups.

Therefore, with the limitations imposed by the availability of comparative statistics, the characteristics of the parolees appear to be of such a nature that the findings from this study can be generalized with caution from the sample to the parole population of Canada.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES OF THE PAROLEES

by Keith Wright

1. Introduction

In order to examine the kinds of experiences the parolees in the sample were having in their employment role, each respondent was interviewed in relation to the following selected aspects: the number of jobs held and the length of time unemployed since his release; the level of employment (white collar, skilled or unskilled) and the level of weekly income; and his attitude towards his working conditions.

This chapter presents the findings concerning each of these aspects of the parolees' employment experiences.

2. Job Frequency and Unemployment Since Release

Previous studies have shown that many parolees encounter difficulty in finding and holding jobs upon their release from prison - in part due to their own difficulties in adjusting to a relatively free society after a highly structured institutional life, but primarily because of societal obstacles, such as restrictive employment practices, which are placed in their way.¹ Lengthy unemployment or frequent job changes can have a demoralizing effect upon almost any individual; for the parolee,

¹Supra., Chapter I, pp. 5 - 7.

this predicament is a particular problem, as the feelings of hopelessness may seriously jeopardize the rehabilitative process. The two aspects of job frequency and length of unemployment are thus major ones in examining the employment experiences of men on parole.

The findings of the present study showed that most of the men in the sample (thirty six) had at least one and not more than two jobs since their release from prison. Of those who

Table VIII.— Distribution of the Frequency of Jobs Since Release

Number of jobs	Frequency
0	5
1	24
2	12
3	2
4	1
5	0
6	1
Total	45

were working at the time of the interview, thirteen had at least one other job; ten of the respondents who were unemployed said that they had been employed at least once since being released on parole. The distribution of the number of jobs is given in Table VIII.

However, to determine the frequency of job changes which would take into consideration the period of time since the parolee's release, the data in Table VIII was weighted for each man in

relation to the number of months since he had been released on parole, in terms of "satisfactory" and "unsatisfactory".¹ The weighted results are given in Table IX. Almost three quarters of the men in the sample received a satisfactory score in relation to the number of jobs held since release; and, for the purposes of this study, were defined as functioning fairly

Table IX.— Weighted Scores for Job Frequency Since Release

Score	Frequency	Percent
Satisfactory	33	73
Unsatisfactory	12	27
Total	45	

adequately in terms of this one aspect of the employment experience. However, twelve of the parolees were obviously experiencing considerable difficulty in this area; either they had been unable to find any work since their release (as five of them had been unable to do) or they had to change jobs frequently

¹The weighting of the data was necessary because of the wide variation in the length of time since release on parole (from one month to nine years). Conceivably, the probability of obtaining work would increase with the length of time since release, as would the probability of being employed in more than one job. In order to obtain more comparable data which would not be subject to this variation, the weighted scores were calculated on the basis that the equivalent of three jobs or less per year would give a score of "satisfactory"; more than the equivalent of three jobs per year would give an "unsatisfactory" score. (Three jobs was selected as the basic figure, as a person could have this number of jobs in a year - roughly corresponding to the seasons - and still maintain a "satisfactory" employment record in terms of job frequency.)

for one reason or another.

Out of the total sample of forty five, only thirty of the men were employed at the time of the interview, a proportion far below the average for Canada,¹ indicating that this group had greater difficulty in finding and keeping a job than the general population. Of the fifteen not working, five had not been able to obtain employment since their release from prison.

Only nineteen parolees reported that they had not been unemployed since their release, while the others were out of work

Table X.— Distribution of the Total Number of Months Unemployed Since Release

Number of months	Frequency	Percent
0	19	43
1	6	14
2	9	20
3	2	5
4	3	7
5	2	5
6	1	2
7	1	2
8	1	2
Total	44 ^a	

^aOne respondent classified himself as retired, so is not included.

altogether from one to eight months. The distribution of the total number of months unemployed is given in Table X.

¹The unemployment rate in the sample was 33%, whereas in February, 1963, 8.4% of the Canadian labor force was out of work and seeking work. Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canadian Statistical Review, Vol. 38, No. 3, March, 1963, p. 13.

In order to determine "satisfactory" and "unsatisfactory" ratings for the total time unemployed, the data in Table X was weighted in relation to the length of time since each parolee's release.¹ The weighted results are given in Table XI. With

Table XI.— Weighted Scores for Time Unemployed Since Release

Score	Frequency	Percent
Satisfactory	27	60
Unsatisfactory	18	40
Total	45	

forty percent of the parolees experiencing considerable unemployment, or receiving scores of unsatisfactory, this aspect of the employment experiences was a severe problem for a high proportion of the sample.

To look at the level of "employment functioning" of the parolees, which incorporated both the aspects of job frequency and length of unemployment since release, a scale was constructed

¹These weighted scores were calculated on the basis that the equivalent of two months or less unemployed per year would give a "satisfactory" score, while the equivalent of more than two months out of work per year would give an "unsatisfactory" score. Two months was selected as the basic figure, as this would allow for a period of seasonal unemployment in each year, so that a person could still be considered as having a satisfactory work record in terms of the number of months employed.

in terms of "satisfactory" and "unsatisfactory" performance,¹ which yielded the results shown in Table XII. Only slightly more than three fifths of the total sample achieved a satisfactory level in their employment functioning. The others encountered

Table XII.— Employment Functioning Scores

Score	Frequency	Percent
Satisfactory	28	62
Unsatisfactory	17	38
Total	45	

difficulty in carrying out this area of the occupational role, which substantiates the expectations based upon previous studies. This group of men appeared to be suffering from a role handicap, preventing them from attaining a degree of employment stability with few job changes and a low proportion of unemployment.

3. Level of Employment and Level of Income

The level of employment achieved by a person may be a major factor in determining job stability. Those persons working in the unskilled labor market become increasingly subject to lengthy periods of unemployment as more complex methods of

¹If a respondent had been out of work the equivalent of two months of less per year, and had been employed in the equivalent of three jobs or less per year, he received a "satisfactory" score; otherwise, he received an "unsatisfactory" score.

industrial production are adopted. In the same way, the person on parole, unless he has the necessary training to move into a skilled or white collar job, will likely be subject to these same economic pressures, an added stressor in the parole experience.

Similarly, the level of income received determines not only whether or not a person is able to meet his basic needs for physical survival, but also his standard of living which might be achieved over and above the minimal requirements. Probably this one area above all else is a primary aspect in the successful completion of parole; for without a secure means of livelihood, the former offender will return to his previous criminal pattern.¹

In examining the level of employment of the parolees in the sample, a total of forty two men² were classified according to the type of work performed at the time of the interview, or (if unemployed at the time) in their last jobs, under the categories of "white collar", "skilled" and "unskilled". "White collar" referred to professional, sales or clerical work; "skilled" referred to those jobs requiring apprenticeship or other specialized craft or trade training; and "unskilled" included all other occupations.³

¹Supra., Chapter I, p. 2.

²Although five men had not been employed since their release, two of these had worked prior to the present sentence and after a previous incarceration. Consequently, data concerning their employment experiences in those jobs were collected and utilized in this analysis, as these men had faced an occupational role handicap of possessing a criminal record at that time, which would be identical with the present one.

³For a complete list of the parolees' occupations, Infra., Appendix E.

The distribution of the sample according to this classification is shown in Table XIII. By far the largest proportion of the men interviewed were in the unskilled category. In comparing this data with that of the general population of Canada, a much lower proportion of the parolees in the sample was in

Table XIII.— Distribution of the Level of Employment

Level	Frequency	Percent
White collar	10	24
Skilled	6	14
Unskilled	26	62
Total	42	

the white collar and skilled groups (thirty eight percent) than was the Canadian labor force (sixty five percent). Similarly, a much higher percentage of the sample (sixty two percent) was in the unskilled level than was the general population (thirty five percent).¹ This finding would indicate that proportionately fewer jobs would be available to this group of parolees in terms of employment level, than would be available to the general population.

¹The percentage figures for Canada are based upon: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Labour Force: Occupations by Sex (Bulletin 3.1-3)(Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963), pp. 2 - 14. (Note: The occupations listed in the census bulletin were classified by the writers into the same categories as used in this study, in order to obtain comparative data.)

The income per week received by the men in the sample varied from thirty to one hundred and twenty five dollars. The distribution of these earnings is given in Table XIV.¹

Table XIV.— Distribution of the Weekly Wages and Salaries

Dollars/week	Frequency	Percent
21 - 40	9	22
41 - 60	17	42
61 - 80	4	10
81 - 100	7	18
101 - 120	1	2
121 - 140	3	6
Total	41 ^a	

^aOne man was retired, receiving \$65 per month Old Age Assistance

The average (mean) weekly wage of the sample of slightly more than sixty three dollars was considerably below the average weekly income of eighty dollars for the Montreal area,² showing that this group of men probably faced a greater degree of economic stress than the general population. In fact, only one quarter of the parolees (eleven) were earning more than the average Montreal weekly wage; thirty one³ were at or below that level. A further

¹Supra., explanatory footnot, p. 34.

²The actual figure of the average weekly wages and salaries in Montreal in 1962 was \$79.85. Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canadian Statistical Review, op. cit., p. 19.

³The retired subject receiving Old Age Assistance is included in this figure.

breakdown showed that ten of the men had an income of forty dollars per week or less - a salary inadequate to meet a person's basic physical needs of food, clothing and shelter.

If the earnings of wives were included, the distribution changed somewhat. Of the thirteen married men, six had wives who were employed. Three of these men were already receiving a high income (over eighty dollars weekly), while three were earning less than this amount. When the salary of the wife was included, each

Table XV.-- Comparison of Weekly Salaries of Men in the Sample, Excluding and Including Earnings of Wives

<u>Dollars/week</u>	<u>Frequency excluding wives' income</u>	<u>Frequency including wives' income</u>
0 - 40	10	9
41 - 80	21	19
over 80	11	14
Total	42	42

of the three subjects in the low income group was raised so that the family earned more than eighty dollars per week, considerably lessening the economic pressure upon these men. Table XV shows the comparison between the two distributions.

4. Attitude Towards Working Conditions

The attitude a person has towards his work is an important aspect of the employment experience, as it may be a reflection of his own performance as well as his own expectations of himself.

In order to examine this factor, each respondent was asked whether he was satisfied with the working conditions in his present or last job; in this way, the parolee's expressed response might be indicative of other aspects in his employment experiences, particularly the level of job and level of income, as well as any pressure he might feel from his employer or fellow employees as a result of having a criminal record. The results are given in Table XVI.¹

Table XVI.-- Expressed Attitude Towards Working Conditions

Response	Frequency	Percent
Satisfied	32	76
Unsatisfied	10	24
Total	42	

None of the men who said they were unsatisfied with the working conditions felt any adverse pressure from their fellow employees as a result of having a criminal record.² However, four of the ten men were afraid of losing their jobs if their employers discovered they had been in prison,³ indicating that this fear might be a factor in their expressed dissatisfaction.

¹Supra., explanatory footnote, p. 34.

²Infra., Appendix B, Interview Schedule, Question 17.

³Infra., Appendix B, Interview Schedule, Question 11.

5. Interrelationship of the Aspects

One might expect that the various aspects of the employment experiences - employment functioning, level of employment, level of income and attitude towards working conditions - could be associated with each other, so that the performance of the parolees in one area would be related to the performance in another.

However, only in comparing the level of income and the level of employment was a relationship apparent, with the white collar and skilled workers tending to have higher salaries than the unskilled. The results are given in Table XVII. Outside of

Table XVII.— Relationship Between Level of Income and Level of Employment

Dollars/week	Total	White collar and skilled	Unskilled
Total	42	16	26
0 - 80	31	8	23
over 80	11	8	3

$$X^2=7.537 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

the income level and employment level, the various aspects of the parolees' employment experiences appeared to be independent of one another, as in each case the differences between the expected and the observed frequencies could occur by chance factors alone.¹

¹For all values of X^2 , Infra., Appendix F, Table 4.

6. Discussion

A substantial proportion (thirty eight percent) of the parolees in the sample were found to be experiencing considerable difficulty in their employment functioning, having frequent job changes and lengthy periods of unemployment. One might argue that these employment difficulties experienced by the parolees were due to seasonal working conditions with greater unemployment during winter months; however, this variation was allowed for in determining the weighted scores for employment functioning. On the other hand, the generally high unemployment rate of the past few years may have been a contributing factor to the unsatisfactory employment functioning of many of the men in the sample.

A much larger proportion of the parolees were found to be employed in unskilled jobs than the Canadian population, and thirty one of the forty five subjects were receiving an income below the Montreal average. A low income can be a major economic stressor upon the parolee, particularly if he is expected to support a family. Similarly, employment in the unskilled labor market can add further instability to his employment experiences by the very nature of the jobs which are available, most of which are short term.

In view of the above findings, one would expect that a higher proportion of the men would have been dissatisfied in their jobs than the twenty five percent that expressed this response. Two possibilities to explain this discrepancy emerge. Perhaps the expectation of the researchers that the parolees

would be dissatisfied with their working conditions was a false one, based upon middle class premises for determining "satisfaction", so that the responses are an accurate measurement of the degree of satisfaction with working conditions. On the other hand, however, the interviewers did not probe the responses in any detail, and as the judgment of "satisfied" or "unsatisfied" was left to the respondents, a greater number than those recorded may actually have been dissatisfied with their working conditions.

The findings presented in this chapter support the results of the Glueck study¹ that a majority of former offenders are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and are able to live only at a marginal economic level. In addition, the parolees in the sample were found to have had more difficulties in their employment experiences than the general population, in that unemployment was more severe, income was lower, and more men were working in unskilled jobs. Thus the findings would seem to substantiate the earlier research studies of Nagle and Melichercik,² that the possession of a criminal record presents an employment role handicap, due to restrictive employment practices followed by many employers.

The implications from these findings of the study are particularly important, as the problems which the parolees were found to be experiencing in their employment -- of frequent job changes, sometimes lengthy unemployment, working in the unskilled labor market and earning inadequate salaries -- are problems which

¹Supra., Chapter I, p. 5.

²Supra., Chapter I, pp. 5 - 7.

may be faced by a considerable proportion of all those men released on parole.¹ Cloward and Ohlin² stressed that legitimate opportunities to realize aspirations are not available to those persons who lack economic security, so that this group is under pressure to engage in delinquent activities. Assuming that this relationship between criminal behavior and economic difficulties is a real one, then the difficulties experienced in employment by the parolees are such that would inhibit the process of rehabilitation. In order for this process to be potentially successful, the opportunities for success in the employment role available to other members of society must be equally available to former offenders. The results of this study would indicate that such opportunities are not presently available for this group.

This chapter has examined the employment experiences of the forty five parolees in the sample. The following two chapters explore some of the background social characteristics of the men to determine if these might be associated with selected aspects of the employment experiences, particularly that of employment functioning.

¹This generalization is made on the basis that the characteristics of the sample of forty five parolees were found to be similar to those of the general parole population of Canada (insofar as such comparisons could be made). Supra., Chapter II, p. 27.

²Supra., Chapter I, p. 3.

CHAPTER IV

AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

OF THE PAROLEES (PART 1)

by Charles Talbot

1. Introduction

This chapter, representing the first of a two-part analysis of selected social characteristics of the sample of parolees, compares the age and educational level of the parolees, the occupational role models of the parolees' fathers and siblings, the pre-parole work record, the parolees' family and peer relationships and the parolees' living arrangements, with the employment experiences of the parolees. The employment experiences included: employment functioning (including job frequency and length of unemployment), the level of employment, the level of income, and the parolee's attitude towards his working conditions.¹ These comparisons were made in order to determine whether or not the social characteristics appeared to be associated with the parolees' employment experiences.

Chi-square tests of independence of variables² were performed in order to determine whether differences between the

¹Supra., Chapter III, pp. 28 - 39.

²Infra., Appendix F, Table 3, for all values of X^2 .

expected frequencies and the observed frequencies were due to factors other than chance alone. Such tests were usually performed at the five percent level of significance.

2. The Age of the Parolees

The age of the parolees could be a help or a hindrance, depending on the prospective employer's criteria for employment selection. Some employers might prefer to hire younger men at a lower starting salary, rather than having to pay for the experience of an older man. On the other hand, employers might favor the older, more experienced man, who presumably would require less training. Of course the amount of experience and training required will depend on the level of the job.

The sample of parolees was divided into two age groups (in terms of those parolees who were thirty four years of age and younger, and those who were thirty five years of age and older¹), and the two groups were compared with the parolees' level of employment functioning, job frequency, amount of unemployment, level of employment, the level of income, and the parolees' attitude towards working conditions.

Age of the Parolees and Level of Income.-- Such comparisons demonstrated that there appears to be an association between the age of the parolees and the level of income, as shown in Table XVIII. The "older" group tended to earn more money than the

¹The arbitrary division was made in order to determine whether the "younger" group differed from the "older" group in their employment experiences.

"younger" group. However, no differences were apparent between the two age groups in the level of employment functioning, job frequency, amount of unemployment, level of employment

Table XVIII.-- Age of Parolees and Income Level

Dollars/week	Total	34 years and under	35 years and over
Total	42	27	15
0 - 80	31	23	8
over 80	11	4	7

$$\chi^2=5.164 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P}<.05$$

and attitude towards working conditions.

The age of the parolee appears to be independent of his employment experiences. However, one could speculate that if more parolees were in the "white collar" or "skilled" categories than were in the sample (sixteen were), then perhaps age would occupy a more important role, as employers might stress youth in their employment practices.

Present findings perhaps indicate that one could expect that "older" parolees can compete at least on par with the "younger" parolees in employment functioning.

3. Education of the Parolee

The majority of the parolees in the sample had a generally low level of education (thirty one had grade nine or less), although seventeen of the total sample had some form of specialized training. As the educational level tends to reflect the

socio-economic class of the individual,¹ one could postulate that many of the parolees came from economically marginal homes, which were not able to provide the necessary economic security for extended education or occupational training.

In order to investigate the association which education appeared to have on the parolees' employment experiences, the sample was divided according to their education levels.² The "higher" education group was compared with the "lower" education group in their employment functioning, amount of unemployment, level of employment, and attitude towards working conditions.

Education Level and Level of Employment.- As one would expect, there appeared to be an association between the parolee's education

Table XIX.-- Education Level and Employment Level

Level of Employment	Total	Grades 1 - 9	Grade 10 and over
Total	42	30	12
White collar and skilled	16	8	8
Unskilled	26	22	2

$$X^2=5.710 \quad P < .05 \quad d.f.=1$$

level and his level of employment. From Table XIX it may be observed

¹Supra., Chapter I, Page 6.

²All those parolees who had completed grades one to nine were placed in one group, while all the other parolees who had completed grade ten or better were placed in the other group. The rationale for this dichotomy was based on the researchers' assumption that employers would be more willing to hire the "higher" education group, than the "lower". It was realized that education would tend to play a less important role in the unskilled jobs than other jobs.

that those parolees who had received a grade ten education or better, tended to get white collar or skilled jobs, while conversely, a majority of those parolees who had less education were working in unskilled jobs.

One can see, then, how education appears to limit the employment potential of the parolees.

It is difficult, of course, to delineate the role which the family¹ played in the limiting of education among many parolees; however, one could assume that the family was a contributing factor.

If an individual comes from a working class family he will typically receive little education or vocational advice; his job plans for the future will be vague while he attends school; and when he leaves school he is likely to take the first available job he is able to get. Unfavorable economic circumstances, lack of education, absence of personal "contacts", lack of planning, and failure to explore fully the available job opportunities--which characterize the working class family are handed down from generation to generation.²

Perhaps an approach to the problem of the "educational handicap" many working class children seem to suffer would be to focus on the role of the school itself. It would appear that the school has been assigned a major role in the training of children, which had formerly been assigned to the family and other primary groups.³ To adequately fulfill this role, the school should have

¹If one assumes that parolees of "unskilled" fathers are of working class origin, then it may be assumed that nineteen parolees are from working class backgrounds. However, if one places those parolees who had "skilled" fathers in the working class category, then there were thirty three parolees from the working class.

²Lipset, et. al., op. cit., p. 303.

³Sutherland, op. cit., p. 26.

provided adequate vocational training and counselling for such individuals as the twenty six parolees who were in the unskilled labor categories. However, research indicates that the schools do not seem to be giving such training or counselling. As a result, the school drop-outs are very vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the labor market.

The disadvantages which beset the careers of individuals with little education, tend to culminate. Such persons receive little vocational guidance at school ... few teachers took the trouble to advise their students concerning their future plans, and those few who did give such advice, made no attempt to brief their students for the real labor market.¹

The failure of many lower class children, in what could be essentially called middle class oriented schools, could indicate that a study should be conducted to discover how best to prepare lower class children for the labor market.²

The most urgent need at the present time, however, appears to be an effective system of casework counselling and vocational guidance for school "drop-outs". Such counselling, if coupled with an effective system of trade training in the schools, would probably greatly aid in reducing the number of individuals who engage in delinquent behavior. In addition, there should be adequate adult

¹Lipset, et. al., op. cit., p. 298.

²The "Mobilization for Youth" project (Prigmore, op. cit.) includes: laboratory schools to demonstrate methods of teaching lower income youngsters; in-service training course aimed at improving verbal skill of culturally deprived children; improved curriculum materials and methods adapted to lower class culture; development of reading centers and clinics; parent education; experimental classes for nursery school, kindergarten and early primary grades; a tutorial or "homework-helper" program; and a range of guidance, therapy and visiting teacher services.

education facilities in the community, for those "drop-outs" who wish to return to school.

Perhaps the above mentioned "preventative" approaches in the schools would greatly reduce problems for such "drop-outs" and also for society, later on.

Education Level and Attitude Towards Working Conditions.- As can be seen from Table XX, parolees in the grades one to nine category, while earning less money, tended to be more satisfied and apparently less frustrated with their working conditions, than did their higher education counterpart.

Table XX.— Education Level and Attitude Toward Working Conditions

Response	Total	Grades 1 - 9	Grade 10 and over
Total	42	30	12
Satisfied	32	26	6
Unsatisfied	10	4	6

$$X^2=6.141 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

One could argue that the lack of satisfaction on the part of some of the "higher" education group could be due to restrictive employment practices, which have been reported¹ to be especially aimed at those former offenders in the white collar and skilled jobs. If such employment screening exists in Montreal, then one could expect that the relatively well educated and ambitious parolee in the

¹Melichercik, op. cit., p. 52.

white collar and skilled occupations could meet with considerable frustration in either attempting to locate a better job, or experiencing discomfort at the thought of having his criminal record discovered at his job. In this sense, then, a criminal record could truly be considered an occupational role handicap.

On the other hand, the expressed "satisfaction" on the part of unskilled workers could reflect the satisfaction of having obtained some type of work at all.¹

4. The Occupational Role Models of the Parolees' Fathers and Siblings

Any role, including the occupational role, must be learned, whether through the family, the school, or through other primary groups. The study investigated whether an association existed between the occupational role models of the parolee's family (in terms of steady - unsteady work records of the fathers and siblings, and the employment level of the fathers), and the parolee's employment experiences (in terms of employment functioning, level of employment and number of jobs since release). The study was also interested in examining the amount of occupational mobility as evidenced by the parolees.

Occupational Level of the Parolees and Their Fathers.- As can be observed in Table XXI, no unskilled fathers had any white collar parolee sons, while fifteen unskilled fathers had unskilled parolee

¹It could be argued that Question 20 (Infra., Appendix B, Interview Schedule), "Are you satisfied with the working conditions?", did not probe the parolee's attitude sufficiently enough to allow for any generalizations.

sons. These findings¹ could indicate that the occupation of the parolee's father is a major help or hindrance in the parolee acquiring a vocational skill.

Table XXI.— Occupational Levels of the Parolees and Fathers

Occupational level of parolees	Total	Occupational level of fathers		
		Skilled	White Collar	Unskilled
Total	42	14	9	19
Skilled	6	1	1	4
White collar	10	5	5	0
Unskilled	26	18	3	15

$$\chi^2=13.413 \text{ d.f.}=4 \text{ P}<.05$$

In Table XXI, there appeared to be very little upward mobility of unskilled sons, and considerable downward mobility of skilled sons to the unskilled category.

Unfortunately, those individuals who are in the unskilled category (twenty six), probably can look forward to remaining in this type of work for the rest of their lives.² It can be seen, then, that not only does a lower economic status limit the education level, but also the occupational status.

¹Form and Miller (op. cit., pp. 295 - 296) found that there was a strong tendency for children of white collar fathers to inherit their fathers' occupation or rise above it, while children of manual workers tend to inherit their fathers' occupation or fall below it. The findings of the present study would tend to agree with these results.

²Form and Miller, op. cit., p. 293.

The problem of apparent immobility of unskilled workers has many ramifications for the social worker concerned with the field of corrections.

Arrests, convictions and commitments to prison are concentrated in the lower economic class, greatly in excess of the population of the class. ... Comparisons of the occupational status of adult offenders, shows a disproportionately large representation of unskilled and semi-skilled occupations.¹

Unskilled and semi-skilled workers, subject to the economic stressors in their environment, appear to be most vulnerable to detected deviant behavior.² The economic limitations and the apparent absence of upward occupational mobility, leads one to suspect that the sons of unskilled parolees in the present sample, will be subject to the same economic hardship, limited occupational horizons, and possibly will engage in deviant behavior more readily than those sons of skilled and white collar parolees.

Such findings would emphasize the need for extensive case-work counselling, not only with the parolee, but also his family.

Work Records of Fathers and Siblings.- Due to limitations imposed by questions thirty three and thirty four³ of the interview

¹Sutherland, op. cit., p. 190.

²Ibid., p. 192. Sutherland questions the reliability of crime indexes, and stresses that "white collar" crimes are not included in criminal statistics. Such findings throw doubt on the conclusion that crime is concentrated in the lower class.

³Research conducted by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (op. cit., pp. 113 - 114) appears to demonstrate that approximately seventy percent of the former parolees studied in the sample had families who were either economically dependent or marginal, and sixty percent of the parolees' fathers were either semi-skilled or unskilled. If one assumes the generalizability of these findings, then one could expect considerably more dysfunctioning in the occupational performance of the parolees' fathers and siblings, than was reported in this study.

schedule, the researchers doubted the reliability of any generalizations made regarding the work records of the parolees' fathers and siblings.

5. The Pre-Parole Work Record

In view of the apparent importance which employment assumes in the success or failure of parole, the study examined the pre-parole work record¹ in relation to the parole work record.

Pre-Parole Work Record and Employment Functioning.- The parolees tended to "carry over" their past employment functioning into the

Table XXII.— Pre-Parole Work Record and Employment Functioning

Employment functioning (scores)	Total	Pre-parole work record	
		Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Total	45	34	11
Satisfactory	28	25	3
Unsatisfactory	17	9	8

$$\chi^2=9.367 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

parole employment experience, as can be observed in Table XXII.

Twenty five of the twenty eight parolees who ranked as

¹The parolees were ascribed a "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory" rating by the researchers based on the parolee's past employment history, three years prior to incarceration. If the parolee had nine jobs or less and six months of unemployment or less in this three year period, he was ascribed a rating of "satisfactory"; if he reported more than nine jobs and more than six months unemployment, he was ascribed an "unsatisfactory" rating.

satisfactory in their employment functioning also ranked as satisfactory in their pre-parole work histories, while only nine of the parolees who had satisfactory pre-parole work records failed to achieve this status during their parole employment period.

Conversely, only three of the eleven parolees who had an unsatisfactory pre-parole work record managed to achieve a satisfactory level in their parole employment functioning.

Similarly, those parolees who had satisfactory pre-parole work records tended to have fewer jobs since their release than those parolees who had an unsatisfactory pre-parole work record.

Table XXIII.— Pre-Parole Work Record and Job Frequency Since Release

Number of jobs since release (scores)	Total	Pre-parole work record	
		Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Total	45	34	11
Satisfactory	33	28	5
Unsatisfactory	12	6	6

$$X^2=5.460 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

As may be observed in Table XXIII, those parolees who were ascribed a satisfactory rating for their pre-parole work record appeared to settle down to one job quicker, than did those parolees rated as unsatisfactory in the pre-parole work histories.

A satisfactory pre-parole work record also seems to be a guarantee of less unemployment in the parole work history, as can be observed in Table XXIV.

Table XXIV.— Pre-Parole Work Record and Unemployment Since Release

Number of months unemployed since release (scores)	Total	Pre-parole work record	
		Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Total	45	34	11
Satisfactory	27	24	3
Unsatisfactory	18	10	8

$$\chi^2=6.370 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05.$$

Employment functioning, then, as represented by the number of jobs the parolee had since his release and the amount of unemployment he had since his release, appeared to be closely associated with the parolee's past work record.

In addition to this, as shown in Table XXV, those parolees who had a satisfactory pre-parole work record tended to be more

Table XXV.— Pre-Parole Work Record and Attitude Towards Working Conditions

Expressed attitude towards working conditions	Total	Pre-parole work record	
		Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Total	42	32	10
Satisfied	32	27	5
Unsatisfied	10	5	5

$$\chi^2=7.115 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

satisfied with their employment conditions, than those parolees who

had poor work histories in the past.

In general, then, in the present sample, those parolees who had a satisfactory pre-parole work record appeared to have much less trouble in their parole employment experiences than did those parolees who had an unsatisfactory pre-parole work record.

Thus, indications from the sample are that much intensive pre-release and post-release employment counselling should be focused on those parolees who have performed poorly in their pre-incarceration employment experiences. If such counselling does not take place, then in all probability those parolees will continue to have trouble in their employment experiences.

Pre-Parole Work Record and Other Aspects of the Employment Experience.- The pre-parole work record appeared to be independent of the parolee's level of income and level of employment, as the differences between the expected and the observed frequencies were such that could occur by chance alone.¹

6. The Parolee's Family of Orientation and Procreation

The study examined the parolee's family of orientation and procreation² (in terms of the marital status of the parolee's parents, and in terms of the frequency of contact which the parolee had with his family inside and outside prison). The above mentioned aspects of the parolee's family were compared with the parolee's employment functioning.

Marital Status of Parents.- Twelve of the forty five parolees

¹For values of X^2 , Infra., Appendix F, Table 3.

²The parolee's family of orientation included his parents and siblings, while the family of procreation included the parolee's wife and children.

who were interviewed said that their parents were either separated or divorced. The researchers, assuming that a disruptive home might affect the employment experiences of the parolees, compared the employment experiences of those parolees who said their parents were either separated or divorced with those parolees who said their parents were living together. Such a comparison failed to demonstrate any differences in the two groups when they were compared in their employment experiences.¹

Contact With Family.- Similarly, employment experiences did not evidence any appreciable differences when those parolees who said that they had little or no contact with their families (while incarcerated or at the time of the interview) were compared with those who said they had regular contact² with their families. However, in describing the frequency of contact the parolee had with his family, the study was examining only one aspect of the parolee's family relationships, and any conclusion drawn from such an examination must be held as tentative.

There also appeared to be no differences in the parolees' employment experiences when those parolees who were married and living with their wives were compared with those parolees who were separated or divorced.

The apparent independence between the social relationships of the parolees and their employment experiences, could be a reflection of the alienation of the employment role from the family

¹Such a comparison is subject to limitations as the study did not probe the quality of the family relationships in the remaining thirty three families. Presumably the mother and father could be living together and providing the children with an unwholesome environment.

²"Regular contact" was defined as receiving a letter or visit once per month.

role, which usually takes place in industrial society. However, the lack of apparent association between the family contacts and the employment role could indicate that the questions in the interview schedule¹ did not probe the quality of the family relationships adequately enough to allow for generalizations from the sample.

One would suspect that close family ties would ease the adjustment of the parolee from the prison community to the general community, and hence aid in his employment functioning.

7. Living Arrangements

The living arrangements of the parolees may be a reflection of how the parolees are functioning in their employment experiences. The study found that twenty parolees lived in the core of the city where substandard housing conditions predominate.

To probe the effect of the living arrangements further, those parolees who lived alone were compared with those parolees who lived with their families. The two groups were compared in their length of unemployment, level of income, and attitude towards working conditions.

The parolees' living arrangements appeared to be independent of their attitude towards working conditions, amount of unemployment, and level of income.²

However, a further examination of the parolees' level of income demonstrated some form of association between it and the living

¹Infra., Appendix B, "Interview Schedule", questions 26 and 31.

²Infra., Appendix F, Table 3, for values of X^2 .

arrangements.

It would appear from Table XXVI that parolees who lived with their parents tended to earn less money than those parolees who had family responsibilities or were on their own. This finding

Table XXVI.-- Parolees' Living Arrangements and Level of Income

Income level (dollars/week)	Total	Parolees' living arrangements		
		Family of orientation	Family of procreation	Living alone
Total	42	17	13	12
Over 80	11	2	5	4
41 - 80	21	7	7	7
0 - 40	10	8	1	1

$$X^2=9.535 \text{ d.f.}=4 \text{ P} < .05$$

is hardly surprising, in view of the fact that those parolees who are living with their parents are usually assured of having their material needs looked after in any eventuality, while those parolees who are not living at home have more responsibilities, and consequently have to be more aggressive and independent.

8. The Parolee's Peer Group

To investigate whether or not there appeared to be any association between the parolee's peer group and his employment experiences, the study examined the peer groups at work and outside of work,¹ with

¹Questions 19 and 35 of the interview schedule asked the parolees if they had personal friends at work and outside work. (Infra., Appendix B, "Interview Schedule".)

the parolee's employment functioning, level of employment, and attitude towards working conditions.

None of the above mentioned aspects of the parolees' employment experiences demonstrated significant differences when the two groups (in terms of whether or not they had personal friends at work or outside work) were compared with these aspects. This would perhaps indicate that it does not seem to matter whether or not the parolee has personal friends in so far as his employment experiences are concerned.

9. Summary

This chapter, the first of a two-part analysis of selected social characteristics of the parolees, has focused on the age, education, living arrangements, and the parolee's family and peer group relationships. These selected social characteristics were examined in light of the parolees' employment experiences. The remaining social characteristics will be examined in the next chapter.

Findings from this analysis appear to indicate that the age of the parolee, the parolee's peer and family relationships and the parolee's living arrangements are independent of the parolee's employment experiences, insofar as these aspects were examined in the study.

The education level, the occupation of the parolee's father and the parolee's pre-parole work record appeared to be associated with his employment experiences.

CHAPTER V

AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

OF THE PAROLEES (PART 2)

by Keith Wright

1. Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of selected social characteristics of the sample of parolees. The remaining area of the parolee's social relationships - that of marriage - is examined to determine if marriage might be related to his employment experiences. In addition, two features of the parole process are looked at - preparation for the employment role through pre-release planning, and assistance with employment problems in parole supervision - and their possible association with the employment experiences.

2. Marital Status

In developing the factors for parole prediction, Lloyd Ohlin has stated that the parolee who is able to maintain close family ties, and hence has a greater feeling of being accepted, has an easier period of transition between the prison and life in the community.¹ The married man, then, would presumably be able to find his place in the employment market more easily and satisfactorily

¹Ohlin, op. cit., p. 49.

than the single person, upon release from prison. Thus, the marital status of the parolees in the sample (in terms of single or married¹) was compared with the level of employment functioning, the level of employment, the weekly income received, and the attitude towards working conditions, to see if marriage in itself (without considering the nature of the marriage) was related to the employment experiences.

However, in examining each of these comparisons, no associations were found between each of the aspects of the employment experiences and the marital status of the men in the sample, as in

Table XXVII.-- Relationship between Marital Status and Weekly Income Level

Dollars/week	Total	Married	Single
Total	42	15	27
0 - 80	31	9	22
over 80	11	6	5

$$\chi^2=2.372 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

each case the differences between the expected and observed frequencies were such that they could occur by chance alone.² Had the qualitative nature of the marital relationships been examined, perhaps different results would have been found.

Yet there was an indication that a possible (although slight)

¹For the purposes of this analysis, those separated men who were supporting their children were included with the married subjects; the others were included with the single men.

²Infra., Appendix F, Table 3, for values of χ^2 .

relationship existed between the weekly income of the parolee and his marital status, as shown in Table XXVII, with the married men tending to have somewhat higher salaries than the single. Although the differences between the expected and the observed frequencies were such that could occur by chance, the magnitude did increase to a significant level when the income of those wives who were employed was included in the distribution,¹ so that an association between marital status and the level of income was apparent.

3. The Parole Process

The preparation for the employment role prior to release, and the availability of assistance with employment problems may be two important factors associated with the employment experiences of the parolees. Ohlin places particular emphasis upon employment being guaranteed prior to release from prison, finding that there is a much higher violation rate among those parolees who have only vague notions of parole job possibilities.² Those who are able to plan for their post-release jobs, then, should encounter less difficulty. However, it is also important that those men on parole who are experiencing problems in their employment are able to receive some form of help. This assistance would be expected to be primarily from the parole supervisor, through his use of the social casework method.³

¹ $\chi^2=3.941$, d.f.=1, $P<.05$.

²Ohlin, op. cit., p. 54.

³The writers assume that this is the major technique used in parole supervision.

In order to find out if a relationship existed between pre-release employment planning and the employment experiences, each of the forty five respondents was asked whether a job had been found for him while he was still incarcerated, and if he took that job upon his release. The responses were compared with the level of employment functioning, the levels of employment and income, and the attitude towards working conditions.¹

No associations were apparent between this variable and the level of income or the attitude towards working conditions, as any differences between the expected and observed frequencies could occur by chance.² There was some indication that those men who had a job guaranteed prior to their release tended to work in the white collar or skilled jobs, rather than the unskilled, although the magnitude between the expected and the observed frequencies was not quite large enough to be significant.³

However, pre-release employment planning was related to the level of the parolees' employment functioning, as shown in Table XXVIII. Those men in the sample who were able to successfully plan for their future work before their release were able to attain a satisfactory level in their employment functioning,

¹Those men who stated they had a job guaranteed prior to their release, but did not take that job, were included in the "job not guaranteed" category.

²Infra., Appendix F, Table 3, for values of X^2 .

³ $X^2=2.545$, d.f.=1, $P < .05$.

whereas those who did not have a guaranteed job tended to perform at an unsatisfactory level.

Table XXVIII.— Pre-Release Employment Planning and Employment Functioning

Score	Total	Job guaranteed	Job not guaranteed
Total	45	17	28
Satisfactory	28	14	14
Unsatisfactory	17	3	14

$$\chi^2=4.652 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P}< .05$$

To examine the relationship of supervisory assistance with employment difficulties and the parolee's employment experiences, each respondent was asked whether his job or problems associated with employment were discussed with his parole supervisor.¹ The results were compared with the level of employment functioning, levels of employment and income, and attitude towards working conditions.²

No association existed between job discussion in supervision and the level of employment functioning, other than that which might occur by chance alone.

However, as shown in Table XXIX, a relationship was indicated between discussion of employment in supervision and the level of

¹Those men who replied that the job was discussed in supervision, but "not often" (less than every two interviews), were included in the "job not discussed" category in this analysis.

²Infra., Appendix F, Table 3, for values of χ^2 .

the job, with those employed in unskilled work having more of this type of assistance than those at the white collar or skilled levels.

Table XXIX.— Relationship between Job Discussion in Parole Supervision and Level of Employment

Level	Total	Job discussed	Job not discussed
Total	42	30	12
White collar and skilled	16	8	8
Unskilled	26	22	4

$$X^2=5.710 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

Similarly, Table XXX indicates that those men receiving low incomes were having more discussion about their employment

Table XXX.— Relationship between Job Discussion in Parole Supervision and Level of Income

Dollars/week	Total	Job discussed	Job not discussed
Total	42	30	12
0 - 80	31	25	6
over 80	11	5	6

$$X^2=5.104 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P} < .05$$

with their parole supervisors than those parolees with a high income.

As indicated in Table XXXI, those men who expressed dissatis-

faction with their working conditions discussed their jobs more with their parole officers than did those expressing satisfaction,

Table XXXI.—Relationship between Job Discussion in Parole Supervision and Attitude Towards Working Conditions

Response	Total	Job discussed	Job not discussed
Total	42	30	12
Satisfied	32	20	12
Unsatisfied	10	10	0

$$\chi^2=5.374 \text{ d.f.}=1 \text{ P}< .05$$

as the differences between the expected and observed frequencies were greater than those expected by chance alone.

Generally, then, those parolees who were having difficulty in their employment experiences (except in the area of employment functioning) were able to discuss these problems with, and receive help from, their parole supervisors.

4. Discussion

In the area of social relationships of the parolees, marital status (insofar as it was examined in the study) appeared to have little relationship to the employment experiences of the men in the sample, indicating that no difference existed between the married and the single man and the way in which they performed in the occupational role. However, there did seem to be some indication that the married man tended to earn more than the single. This

would be an expected relationship, as the married parolees would tend to be older and in the labor market for a longer period of time; hence, they would be able to command better salaries.

Yet one would have expected a difference in the employment role performance between the married and single men in view of the research studies and theoretical works which show that those persons with supportive familial ties generally function more adequately than those without. On the other hand, the interviewers did not investigate the qualitative nature of the marriages, nor the kinds of relationships the single men had with their families of orientation. Had these relationships been examined more closely, perhaps an association would have been evident between the nature of the family ties and the parolee's employment experiences.

The two features of the parole process which were examined did have an important relationship to the employment experiences. Those parolees who were able to move into previously planned jobs directly upon their release from prison performed at a satisfactory level in their employment functioning, having little difficulty with frequent job changes or unemployment. On the other hand, when pre-release employment planning was either ineffective or nonexistent, the parolees experienced more difficulty in this aspect. This finding stresses the importance of pre-release employment planning in the future performance of the parolee in his employment role. After-care agencies as well as the National Parole Board have continually emphasized the area of preparation for parole, as experience has shown that those men receiving such preparation are

generally able to make an easier adjustment from the restricted institutional life to the freedom of the community. The evidence from the present study supports this belief, and shows that planning for employment prior to release is particularly important if the parolee is to maintain a successful employment record.

Similarly, supervision appeared to be an important part of the parole experience. Those men who were having problems in their employment - those in unskilled jobs, those receiving low incomes, and those expressing dissatisfaction with their working conditions - received assistance from their parole supervisors, and were able to make use of a service available to them. Parole supervision is the final process of rehabilitation (which should begin at the time of conviction), so that the supervisor must be particularly available to those parolees who have difficulty in any area of their functioning. Consequently, the finding in the study that some of those men who were experiencing problems in some aspects of their employment discussed these problems with their supervisors, was an expected one. Yet only two men, in response to the open-ended question in the interview,¹ said that their parole officers were of any assistance to them.² Either the others who were having problems in the area of employment did not feel they received any help from their supervisors, or else the information that they did receive assistance would have emerged only through further discussion

¹Question 43 of the interview schedule asked: "Is there anything else about employment and parole you might want to talk about?" Infra., Appendix B.

²Infra., Chapter VI.

in the interview.

However, an unsatisfactory level of employment functioning was found to be independent of the discussion of employment in parole supervision. One would have expected that those men who were experiencing frequent job changes or lengthy periods of unemployment would have discussed these problems with their parole supervisors. On the other hand, after-care agencies have relinquished the function of job placement to the National Employment Service in recent years. Consequently, the men who were unable to find or maintain steady employment may have been referred to the N. E. S., rather than having the parole supervisor assume the task of assisting in finding work. However, as the study found that almost forty percent of the sample had an unsatisfactory level of employment functioning,¹ this would seem to be a serious enough problem to warrant more of the parole supervisor's attention.

¹Supra., Chapter III, p. 33.

CHAPTER VI

EXPRESSED EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF MEN ON PAROLE

(RESPONSES TO AN "OPEN-END" QUESTION)

by Charles Talbot

1. Introduction

The preceding two chapters have presented findings based on associations between selected social characteristics of the sample of parolees, and circumstances in their employment experiences. While standardized "closed-end" questions¹ facilitated comparisons between the various employment aspects, the researchers were interested in probing the parolee's employment experiences through a less structured method. As a result, an "open-end" question (question forty three of the interview schedule) was used and parolees were asked at the end of the interview, "Is there anything else about employment and parole you might want to talk about?"²

This chapter will examine themes implicit in the responses of the forty parolees³ to this "open-end" question, in conjunction with the recorded diagnostic statements.⁴ The general categories

¹Infra., Appendix B, "Interview Schedule".

²Ibid.

³Five parolees did not participate in a discussion of question forty three, either because they did not want to participate or because they had language difficulties which did not allow them to participate.

⁴Infra., Appendix B, "Interview Schedule", Part IV.

of responses to be discussed are: the criminal record as an occupational role handicap; solutions to the problem of having a criminal record; the importance of the family in the parole experience; and the importance of parole supervision.

2. The Criminal Record as an Occupational Role Handicap

A substantial majority of the parolees (thirty five) indicated that possessing a criminal record presented a considerable handicap in securing employment. The fact that one third of the sample were unemployed at the time of the interviews adds to the credence of their statements. The aspects of the "occupational handicap" are described below.

The Employment Application.-- The employment application was usually one of the first contacts the parolees had with society after being released. It appeared common for many of them to perceive acceptance or rejection of themselves by society in terms of being accepted or rejected on the labor market. One could see how a rejected job application (which presumably could have been made because of a lack of technical qualifications) could be interpreted by the parolees as a rejection because of their criminal records.

One could assume that in some cases the parolees were using their criminal records as a convenient rationalization for generally poor role functioning in most aspects of their lives. However, in many instances, their complaints of discriminatory employment practices were probably valid and justified.

Several men were very bitter about certain employment

practices:

This parolee is a seventeen year old single male of above average intelligence, who quit school after completing grade seven. Like his father, he is an unskilled laborer. While currently working, he is obviously unsatisfied with his current job because "it does not offer much of a challenge". He complained that, "Society does not consider the debt paid when you finish your sentence. It's a scar you carry forever. It hurts you in whatever you do."

His feelings were echoed by another parolee:

This parolee is a thirty year old unskilled laborer who is working. He left school after completing grade seven, and he is separated from his wife and child. He said, "Having a record is like having a monkey on your back."

One could speculate that the lack of education and training, and not the criminal record, were responsible for the above mentioned responses. However, the same responses were verbalized by two other parolees who had considerably more education and training than did the two previously mentioned men.

This man is a twenty year old laborer who is currently unemployed. Although he has completed high school, he is having a great deal of trouble locating employment. He blames his employment difficulties on the prejudice he has found employers show towards ex-offenders. He said, "Having a record puts a guy behind the eight-ball."

From their remarks, one could speculate that the level of education up to grade eleven did not seem to affect the employment insecurity these men exhibited.

Employment: Rehabilitation.- Twelve other parolees stressed that in order to become "rehabilitated", an ex-offender had to locate and keep steady work. None of them elaborated as to what they meant by "rehabilitated", except to say that they needed money to live, and if they could not secure this money by legitimate means they would have to use illegitimate methods. They said that the latter

course inevitably leads to recidivism. The majority of the twelve respondents had been closely associated with the criminal subculture in the past. Most had been previously charged with "Breaking and Entering with Violence". Their educational level was either grade nine or less, and most of them were unskilled laborers who probably could expect employment problems even if they did not meet discrimination because of their criminal records.

The Decision of Whether or Not to Tell the Employer of Their Records.- One of the major problems discussed by the parolees was the dilemma they faced when they applied for a job. They often did not know whether to tell their prospective employers about their criminal records and hope that the employers would judge them on their technical qualifications alone, or whether to conceal their records and risk possible exposure and dismissal later on. Because of the relatively low educational level, lack of vocational training, and the keen competition for scarce jobs in Montreal, many parolees chose the latter solution.

Although sixty six percent of the sample reported that it was impossible to get a job if an employer knew of a job applicant's record, sixty percent of the parolees said that their employers knew of their records. Most of the men in the latter group reported that they had either known their employers prior to their incarceration, or that they had obtained jobs through friends of the employers. Half of the forty percent who reported that their employers did not know about their records, stated that they would be dismissed if their employers found out. These men were under considerable

pressure because of this.

The decision to tell the employer was not an easy one. Ten respondents were extremely critical of the employment policies they encountered. Four of these men blamed job loss on these employment policies.

This parolee is a twenty three year old man who appears to be doing quite well in his white collar job. One detected considerable immaturity and impulsiveness and a great deal of insecurity in this young man. He could be tentatively diagnosed as exhibiting many of the characteristics of the character disorder. He was charged with fraud. This young man said that it was very difficult to get a good paying job if an individual had a record, and in those unskilled jobs that were open to an ex-offender, the employer tended to exploit the ex-offender because he knew it would be almost impossible to find work elsewhere. "A man who tells his employer that he has a record is honest, but stupid."

Another parolee felt the same way:

A twenty year old, single, employed laborer who has the economic security of living at home with his parents. He has a very extensive criminal record and several lengthy incarcerations, considering his years. He could be considered the only parolee in the sample who has in the past strongly identified with the professional criminal subculture. He appears to be doing well in his employment experiences and in parole. This man found difficulty in explaining on the employment application where all his "lost time" went to. Consequently he felt that the only thing to do was to falsify the application and risk possible future exposure.

However, several of the parolees said that the only policy an ex-offender should adopt is one of complete honesty with his prospective employer. One such parolee who is doing very well in his job felt that an ex-offender may lose several jobs in the process of looking, but there was a great deal less pressure in the "long run". Another parolee agreed, stating that "Honesty is the best policy, but you are going to lose a lot of jobs in the meantime."

Such was the dilemma which each parolee had to resolve in his own mind.

The Record and Level of Skill.- It would appear that in the present sample, many of the parolees felt that having a criminal record relegated them to jobs below their capacities and skills. Considerable frustration was evidenced. One parolee said, "All I can get are jobs like shovelling snow for the ----- . Before I did my time, I always could get a foreman's job like the one I had at -----."

Another parolee who was in a white collar job said, "The more unskilled an ex-convict is, the better the possibility he has for finding employment."

The National Employment Service.- The Canadian Government, especially the National Employment Service, was condemned by many parolees who felt that the Government should take the lead in re-appraising the "restrictive" employment practices, especially within the Government services themselves.

One parolee said that most ex-offenders wanted to work, but nobody would hire them. He felt that the Government was chiefly at fault, especially the Special Placements Division of the National Employment Service. This man felt that Special Placements did not give a job applicant enough scope.

Another parolee agreed:

The Special Placements Division is the kiss of death. I won't go there anymore because it's bad enough to get jobs in the other sections (of the National Employment Service).

The Special Placements Division attempts to locate work for

"hard to place" individuals who have some form of handicap, whether it be physical or social (as in the case of former offenders. These parolees said that assignment (usually by the after-care agency or other parolling authority) to this division helped make a possible handicap a reality. "The employer soon learns what that red "S. P." means on your employment card, and that's it!" Furthermore, they said that they could and should compete for jobs with the general client population of the National Employment Service.

These responses could indicate that perhaps an intensive study of private and governmental employment practices is necessary.

"A Criminal Record is Not a Handicap".- Five parolees said a record was not a handicap, and that complaints were nothing but excuses of inadequate people who are using the undeniably restrictive employment practices in life as a rationalization to explain their general failures. All five men said that there was work available, if only the ex-offender would be "aggressive enough" to look for it.

A very successful, hard-driving thirty five year old executive said:

While I feel that a re-evaluation of employment practices is certainly called for, I feel that many ex-offenders lack spirit and drive to look for a job. They just are not motivated to look for work.

A forty year old white collar executive who had a relatively high education level agreed: "If a man wants to work, he will find it despite his record. The work is there." Another respondent who

was also in the managerial classification said, "A lot of ex-offenders are afraid to work." Two other parolees felt the same way.

All five of these parolees were successful middle class oriented individuals who emphasized the aggressive, individualistic, private "entrepreneur" type of approach to employment. As they were all white collar workers, the researchers compared them with the other five white collar workers in the sample who said that possessing a criminal record was an occupational handicap. This was done in order to determine whether or not the two groups differed other than in their attitudes towards the occupational role handicap.

The "handicap" and "non-handicap" groups appeared to be equally matched in their educational levels, and in their socioeconomic family backgrounds. However, it is interesting to note that all five parolees who said that possessing a criminal record was not a handicap were either in the owner or managerial categories, while none of the other group were in this category (clerical, bookkeeper, etc.).

Perhaps one could postulate that the "non-handicap" group was viewing the employment experience in the role of employer, rather than employee. One wonders whether or not their views reflect the general employer attitude in our society?

One of the parolees who said that a criminal record was not a handicap, refused to hire any former offenders, because he had a "bad" experience with one in the past - while at the same

time he said that possessing a criminal record was not a handicap.

One could assume that both viewpoints of this controversy have elements of truth in them. While restrictive employment policies probably do exist and present some form of handicap to the ex-offender, many ex-offenders could use these restrictive employment policies as an excuse for generally poor role functioning in areas other than employment. Undoubtedly the two aspects could be mutually reinforcing.

3. Proposed Solutions to the Problem of Having a Criminal Record

Several parolees thought that their lack of trade training and education was a major detriment to good employment functioning. They suggested that more training schemes, such as the one operating at the Federal Training Centre, St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, Montreal, Quebec, should be established. Two other parolees who had gone through trade training school highly praised this type of approach. Both were working and using the trade they learned there.

However, one parolee criticized trade training, because he felt that a trainee could not follow up his training when he was released into the community. He said that the competition for apprenticeship positions was very keen, and the "man with a record didn't stand a chance" in competition with the non-offender.

The paradox of Canada's expanding system of trade training schools in penitentiaries¹ is that trainees of such schemes could

¹Canada, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries, op. cit., p. 8.

have a great deal of difficulty finding employment, because of possible restrictive employment practices in white collar and skilled occupations. Clearly, then, if occupational schemes are to be effective, then such schemes would have to be accompanied by a program of employer enlightenment as to the employability of trainees.

4. The Family as a Factor in Employment and Parole

While eight parolees acknowledged the importance of employment in the parole experience, they stressed the role of the parolee's family in the successful employment and parole functioning. They said that having a favorable family situation to come out to when they were released was of crucial importance in helping the parolee get established in the community. It was almost as if they felt that the family acted as a protective "role buffer" which allowed them time to adapt to their new roles, including parole and employment.

The economic advantages of having the financial support of such families was primarily stressed by these men. One parolee discussed the great financial hardship which a majority of unattached men face when they are released from prison:

They are given a suit of clothes and what little "gate money" they earned during their stay. So they have about thirty dollars in their pockets when they hit the street. The first thing they do is to buy some new clothes because a tramp wouldn't be seen dead in the clothes they give you in the pen. So the guy is almost broke already and he just hit the street. And those first weeks when you are looking for a job are very hard, and if you don't have a family to back you up, you are lost. The only friends you have are the ones who will get you into

trouble again.

I had a buddy in the pen who came up to me just before he was to be released, and he asked me, "What am I going to do? I have no money." He was able to stay at my parents' place while he was looking for a job, but he left after a few days because he felt bad about not being able to pay them anything.

He felt that an unattached man who was released on parole had a much better chance of rehabilitation than did the majority of men who received the non-conditional natural release. He said that the parolling agency is able to help the parolee financially until he has a job and is established in the community. However, he said that no matter how much the agency helped, it was no substitute for a family.

The above parolee's feelings were echoed by a twenty two year old apprentice who was employed.

This parolee is married, and he, his wife with their small child live in a cold water flat in a depressed area of the city. He is currently functioning well in his employment and marital roles. One gets the impression that the marriage is a happy one, and this man has the motivation to continue his successful role functioning. He said that having a family gave a person "something to work for", and he felt that having such responsibilities helped him to "settle down".

The remaining parolees who stressed the family as an important factor in employment and parole functioning were equally divided between single and married men.

This parolee is a twenty two year old, unemployed unskilled laborer who comes from a very unsettled home environment. His parents separated when he was a child, and his father has an extensive history of alcoholism. This young man said, almost bitterly, that a family was very important.

The above remarks, which stress the importance of the family in the rehabilitation of the ex-offender, indicate that the

unattached former offender can be considerably handicapped when he is released. Such findings could also indicate that perhaps some form of half-way house should be established which could act as a form of substitute family for the recently released man. The cost of such a venture would probably be more than compensated for by a lessening in the rate of recidivism, which in the past has been so costly to society.

5. The Importance of Parole Supervision in the Employment Experiences

It is interesting to note that contrary to Nagle's findings,¹ only two to five percent of the sample stressed the help which their parole supervisors gave them in employment counselling, in answering the "open-end" question. This could either indicate that the "open-end" question did not sufficiently probe this aspect, or that the sample of parolees did not seem to get employment counselling from their parole supervisors.

6. Summary

This chapter has presented an analysis of an "open-end" question which was included in the interview schedule:

Is there anything else about employment and parole which you might want to talk about?

This question was included in an attempt to probe some of the feelings which were not examined in the other "closed-end" questions.

¹Nagle, op. cit., p. 146. Nagle found that fifty percent of his sample of parolees stressed the employment counselling which they received from their parole supervisors.

²Infra., Appendix B, "Interview Schedule".

The results of this question, which have been examined in this chapter, demonstrate that this type of enquiry can be a very fruitful instrument in encouraging a broad range of feelings and attitudes. In general, the replies of the forty parolees indicated the following.

All the parolees who responded to the "open-end" question and who were employees (thirty five), felt that possessing a criminal record was an employment handicap.

All the parolees who were employers (five) felt that possessing a criminal record was not an employment handicap. These men tended to view the problem from the role of employer, rather than that of employee.

Twelve of the forty respondents, who were characterized by a low education level, unskilled labor and formerly charged under the "Breaking and Entering with Violence" category, perceived employment as being necessary in "rehabilitation". "Rehabilitation" was perceived in part as achieving legitimate economic security.

Ten of the parolees were very critical of the restrictive employment policies they encountered, and mentioned the dilemma of whether or not to tell the employer of their criminal records.

The possession of a criminal record appeared to have the effect of reducing some of the parolees' ability to use their employment skills.

The Canadian Government, especially the Special Placements Division of the National Employment Service, was blamed for accentuating the employment handicap of a criminal record.

Trade training schools would probably help many of the parolees to locate better jobs; however, such a scheme would have to be concomitant with a program of employer education regarding the employability of such trainees.

Eight men stressed the importance which they felt the family played in the successful employment and parole functioning. These findings would indicate that perhaps a system of "half-way houses" should be established to provide a substitute home for unattached, recently released offenders.

Only two men stressed the importance of employment counselling they received from their parole supervisors.

In general, one could speculate that possessing a criminal record was just one of the employment problems for the former offender, as the individual's personality, education and training, as well as the ability of the economy to absorb him into the labor force, must also be taken into account.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Introduction

This thesis has been a descriptive study of the employment experiences of forty five English-speaking parolees in the greater Montreal area. The object of the thesis was to examine the following aspects of the parolees' employment experiences: employment functioning (in terms of job frequency and length of unemployment); level of employment; level of income; and attitude towards working conditions. In addition, the study described selected social characteristics of the parolees, and their relation to the employment experiences, in order to formulate some tentative hypotheses for future research.

2. Reliability of the Study

In addition to those limitations outlined in Chapter I, the following must also be considered.

Interview Schedule.- With the exception of the aspect of "attitude towards working conditions",¹ the researchers believe that the interview schedule adequately probed the employment experiences of the sample of parolees. In addition, it is believed that with the exception of those questions referring to the work records of the parolee's father and siblings, and the question

¹Supra., Chapter III, pp. 40 - 41.

regarding how the parolee liked his fellow employees, the schedule adequately investigated the social characteristics of the parolees. The only modifications which the researchers would make in the interview schedule would be a re-structuring of those questions referred to above.

Reliability of Responses.- Parolees in the sample tended to be very cooperative in the interview, and in only six cases was the accuracy of the responses questioned by the interviewers.¹

3. Major Findings

Many of the forty five parolees in the sample were found to be experiencing some form of difficulty in the area of employment. The study found that one-third of the men were out of work at the time of the interviews, a proportion considerably higher than the Canadian average for that time. A substantial proportion (thirty eight percent) of the parolees were performing at an unsatisfactory level in their employment functioning, indicating that these men had frequent job changes and lengthy periods of unemployment. A much higher proportion of the men in the sample were employed in the unskilled labor market than was the general labor force, while thirty one of the forty five subjects were receiving an income below the Montreal weekly average. Although only twenty five percent of the parolees expressed dissatisfaction with their working conditions, probably a larger number than those recorded would have been found to be unsatisfied, had the responses been

¹Infra., Appendix C, Table 1, "Diagnostic Evaluation of the Forty Five Parolees".

probed in greater detail by the interviewers.

As the findings from the study show that this group of men in the sample have had generally more difficulties in their employment experiences than the general population, they would tend to support the earlier research studies of Nagle and Melicherchik,¹ that due to the restrictive employment policies followed by many employers, the possession of a criminal record constitutes a handicap to successful employment role functioning. In addition, the findings substantiate the results of the Glueck study,² which found that a majority of former offenders are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and earn an income sufficient only for a marginal economic existence.

An examination of selected social characteristics of the parolees in the sample revealed the following:

1. The age of the parolees did not appear to be related to their employment experiences.
2. Those parolees with a relatively higher education secured better paying jobs at a higher level of skill than did those parolees with a relatively lower level of education.
3. The occupation level of the parolees' fathers tended to be associated with the employment level of the parolees.
4. A satisfactory past work record tended to be followed by a satisfactory parole work record, while difficulty was experienced in employment functioning by those who had unsatisfactory

¹Supra., Chapter I, pp. 5 - 6.

²Supra., Chapter I, p. 5.

past work records.

5. The employment experiences of the parolees appeared to be independent of their social relationships, in the dimensions described in the study.

6. Those parolees who were able to move into jobs which had been guaranteed prior to their release from prison performed at a more satisfactory level in their employment functioning than those parolees who were not guaranteed such jobs.

7. Those parolees who had difficulty in some aspects of their employment experiences tended to utilize casework counseling provided by their parole supervisors.

8. Those men in the sample who responded to the "open-end" question of the interview schedule¹ and who were employees, felt that having a criminal record was an obstacle to locating employment. The remaining five parolees, all of whom were employers, did not feel that such an obstacle exists.

4. Implications of the Study for Social Work Practice

The study was based upon the presumed relationship between adult offences and economic conditions,² which suggests that success in the employment role is a necessary factor in the rehabilitation of the former offender. In general, it may be said that the majority of the parolees studied were denied the opportunities available to other members of society for education, economic security and other legitimate means to attain successful employment role

¹Infra., Appendix B, "Interview Schedule".

²Supra., Chapter I, p. 2.

functioning. Cloward and Ohlin have stressed that those people lacking such opportunities to realize their aspirations are particularly under pressure to engage in delinquent activities.¹ Thus, as parole has been described as the most effective rehabilitative process currently available to the correctional field,² the findings from the study show that the employment experiences of the parolees in the sample could greatly handicap this process.

While any generalizations from the sample of the study to the general parole population are somewhat limited,³ the findings would indicate that the problems in the employment experiences of the forty five parolees - of frequent job changes, sometimes lengthy unemployment, working in unskilled jobs and earning inadequate salaries - are problems which may be faced by most men released on parole.

Recommendations based upon the present study would indicate:

1. That there be a re-evaluation of the employment policies of government and private business in regard to the former offender. Similarly, the study indicated that persons on parole should be referred to the general employment division of the National Employment Service, rather than to the Special Placements Division, where a potential handicap can become a reality.

¹Supra., Chapter I, p. 3.

²Supra., Chapter I, p. 4.

³Supra., Chapter II, p. 27.

2. That intensive pre-release casework counselling regarding the parole applicant's employment problems be instigated as soon as possible in the parole procedure. Such counselling should be continued after his release until the parolee has achieved some degree of employment stability. In this way, one of the potential handicaps to the rehabilitation of the offender may be overcome.

3. That as an association was found between an unsatisfactory pre-incarceration work record and an unsatisfactory parole work record, there is a need for increased assistance (such as guaranteed jobs in public works projects) to these men with employment problems. Such a scheme might drastically reduce the rate of recidivism.

4. That in view of the employment difficulties encountered by a substantial proportion of the sample, parole supervisors should continue to take an active role in helping with the employment problems of the parolee.

5. That a form of "half-way house" could be useful for those unattached former offenders in facilitating their initial adjustment to the community, including the location of employment.

6. That a research division be established within the National Parole Board to help guide its policies and practices.

7. That a system of vocational counselling be undertaken within the educational system in view of the finding of the study

that a majority of the parolees in the sample represented early school drop-outs.

5. Recommendations of the Study for Future Research

An examination of current literature revealed that there have been few studies undertaken regarding the relationship of employment to the parole experience. As parole is the most advanced form of rehabilitation available to present practice, this lack of such research is unfortunate.

The findings of the present study would indicate that the following recommendations for research could begin to probe the problems existing in this area:

1. That a study be undertaken to examine the indications of restrictive employment practices among private and governmental employers in the greater Montreal area.

2. That a comparable study to the present one examine the employment experiences of those former offenders receiving a non-conditional release.

3. That the qualitative nature of the parolees' social characteristics be examined to see if these are associated with their employment experiences.

4. That there be an examination of the role of the parole supervisors in the employment functioning of the parolees.

Specific hypotheses for future research which emerged from the findings of the study are the following:

1. That the age of the parolee is independent of his employment experiences.

2. That parolees with a high school education or better secure higher paying jobs that are in the white collar and skilled categories than do those parolees with an elementary education.

3. That the occupational level of the parolee's father is associated with the employment level of the parolee.

4. That a satisfactory pre-incarceration work record is followed by a satisfactory parole work record, while an unsatisfactory pre-incarceration work record is followed by an unsatisfactory parole work record.

5. That the employment functioning of the parolees is independent of their social relationships, in the dimensions described in the present study.

6. That those parolees who are able to move into guaranteed jobs upon their release from the penal institution, perform at a more satisfactory level in their employment functioning than those parolees who are not guaranteed such jobs.

In general, then, as most of the parolees in the sample were found to be experiencing difficulties in some aspects of their employment experiences, the findings from the study would tend to support the widely held view that the possession of a criminal record presents an occupational role handicap to the parolee.

APPENDIX A

THE CERTIFICATE OF PAROLE

(FACSIMILE¹)

P. S.

NATIONAL PAROLE BOARD

Ottawa, Canada

CERTIFICATE OF PAROLE

To Whom It May Concern:

IT IS ORDERED by the NATIONAL PAROLE BOARD that

., an inmate in

. who was convicted of

. on the

and was then and there sentenced to imprisonment in the

. for the term of

. be PAROLED, upon the conditions showing

on the reverse, on 19 or within

days thereafter at the discretion of the Warden and until

. unless the said

.

shall before the expiration of the said term be convicted of an indictable offence punishable by imprisonment for a term of two years or more, in which case his parole is thereby forthwith forfeited, or unless there is cause for the National Parole Board to alter, suspend or revoke the present Order.

Given under the hand and seal of the National Parole Board,

this day of nineteen hundred and

.

NATIONAL PAROLE BOARD

by
Secretary

¹George Street, Handbook on Parole (Ottawa: National Parole Board, 1960), Appendix II.

PAROLE AGREEMENT

I clearly understand that I am still serving the sentence imposed but I am being granted parole to permit me to resume my activities as a citizen at large in the community, under supervision. Therefore, in consideration of parole being granted to me, I solemnly agree:

1. To remain, until the expiry of my sentence, under the authority of the National Parole Board Regional Representative in
2. To forthwith proceed directly to and immediately upon arrival and at least once a month thereafter, to report faithfully to
3. To accept the supervision and assistance of my supervisor
4. To remain in the immediate area of or as designated by the Regional Representative and, if I have good cause to leave this area, to obtain permission beforehand through my supervisor.
5. To endeavor to maintain steady employment and to report at once to the Regional Representative through my supervisor, any change or termination of employment or any other change of circumstances such as accident or illness.
6. To secure advance approval from the Regional Representative, through my supervisor, if at any time I wish to:
 - (a) purchase a motor vehicle;
 - (b) incur debts by borrowing money or instalment buying;
 - (c) assume additional responsibilities, such as marrying;
 - (d) own or carry firearms or other weapons.
7. To abide by all instructions which may be given by my supervisor or by the Regional Representative through my supervisor, and especially with regard to employment, companions, hours, intoxicants, operation of motor vehicles, medical or psychiatric attention, family responsibilities, court obligations.
8. To abide by these special conditions:
9. To forthwith communicate with the Regional Representative, through my supervisor, if I am arrested or questioned by peace officers regarding any offence.

10. To obey the law and fulfill all my legal and social responsibilities.

I have read, or have had read to me, and fully understand and accept the conditions, regulations and restrictions governing my release on parole. I will abide by and conform to them strictly. I also understand that if I violate them in any manner, I may be recommitted.

.
(name) (number)

Witnessed:
.
(title)

Date of leaving

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. The Preamble

(Each interview is to begin with the following preamble. The nature of this preamble can be flexible depending on the interviewer's judgment as to the respondent's intelligence, possible cooperation in the interview, and understanding of the study.)

I am very glad that you volunteered to participate in this study which is concerned with your employment (job) experiences while you are on parole. I feel that by participating in this study you are making a real contribution to the research on parole. Who else can give us first-hand information about the parolee's job experiences than the parolee himself?

Of course, all the information is completely confidential, and I will not divulge any personal information which you tell me to anybody, including your parole supervisor or the Parole Board. No names or personally identifying information will be mentioned in the research report.

Basically, I would like to know something about the jobs you had before your sentence, and the jobs you had since your release on parole. None of the information you give me will get back to your employers. I would also like to talk to you about your family, your friends and something about your plans for the future.

If you don't wish to tell me these things, it's perfectly all right as this is purely a voluntary project. I know that it might be hard for you to remember all the information I will be asking, but all I ask is that you be as accurate as possible.

II. Closed-End Questions

A. Identifying Information

To begin with, I wonder if you could give me some background information:

1. (a) Where is your birthplace? _____
(b) Have you lived in Montreal long? _____
How many years? _____
2. (a) Where are you living now? (cross streets) _____
(b) What are your living arrangements like? (room, hostel, apartment, house; family of orientation, procreation, or alone)

3. How old are you? _____
4. (a) Are you married? (single, married, widowed, divorced, separated) _____
(b) How many dependent children do you have? _____

5. What is your religion? _____
6. I wonder if you could tell me something about your last offence:
 - (a) What were you charged with? _____
 - (b) How long was your sentence? _____
 - (c) When were you released? _____
 - (d) How long is your parole? _____
7. Have you ever served time before? _____
(If yes) Could you list them for me:
 - (a) What were you charged with? _____
 - (b) How long was your sentence? _____
- B. Present Employment Experience
8. I know it's sometimes difficult for a guy to get a job if he has a record. Did you have any trouble like this? _____
9. Do you think it is usually possible for a guy to get a job if the employer knows about the record? _____
10. Are you working right now? _____
11. (a) Does your employer know about your record? _____
(b) (If no) Do you think you will lose your job if he finds out? _____
12. What kind of work are you doing? _____
13. How did you get your job? (self, relative, friend, others)

14. How much does it pay? (Exact weekly figure of last week worked) _____
15. (a) Have you had any other jobs since your release? _____
(b) (If yes) How many? _____
(c) Did you discuss these job changes with your supervisor beforehand? _____
16. (a) Have you been out of work since your release? _____
(b) (If yes) How many months? _____
17. (a) Do any of your fellow employees know about your record?
(b) (If yes) Have you ever thought of quitting because of this? _____
18. Do you get along with the guys you're working with? _____
19. Are any of the guys you work with your personal friends? (must associate with them after hours) _____

20. Are you satisfied with the working conditions? (hours, wages, fringe benefits, etc.) _____

C. Past Work Record

21. A lot of employers ask for at least a high school education; what grade did you complete? _____

22. Did this include any specialized training? _____

23. Could you tell me something about your jobs before your last sentence? (Three years prior to incarceration)

(a) How many jobs did you have? (Longer than one month duration) _____

(b) How many months were you employed? _____

D. Social Relationships

(Questions 24 and 25 to be answered by married subjects only)

24. (a) Is your wife working? _____
(b) (If yes) How much does she earn? (per month) _____

25. While you were in the pen/jail, did you have fairly regular contact with your wife and children? (Regular contact is a letter or visit at least once per month) _____

26. Did you have regular contact with your family (parents and siblings) while you were in the pen/jail? (Regular contact is a letter or visit at least once per month) _____

27. Are your parents living? _____

28. Are/were they living together? _____

29. Do/did they live in greater Montreal? _____

30. (a) How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____

(b) How many of them live in greater Montreal? _____

31. Do you have regular contact with your family (parents and siblings) now? (Regular contact is a letter or visit at least once per month) _____

32. What kind of work does/did your father do? (white collar, skilled, unskilled) _____

33. Does/did he have a fairly steady work record? _____

34. Do most of your brothers (and sisters who are working) have steady work records? _____

35. (a) Do you have any close friends in Montreal? _____
(b) (If yes) How often do you see them? (frequently is once per week or more) _____

36. Are most of your friends working? _____

E. Expectations of the Importance of the Job and Future Plans

37. Probably a lot of rumors go around the pen/jail about what the parole board wants to hear -

(a) Did you say in your parole application that you had a job to come out to? _____

(b) (If yes) Who lined up the job for you? _____

(c) Did you take the job when you were released? _____

38. Did you talk over your employment plans with anybody before your release? _____ With whom? _____

39. How often do you see your parole supervisor now? _____

40. (a) Do you talk about your job with your supervisor? _____

(b) (If yes) How often? (Often is at least every two interviews) _____

41. Do you think your parole might be revoked if you changed jobs without discussing it with your supervisor beforehand? _____

42. Are you going to stay in your present job when your parole is finished? _____

III. Open-End Question

43. Is there anything else about employment and parole you might want to talk about?

IV. Diagnostic Evaluation of the Respondent

On the basis of the interview, the interviewer is required to make a tentative social diagnosis regarding the respondent.

This diagnosis should include:

1. The degree of cooperation which the respondent evidenced in the interview should be noted. This judgment should include a statement as to the degree of personal involvement the parolee evidenced.

2. A judgment should be made on the accuracy of the parolee's responses, based on whether or not the employment experience he presented tended to check out in logical sequence (time, place and name).

3. A judgment should be made on the estimated intelligence level of the parolee.
4. A statement regarding the parolee's role functioning should be made, including the level of functioning he appeared to have achieved in his employment and marital roles.
5. A tentative prognosis is to be made by the interviewer as to the parolee's chances of successfully completing his parole.

The above factors as well as any other outstanding characteristics the parolee exhibited in the interview should be noted in the diagnostic evaluation.

APPENDIX C

A TABLE OF DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATIONS OF FORTY FIVE PAROLEES

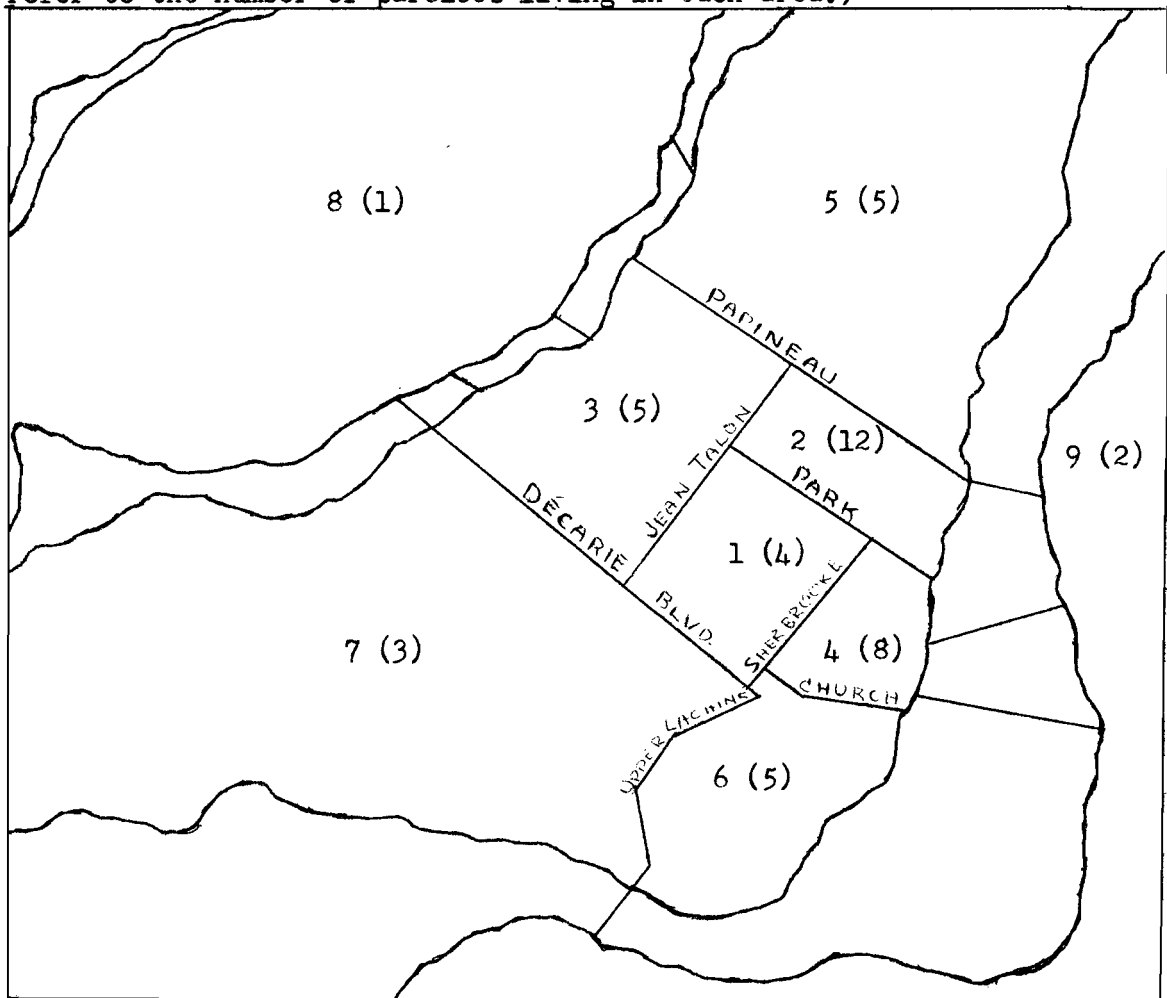
Table 1. -- Diagnostic Evaluation of the Forty Five Parolees

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Total
Cooperativeness in interview	7	21	10	7	45
Degree of accuracy in responses	2	26	11	6	45
Role functioning	3	21	15	6	45
Intellectual level	11	24	6	4	45
Prognosis to com- plete parole	6	24	9	6	45

APPENDIX D

MAP OF METROPOLITAN MONTREAL SHOWING THE
RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF THE PAROLEES
IN THE SAMPLE

Figure 1. -- Map of Metropolitan Montreal Showing the Residential Location of the Parolees in the Sample. (Note: The figures in parentheses refer to the number of parolees living in each area.)



APPENDIX E

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PAROLEES ACCORDING TO
LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT

Table 2. — Classification of the Parolees According to Level of Employment

1. White Collar

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>
Owner-Manager	4
Clerical	2
Assistant Manager	1
Salesman	1
Accountant	1
Chauffeur	1
total	10

2. Skilled

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>
Stationery Engineer	1
Body Mechanic	1
Barber	1
Electrician	1
Machinist	1
Plumber	1
total	6

3. Unskilled

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>
Laborer	7
Trucker	2
Maintenance Man	5
Cleaner and Presser	2
Packer	1
Checker	1
Shipper	1
Janitor	1
Delivery Boy	1
Cook	1
Painter's Assistant	1
Butcher's Assistant	1
Operator	1
Construction Worker	1
total	26
Total	42

APPENDIX F

TABLES OF CHI-SQUARE VALUES

Table 3. — Values of X^2 in the Relationship of the Background Social Characteristics to the Aspects of the Employment Experiences

Social Characteristics	A ^a	B ^a	C ^a	D ^a	E ^a	F ^a
	Values of Chi-Square ^b					
Age of parolee	1.226	0.510	1.665	0.742	5.164*	1.459
Education level	2.025	—	—	5.710*	2.389 ^c	6.141*
Level of father's occupation	0.378	2.405	0.936	0.735	—	—
Pre-incarceration work record	9.367*	5.460*	6.371*	0.550	—	7.115*
Living arrangements	0.371	—	0.856	—	9.535* ^d	2.187 ^c
Personal friends at work	2.921	—	—	0.750	—	0.243
Personal friends in Montreal	0.177	—	—	—	—	0.244
Marital status	0.072	0.240	1.033	0.742	2.372	0.204
Pre-release employment planning	4.652*	—	—	2.545	1.148	0.544
Discussion of job in supervision	0.072	—	—	5.710*	5.104*	5.374*

- ^aA - level of employment functioning
- B - weighted scores of job frequency since release
- C - weighted scores of unemployment since release
- D - level of employment
- E - level of income
- F - attitude towards working conditions

^bUnless otherwise stated, d.f.=1, and $P < .05$

^cValue of d.f. is 2.

^dValue of d.f. is 4.

*Indicates statistically significant values of X^2 .

Table 4.— Values of X^2 in the Interrelationships of the Aspects of the Employment Experiences of the Parolees^a

	Level of employment	Level of income	Attitude towards working conditions
Level of employment functioning	0.770	0.050	1.704
Level of employment	---	7.537*	0.005
Level of income	---	---	1.063

^aIn all cases, d.f.=1, $P < .05$

*Indicates statistically significant values of X^2 .

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